UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 00580971 0

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN GAUL

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO
ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.
TORONTO

The Origin & Development

of the

Christian Church in Gaul

during the

First Six Centuries of the Christian Era

BEING

THE BIRKBECK LECTURES FOR 1907 AND 1908

IN TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

BY

T. SCOTT HOLMES, D.D.

SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

CHANCELLOR AND CANON RESIDENTIARY OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF WELLS

AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS

2265.2
18 5 12

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED

ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1911

PREFACE

THE present work is the result of the author's study of the origin and settlement of the Church in England, and of his desire to come to some reliable conclusions as to the condition of the Church in Britain before the English invasion. For everything, in the civilised world of the Roman Empire, Gaul was the threshold of Britain, and it is impossible to come to any conclusions as to what may, or may not, have been in this island until we know all we can know of what really had occurred, and was, in Gaul. When, therefore, the Master and Fellows of Trinity College in 1906 appointed the author Birkbeck Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History the subject he chose for his courses of lectures was that of the origin of the Church in Gaul, and the acceptance of this subject by the Divinity Faculty at Cambridge as the theses for the B.D. and D.D. degrees gave him a yet further stimulus in pursuit of a strictly historical inquiry as to the early settlement of the Church in the great province of Gaul.

In one sense the work has some claim to originality. The subject has never been taken up on such serious lines of historical criticism by any English writer. The German writers are often out of sympathy with Church

organisation, and confine their attention to the foundations of that Teutonic society on which their own great Empire has been built, and some of them with the majority of French writers are cramped and restrained by their desire to accommodate their investigations to the exigencies of modern Papal claims. To all these Papal claims the author has endeavoured to give a very sympathetic attention. They were all based on some fact or other, and he has endeavoured to show that on which they really were based. The Donation of Constantine was something more serious and far-reaching in its influence than the mere gift of estates in Italy, and the patronage of the Empire, which the Church accepted from her first Christian emperor, was not an unmixed good. Strict historical criticism tends to be destructive of many a beloved legend, but it is hoped that in the present work such legends have not been dealt with in an unsympathetic manner. The legend has nearly always an historic origin of quite respectable antiquity, and often is the Christian interpretation of beliefs and superstitions of unknown antiquity, and to show when first that legend arose is not to brush it away, except so far as it endeavours to explain the origin of that which existed long before it came into existence. L'Abbé Duchesne, in his *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaul*, has shown in no unmistakable manner that the idea of an organised Church in Gaul in the early centuries of the Christian era has no historic basis. The revolutions within the Empire, the invasions of barbaric tribes, the ravages created and often repeated by heathen nations, show conclusively that an organised Christian hierarchy could not have

been existent. The Church was for long merely a missionary effort. We know certain facts concerning it, and l'Abbé P. Allard has shown us that these facts are not so isolated as we might at first imagine. The process, however, by which we link these items of historic evidence into a connected narrative is a process which allows of no bias in favour of any preconceived theory, if indeed that narrative is to be accepted as a reliable record of the foundation of the Church in Gaul, and such a process the author has endeavoured to accomplish. In complete sympathy with the episcopal organisation of the Catholic Church, and recognising the enormous debt which Western Christendom owed to the Western Apostolic See, he has endeavoured to show the effect of organisation which began in the fourth century, and which was renewed and carried on again in the sixth century, and to bring into prominence the grandeur of those apostolic labours of men like Hilary, Martin, Victricius, and others, whose missionary zeal and devotion to their country resulted in the conversion of the whole province. Nor must the work of the Church in the sixth century be passed over as adequately described by Gregory of Tours in his tales of drunkenness and strife. The work of the Councils held in Gaul in this century tells a different story, and to arrive at the truth we must estimate at its full value this united work of Gallican bishops and Frankish monarchs. The ages that were to follow needed a strong foundation if they were not to slip back into heathenism, and such was the foundation which was laid.

The author is reluctant to mention other names in reference to a work on which indeed he has spent very

much labour, but which, nevertheless, comes far short of his desire. To omit to mention them, however, would seem to suggest a lack of gratitude. Throughout his labours he has been constantly cheered by the kind encouragement of his friends the Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. Swete, and Professor Burkitt, and in the work of revision he is grateful for the help given him by his friend and colleague in the greater chapter of Wells, Prebendary Yorke Fausset.

The Liberty, Wells.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

The problem of the conversion of Gaul to Christianity, complicated by the existence of a strong group of legends—The people of Gaul—Political history of Gaul—Druidism—Lyons and its Diet—Trier and Arles—Effect of Council of Constance—Legend of St. Joseph of Arimathea—Legend of St. Dionysius—Legends of the family of Bethany—The Burgundian legends of Vezelay—The Province legends of St. Maximin—Tarascon and Marseilles—Historical evidence as to the introduction of Christianity . . . . . Page 1

CHAPTER II

The founding of the Church in Lyons—The story of the persecution of the Christians of Lyons and Vienne—Its outbreak and the passion of the martyrs—Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons—Was he a martyr?—The fugitives from Lyons—St. Symphorian—Martyrs at Valence, Dijon, and Besançon—Evidence of organised missionary work . Page 34

CHAPTER III

The story of the mission of the seven bishops—The evidence of Gregory of Tours considered—The corroboration of the early life of St. Saturninus—St. Gatian of Tours—St. Martial—St. Trophimus—St. Paul of Narbonne—St. Dionysius of Paris—Could these men have been sent by St. Fabian of Rome?—Why was the mission lost sight of?—The revolutions in Gaul in the third century—Gallican martyrs of the Decian, Valerian, and Aurelian persecutions Page 57

CHAPTER IV

The last persecution in regard to Gaul—The efforts of Maximian to reform the army—His severity to the Bagaudae—His cruelty to the Christians as men of doubtful loyalty—The story of St. Maurice and the Thebaid legion—St. Victor of Marseilles—St. Genesius of Arles—Sts. Julian and Ferreolus of Vienne—The martyrs of Nantes—The Edict for a general persecution—The Edict of toleration issued by Galerius—The Edict of toleration of Constantine and Licinius . . Page 82

CHAPTER V

What did the Edict of Constantine really mean?—The faith of Constantine—The Donatist schism and the Emperor's action—The 1st Council of Arles—Its evidence of Church organisation in Gaul—Consideration of the extent and completeness of this work in regard to the political strife in Gaul from A.D. 250 to A.D. 360—The Edicts of Constantine in relief and in favour of the Christians—Gaul and the Arian controversy—The exile of St. Athanasius to Trier—The zeal of Constantius for Arianism—The conflict between the sons of Constantine—The revolt and defeat of Magnentius . . . Page 110

CHAPTER VI

Constantius supports Arianism in Gaul and opposes St. Athanasius—The Emperor at Arles and Milan—The Councils of Arles and Milan—St. Hilary of Poitiers—His early life—His letter to Constantius—Council of Beziers—Exile of Hilary—Phoebadius of Agen—The writings of Hilary, *De Trinitate*, *De synodis*, addressed to the Gallican bishops—Letter to his daughter Abra—Hilary as a hymn-writer—The supporters of orthodoxy in Gaul during the absence of Hilary—His second appeal to Constantius—The revolt of the Caesar Julian—Hilary's denunciation of Constantius—A council at Paris—Return of Hilary to Poitiers—His expulsion from Milan—His diocesan work and his death . . . . . Page 143

CHAPTER VII

The early story of St. Martin of Tours—His appearance at Poitiers—His experiences and release from the army—Consideration of the chronology of his life—His adventures in the Alps—His settlement at

Gallinaria—Foundation of monastery at Ligugé—Elected bishop of Tours—His work at Marmoutier—Goes to see Valentinian at Trier—Goes again to Trier to plead for Priscillian before Maximus—Return to Trier to take part in the consecration of Felix as bishop—His missionary labours in central Gaul—The stories concerning him preserved by Sulpicius Severus—Their evidence as to the prevalence of heathenism—Death of St. Martin . . . . . Page 184

CHAPTER VIII

Priscillian and his connection with Gaul—Literature concerning him—The narrative of Sulpicius—The movement towards asceticism—Priscillian adopts and popularises the movement in Spain—His writings *De Fide*—Council of Zaragossa—The apology of Priscillian—The events consequent on the Council—Edict of Gratian against Priscillian—He appeals in vain to Damasus of Rome and Ambrose of Milan—Appeal to Gratian and reinstitution of Priscillian and his colleagues—His accusers flee to Gaul—Revolt of Maximus—Council of Bordeaux—Condemnation of Instantius—Appeal of Priscillian to Maximus and departure to Trier—His execution at Trier Page 217

CHAPTER IX

The developments of the case against the Priscillianists—The Tractates of Priscillian—Their vague and extravagant language—Are they definitely heterodox?—Maximus claims to be the defender of the Faith—The consecration of Felix and its consequences—The deposition of the original accusers of Priscillian—Council of Nîmes and its canons—Efforts of St. Ambrose to bring back the followers of Priscillian to the Church—The reconciliation at the Council of Toledo . Page 252

CHAPTER X

St. Hilary and St. Martin founders of monasticism in Gaul—Ligugé and Marmoutier—Paulinus and Sulpicius, and their advocacy of asceticism—The cult of St. Martin at Primuliac—St. Honoratus at Lerins—Description of the two islands of Lero and Lerins—St. Eucherius recluse and archbishop—Monastic code of Honoratus and Caesarius of Arles—St. Victor's monastery at Marseilles—The work of Cassian—His *Institutes* and his *Conferences*—General spread of monasticism on the recovery of the Church from the invasions of the fifth century Page 274

CHAPTER XI

Gaul in the whirlpool of invasion—The devastations of the Vandals and Alans—Evidence of the ruin they created—The revolt of the tyrant Constantine—The arrival of the Visigoths from Italy—The kingdom of Gothia—The establishment of Wallia in Aquitaine—The invasion and repulse of the Huns under Attila—The Burgundians in the east of Gaul—The relation of the Visigoths and Burgundians to the imperial authorities—The struggles of the Gallo-Roman noblemen and their persecution—The rise of the Frankish power—Chlodovech defeats and makes subject the Burgundians—The siege of Vienne and death of Godegisel—Chlodovech attacks the Visigoths—Battle of Vouglé and end of Visigothic power in Gaul . . . Page 301

CHAPTER XII

The Papal see—The origin of the conversion of Gaul—The Bishop of Rome the agent of the Emperor—Rome becomes appeal Court of Western Christendom by edict of emperors—The influence of Rome as the apostolic see of Western Europe—The Popes consulted and advise bishops Exuperius and Victricius—The position of Victricius in the evangelisation of Northern Gaul—The Bishops of Rome help in the organisation of the Church in Gaul—Their opposition to any local initiative—The contentions of the churches at Vienne and Arles—The fortunes of Arles and its bishops under the jealousy of the Roman bishops—The spiritual influence of Gregory the Great under the Merovingian dynasty . . . . . Page 339

CHAPTER XIII

The calamities suffered by Gallican Christians influence their religious views—The evidence of Prosper of Aquitaine and Salvian of Trier—Marseilles the refuge of Gallican Christianity—The efforts of St. Augustine—Prosper and Salvian to answer the taunts of dying heathenism—St. Augustine's tracts against Pelagianism give trouble in Gaul—Prosper discovers latent Pelagianism in Church in south Gaul—His opposition to Cassian and activity against semi-Pelagianism—His appeals to St. Augustine and Coelestius, bishop of Rome—The later fortunes of semi-Pelagianism—The orthodoxy of Faustus of Riez and Caesarius of Arles . . . . . Page 379

CHAPTER XIV

Sidonius Apollinaris and the churchmen in Gaul who are not monastic—His early life—His rise in connection with the Emperor Avitus—His experiences under Majorian and Anthemius—His life in Auvergne and his tour in Aquitaine—Becomes bishop of Clermont—His correspondence with bishops in Gaul—His zeal in the organisation of the Church—His efforts to promote education and his patronage of monasticism . . . . . Page 409

CHAPTER XV

St. Hilary of Arles—His zeal for monasticism in Lerins, Montmajeur, and Arles—Succeeds Honoratus as archbishop of Arles, and his efforts to promote the organisation of the Church in Gaul under the presidency of Arles—His conflict with Leo of Rome, who regards him as too independent—The Edict of Valentinian and the submission and death of Hilary—**St. Germanus** of Auxerre and his friendship with Amator—His consecration as bishop of Auxerre—His two missions to Britain—His work as the founder of the province of Sens—His mission on behalf of the rebellious Armenians to Ravenna and death there—**St. Lupus** of Troyes—His monastic fervour—Bishop of Troyes—His experiences with and influence over Attila—His labours in diocese—His mission to Britain—His friendship with Sidonius and his death—**St. Mamertus** of Vienna—His strife with Rome—His difficulties with Gundiok, the Burgundian king—His institution of Rogations—His death—**St. Caesarius** of Arles—His monastic zeal—His love of the poor and influence as a preacher—His experiences during the siege of Arles and his three arrests—Proves his orthodoxy against the suspicion of semi-Pelagianism—His conciliar activity—His writings and his efforts to organise monasticism for men and women—His death Page 452

CHAPTER XVI

The Gallican Church to be judged by its councils in the sixth century and not by the scandals mentioned by Gregory of Tours—Account of these councils—The changed condition of their assembly due to the Frankish monarchs taking the place of the Roman emperors—The councils in relation to Church discipline, to endowments, to public worship, to monasticism, to the Jews, to the heathen, and to heretics Page 511

CHAPTER XVII

St. Columbanus and his early life in Leinster—Begs a settlement of Sigibert of Austrasia and goes to Anagrates—His monastic foundations at Anagrates, Luxeuil, and Fontaines—His irregular position and independence towards the Church in France—His monastic rules—His violence and quarrel with Brunichildis—His rudeness to Theodoric—His arrest and imprisonment at Besançon—Escape and second arrest and exile—His escape at Nantes and return to Neustria, and departure for Bregenz and to Agilulf, the Lombard king—His foundation at Bobbio and death there . . . . . Page 540

DESCENT OF THE EARLY MEROVINGIAN KINGS . . . Page 569

INDEX . . . . . Page 571

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When the first disciples of our Lord were driven from Jerusalem by the persecution in which St. Stephen suffered martyrdom, they found much in the conditions of the age to help them in their missionary efforts. The world as known to them consisted of one great empire, and when Christians in subsequent ages looked back to mark those things which had helped to forward the advancement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, the fact that out of many kingdoms there had come into existence, just before the time when the mission work of the Church should begin, the vast and all embracing Empire of Rome seemed to them a clear proof of the providential ordering of God.[1] Not only was this the case, but the Roman Empire was also then in the first flush of its new all-welding organisation. Centralisation had reached its highest state, and Rome was, in fact as well as in name, the very heart of the world.[2] On all sides, and now for nearly a hundred years, the Roman legionaries and the races they had subjected had been binding the empire together by a network of almost imperishable roads, and from the remotest limits of

[1] Cf. Origen, *contra Celsum*, ii. 30.

[2] Cf. Merivale's *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. iv. cap. xxxix.; and Gibbon cap. ii. The *Breviarium Imperii* tended to prove the saying that Augustus was "paterfamilias totius imperii," also Sir W. Ramsay's *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 346—"all movements of thought throughout the Empire acted with marvellous rapidity on Rome, the heart of the vast and complicated organism."

imperial rule great arterial highways led on the travellers by easy stages to Rome. No great event in the provinces could happen but it would soon be reported at the capital, and the common talk of Rome was the news in which the provincials delighted. Nor could Rome be easily passed over when distant provinces held intercourse with each other. So real was the centralisation that Rome was the natural link between East and West. All we know of those times emphasises the position of Rome. Nothing of importance could be decided without sanction from the capital. Every one was attracted to it, and thence emanated all authority both civil and military. In the present chapter we propose to consider the condition of Gaul during the first century of the Christian era. The task is necessary in order that we may gain an adequate and correct idea as to the way in which the Christian Church was founded there. This enquiry, moreover, is the more important because a group of legends rose into general acceptance in France in the tenth and eleventh centuries, which claim to give us a very definite but, as we hope to show, very unhistorical story of the way the Gospel was brought to Gaul. It will be our duty, therefore, to place these legends before the reader, and examine carefully their historic character; for when we take into consideration the condition of Gaul in the first century of the Christian era, we shall perceive that these legends bear their own condemnation. Their historic improbability will appear to us to be insurmountable. Yet they exist, and, unfortunately, have found many advocates. In mediaeval times, and until the seventeenth century,[1] they were almost universally accepted as affording the correct narrative of the conversion of Gaul. We cannot therefore ignore them. They must either form the foundation of our narrative,

[1] In 1641 Jean de Launoy published in Paris his *Dissertatio de commentitio Lazari et Maximini, Magdalenae et Marthae in Provinciam appulsu*, in which he attacked the traditions concerning St. Maximin and the family of Bethany, and, except by Provençals, he was regarded as having demolished their credibility.

or we must consider and put them aside, and make our way down to the bed-rock of historic fact. At the outset of our enquiry they are a disturbing element. They colour the age with an attractive halo which, we shall find, does not belong to it. They do not fit into those conditions which we are bound, on reliable historic grounds, to regard as existent. It will be our duty then to enquire carefully how these ideas as to the origin of Christianity in Gaul arose, on what authority these legends rest, and what weight, if any, can be attached to them. When we have examined them and sifted their evidence, then, but not till then, we shall be able to decide whether or not we can put them aside.

This critical enquiry, however, demands as its foundation a knowledge of the condition of the provinces of Gaul during the first three centuries of the Christian era, and this we must at once briefly place before the reader.

The trade routes in Gaul.

From the shores of the Mediterranean there are two natural highways into the interior of Gaul. The valley of the Rhone leads the traveller northward until he meets with the valley of the Saône, and then he is led on yet farther north into the open country watered by the Marne, the Seine, and the Meuse. Farther west, and near to the city of Narbonne, the valley of the Aude forms a break in the long mountain chain which from Auvergne runs south-west towards the Pyrenees and leads us on until we meet at Toulouse with the Garonne, which carries us on to Bordeaux and the Atlantic Ocean. Between these two highways all other access to the interior was blocked by the range of the Cevennes, a range of lofty hills which, with its north-eastern extension, stretched from Lyons to the spurs of the Pyrenees. Then to the east of the Rhone valley rise the Higher, Lower, and Maritime Alps which cut off Gaul from Italy, while to the south-west of the Aube the Pyrenees form an effectual barrier between Gaul and Spain. North of the Cevennes is the great

central plateau of Gaul, extending from Lyons to Toulouse and from Bourges to Bordeaux, a district deeply graven by the valleys of the Lot, the Vézère, and the Dordogne. To the north-east of this district, and north of the Saône, lies the mountainous district of the Côte d'Or and the Morvan range, the home of the Aedui and the Arverni, the stoutest foes with whom Caesar had to contend. Then, yet eastward of the Saône, rise the Jura mountains, blocking the way to any traveller who may have marched up the Rhone valley towards Geneva.

A traveller, therefore, entering Gaul from the south, was compelled, by several mountainous regions and a high tableland, to keep to one or other of these two routes we have mentioned. The wide and more open districts of the north could only be reached by these two valleys, and the geographical divisions which these rivers and mountains created could not be ignored.

The people of Gaul.

The character of the people also varied very much, and if the *pax Romana* which Augustus proclaimed had put an end to tribal strife, it had not as yet welded the various races into one nation. Three distinct waves of immigration, that in prehistoric times had come from the distant east, were in possession of the land, and Julius Caesar's division of the country into Gallia Belgica, Gallia Celtica, and Aquitania represents with tolerable accuracy the districts settled in by these three branches of the human race. In the south-west corner, called by Julius Caesar Aquitania, and which afterwards was known as Novempopulania, the land bounded by the Garonne, the Ocean, and the Pyrenees, and also in the valleys[1] that run down from the Graian Alps to the valley of the Durance and the Mediterranean littoral, were to be found the earliest settlers in prehistoric times, the Iberians, men who were not of the great Aryan family, and whose language and habits were

[1] Walckenaer's *Géographie ancienne historique et comparée des Gaules*, 1839, i. 4. 36 and 50; and also Jubainville's *Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, 1889.

distinct from those of the tribes who surrounded them. In the great central plateau of Gaul, from the Garonne to the upper waters of the Loire, the Seine, the Marne, and the Saône, was settled the earlier of the two branches[1] of the Celtic family, the people who in Britain were known as the Goidels, and with whom, as their religion, Druidism largely prevailed. Then, to the north-east of these, came the later Celtic family, the Belgae, and other allied tribes; and when the Romans arrived on the scene and imposed an end to internecine war, these were even then pushing the Goidels westward and southward. Farther off eastward, and on both sides of the Rhine, were warlike Teutonic tribes, known as the Germani, who were themselves pressed on by peoples yet farther east, and who were therefore watching for opportunities to conquer and settle in the fertile plains of Gaul.

Political history of Gaul.

On the shore of the Mediterranean was the great commercial town of Marseilles, which had been occupied by Phokeans and Greeks for at least five centuries before the Christian era. This Greek colony[2] does not seem to have exerted much influence on the interior. Daughter settlements from Marseilles were founded on the coasts of the Mediterranean and its immediate neighbourhood, but it cannot be said that the Greeks had made any advance over the Cevennes, or had extended their influence beyond Geneva.

Spain had become a Roman province in 205 B.C.,[3] but up to that time the Republic had made no settlement in Gaul. In the year 126 B.C. the Massilians[4] were pressed hard by the Saluvians, an Iberic tribe that inhabited the mountain range on the right bank of the Durance, and when the Massilians appealed for

[1] Cf. Rice Holmes' *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 1899, i. 1.

[2] Cf. Castanier's *Origines historiques de Marseille et de la Provence*; and generally Lentheric, *La Grèce et l'Orient en Provence*.

[3] Livy, *Hist.* xxviii. 12.

[4] Livy, *Epit.* lxi. and lxii.; Florus, iii. 2 "primi trans Alpes arma nostra sensere Salyi"; Polyb. xxxiii. 7. 8; Orosius, v. 14.

help to the Republic, the colony of Aix, Aquae Sextiae,[1] was founded in 125 B.C. by the pro-consul C. Sextius, at once a defence for Massilia and a check on its further influence on the interior. The policy begun at this time never ceased until Gaul became part of the Roman Empire. Further fighting with the adjacent tribes of the Allobroges on the banks of the Isère led in 121 B.C. to the creation of the Provincia,[2] the district comprised between the Durance and the Mediterranean. Then, two years afterwards, the foundation by Q. Marcius Rex of the Roman colony of Narbo, among tribes that were probably largely Phokean in origin, checked all further influence from Massilia in the direction of the Aube valley; and in 118 B.C. the second Roman province of Gaul, Gallia Narbonensis,[3] was created, and comprised the district between the sea and the Cevennes, the Rhone and the Pyrenees. This province was a connecting link between Hispania and Gallia Cisalpina, a mere strip of country on the borders of the Mediterranean, and Gallia Narbonensis remained as such until the conquests of Julius Caesar allowed of its extension up the valley of the Rhone and as far as the city of Geneva.

The campaigns of Julius Caesar were waged during the years 58–51 B.C., and when they ceased all Gaul was subject to the Republic, and had been divided into Aquitaine or Gallia Comata, the district between the Pyrenees and the Garonne; Gallia Celtica, the central part between the Garonne and the Marne and the Seine; and Gallia Belgica, from the Saône and the Seine, north-east as far as the lower Rhine. The town of Vienne had been founded as an outpost from Aix, when the province of Narbonensis was established in 121 B.C.[4]

[1] Diod. Siculus xxxiv.; Solini *Collect.* ii. 53–54.

[2] Amm. Marc. xv. 12; Livy, *Epit.* xlvii. and lx.

[3] Amm. Marc. xv. 11; Pomp. Mela, ii. cap. 5; Livy, *Epit.* lxiii.; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 4.

[4] Ptolemy, ii. cap. 5; Strabo, iv. pp. 128, 129, edition 1587; Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 24; cf. Ausonius, *De claris Urbibus*, p. 148 (Peiper's edition) "ornatissima colonia valentissimaque Viennensium."

It had been the capital of the Allobroges, and was doubtless occupied by the Roman legionaries when that tribe had been effectually subdued. Lyons was created in 43 B.C. by Numatius Plancus,[1] and it is said with soldiers driven out from Vienne by the conflicts of the Caesar and Pompey factions which raged there at that time. At first the city of Lyons was on the site of the old Celtic stronghold on the right bank of the Saône, on the side of the hill known afterwards as the hill of Fourvière, opposite the place of junction of the waters of the Saône and Rhone. It soon, however, extended across to the tongue of land between these two rivers, and finally crossed the Rhone and stretched itself along the left bank. This position, at the junction of these two waterways, assured the growth of the city, and it soon became the centre of the Roman power in Gaul—"qui locus est exordium Galliarum," wrote Ammianus Marcellinus [2] in the fourth century. Augustus Octavianus [3] spent most of the years 15-12 B.C. in Gaul, and lived chiefly at Lyons. To him was due the change in the titles and also in the boundaries of the divisions of Gaul. Aquitaine was now extended beyond the Garonne and as far as the valley of the Loire, comprising the high tableland and mountainous district north of the Cevennes, and including Auvergne. Gallia Celtica was bounded by the Saône, the Loire, Lyons, and the Ocean; and Gallia Belgica lay between the Rhone, the Saône, and the Rhine. Then between the years 20-12 B.C. Augustus and the indefatigable Agrippa marked out and made the great roads which from Lyons ran in all directions.[4] Westward across the Cevennes and southern Auvergne to the Ocean and Bordeaux, northward past Autun towards Paris, the Somme, and the English Channel, and north-eastwards

[1] Dion Cass. xlvi. 50; Strabo, iv. 3 and 6.
[2] Amm. Marc. xv. 11. 17.
[3] Suetonius, *Oct.* xxi.; Dion Cass. liv. 36; cf. Walckenaer, ii. 310.
[4] Strabo, iv. 6.

through the future provinces of Germaniae *prima* and *secunda* to the Rhine, Mainz, and Cöln.

In A.D. 12 a great step was taken for the unification of Gaul in the creation of a Diet for the three Gauls or divisions of Gaul, the delegates to which were to meet yearly at Lyons.[1] These delegates were to be summoned from every town of Gaul, and were to assemble on the 1st of August; and an altar was erected here to Rome and the Genius of Augustus, and solemnly consecrated this year by Drusus as the symbol of the power of the Empire. It is said that at first sixty cities[2] in Gaul sent representatives. It was essentially a Diet of the Gallic tribes. A priest was yearly to be chosen by these delegates to perform sacred rites in the name of Gaul, and this ceremony was at once indicative of their subjection and destructive of their ancient religion. The Diet seems to have had no executive power. It was of the nature of a grand jury at our quarter sessions and assizes. It could petition the emperor through the legate or praefect at Lyons, and it could draw attention to the cruelty or illegality of procurators and other subordinate officials. The priest who acted as president of this Diet was the mouthpiece of the confederate races, and the first to hold this office was C. Julius Vercundar Dubius, an Aeduan.[3]

Druidism.

As far as we have any evidence, and our evidence is painfully little, the religion of Gaul was Druidism. This form of worship prevailed from the Gironde to the Marne and Saône, and its chief centres and strongholds were at Dreux, Chartres, and Autun. Augustus and Tiberius[4] had proscribed it, and Claudius[5] had decreed its abolition. It existed, however, very largely in this central district, and even at the end of the fourth century it still prevailed in the districts which witnessed

[1] Strabo, iv. 3; Dion Cass. liv. 32.
[2] Strabo; cf. also Hirschfeld, *Aquitanien in der Römerzeit*, p. 13.
[3] Livy, *Epit.* cxxxvii.
[4] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxx. 4; Strabo, iv. 4, p. 198.
[5] Suetonius, *Claudius*, xxv.; Pomp. Mela, iii. 2.

the missionary efforts of St. Martin.[1] In the smaller and earlier Aquitaine, which the emperor Trajan seems again to have created into a separate and independent province under the name of Novempopulania, and of which Elusa became the capital, there are few, if any, monuments of Druidism.[2] The traces of heathen worship that have been discovered in that corner of the land belong to the little-known religious rites of the Iberic tribes.

Lyons. Lyons was not only the place of meeting of the Gallican Diet, but was also the permanent residence of the Roman governor, who was called at first the legate and in later times the prefect. In A.D. 21,[3] at the time of the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir, *i.e.*, at a time when many of the cities of the central part of Gaul were in the disturbed area, there were seventeen cities in Aquitaine which sent delegates to the Diet, twenty-five in Gallia Celtica, which was now becoming known as Gallia Lugdunensis, and twenty-two in Gallia Belgica.

Under the policy of successive emperors the city of Lyons had drawn to itself all the precedence which the town of Vienne had formerly enjoyed, as well as all the commercial prosperity, which in earlier days had belonged to the city of Marseilles. Indeed Marseilles had begun to suffer when the Romans founded the colony of Narbo.[4] Its subject towns on the coast and in the near interior were taken from it, the district over which it had exercised rule was continuously being reduced in size, and its commerce was deliberately diverted to its rival on the west. Under Marcus Aurelius the Massaliotes[5] gave up their ancient constitution and became similar in municipal organisation to the neighbouring cities. By that time, however, Marseilles had lost all its former importance. The

[1] Cf. Chapter VII. of this work.
[2] Oihenart's *Notitia utriusque Vasconiae*, pp. 446, 448.
[3] Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 44.
[4] Orosius, v. 14; Livy, *Epit.* lxiii.
[5] Cf. Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 210.

foundation by the Emperor Tiberius, A.D. 17 of the port and town of Arles[1] for commercial purposes was, and was intended to be the deathblow to the ancient grandeur of Marseilles. From that time onward the port for Lyons and Gaul generally was not Marseilles or Narbonne, but Arles, and the road from Arles, which led through Orange, Valence, and Vienne to Lyons, was crowded with the traffic and the merchandise which the capital of Gaul required.

For three centuries Lyons retained almost undiminished the influence and the authority which the policy of Augustus had conferred on it, and it was only when the needs of the legions and their commanders, encamped continually as they were in the fourth century on the banks of the Rhine, called for a capital nearer to the seat of war that Lyons was obliged to yield to a rival in the north-east. Trier,[2] on the Mosel, Augusta Trevirorum, was made a colony about A.D. 69, and perhaps by the Emperor Galba. In the remodelling of the organisation of the empire under Diocletian Milan[3] was for a short time, from A.D. 285, the capital of Gaul, and when in A.D. 293 Diocletian and Maximian joined to themselves in the government of the Empire the two Caesars Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, Trier[4] became at once the capital of Gaul and the chief residence of Constantius. This western prefecture included the three dioceses of Britain, Gaul, and Spain, and it is obvious that Trier, so near to the eastern frontier, then continually threatened by Allemans and Franks, was more convenient for the general who might at any time be summoned to lead his soldiers into battle, than Lyons, which could only be useful should revolt or trouble occur in the south.

[1] Bazin, *Arles gallo-romain*; xliii. Congrès Archéol. de France, 1876, and Strabo, iv. 125.

[2] Zumpt, *De coloniis Romanorum militaribus com. epig.* i. 385. Cf. also Steininger, *Geschichte der Trevirer*, p. 79.

[3] Eutropius, ix. 27; Ausonius, *Ordo urb. nob.* v.

[4] Cf. Steininger as above, p. 229.

With the rise of Trier we also find that the city of Arles[1] grew in importance. At first its influence was only due to its commercial character. Now in the fourth century it began to have a political rôle to play, and the tyrants, which the disturbed conditions of this and the following century saw rise suddenly into power were eager, as soon as they had acquired possession of Trier, to march south and make sure of Arles.[2] This fact of its rise into political importance is the explanation of its ambitions in the fifth century, and of the controversy, which we shall in due course narrate, which its bishops had with the See of Rome. Trier and Arles.

During the fourth century, when the Caesar Julian was in command in Gaul, he selected Paris[3] as his favourite residence; and from A.D. 356 to 358 Paris enjoyed the position of being the capital of Gaul. It did not, however, retain that position, nor did it come permanently to the front until the time of the Frankish dynasty of the Merwings.

To return, however, to the first century, it was through the influence of the Diet at Lyons and the solemn religious rites which the Gallican subjects and citizens there celebrated, as well as through the favour of the Emperor Claudius, that Gaul was slowly being Latinised. Roman literature and Roman culture steadily advanced. Schools, colleges, and universities arose at Lyons,[4] Autun, Vienne, Arles, Toulouse, and Bordeaux,[5] and the zeal of the Gallic youth for Latin literature was recognised by the poets at Rome. In the time of Domitian, A.D. 81-96, free copies of their poems were sent from Rome to their admiring

[1] Amm. Marcel. xv. ii. 14; Ausonius, *Ordo urb. nob.* x. p. 148.

[2] Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* ii. 49. Cf. the action of the tyrant Constantine, A.D. 407; Freeman's *Western Europe in the Fifth Century*, ii. 54.

[3] Amm. Marcel. xv. 11. 3 and xx. 8. 2.

[4] The Emperor Caius Caligula founded public literary contests in Greek and Latin at Lyons. Suetonius, *Calig.* cap. xx.

[5] On the University of Bordeaux, cf. Jullian, "Les Premières Universités françaises, l'école de Bordeaux an IVe siècle," in *Rev. internat. de l'enseignement*, 1893.

friends at Toulouse and Arles,[1] and Pliny rejoiced that his writings should find a sale among the noble families in Lyons.[2]

When, therefore, we begin to ask what the condition of Gaul was at the time when first the Gospel could have been proclaimed in it, we find that it was a province already in the process of becoming rapidly Latinised; where Roman towns and Roman roads and Roman culture had long ago supplanted the decaying influence of the old Greek cities of the coast, and had even then begun to destroy the tribal bonds of union which had once prevailed among the inhabitants; where the Roman civilian and the Roman soldier were located in more than sixty cities and communes, and where nothing could occur and no new religion could be proclaimed without the knowledge of the legate in Lyons or of the procurators in the several divisions of the country. If the government was highly centralised yet its officers and messengers were to be seen in every town and village, and to be met with on every road along which men could travel. No great religious revolt could have occurred, no general assembly to observe the ceremonies of some unlicensed worship could have taken place and yet have escaped the keen eyes of the Roman officials.

Christian missions to Gaul.

The view we have now gained of Gaul in the early centuries of the Christian era will enable us to consider the evidence on which the legends of Christian missions in this country rest, and to come to some very definite opinion as to their credibility. These legends arose in an age ignorant of the conditions which had prevailed in Gaul in the first century; they are historically im-

[1] Martial, *Epigram*, ix. 99, sends a copy of his book to M. Ant. Gallus of Tolosa, and in vii. 88, he writes:

"Fertur habere meos, si vera est fama, libellos
inter delicias pulchra Vienna suas.
Me legit omnis ibi senior iuvenisque puerque
et coram tetrico casta puella viro."

[2] Pliny, *Ep.* ix. 11 "bibliopolas Lugduni esse non putabam, ac tanto libentius ex literis tuis cognovi venditari libellos meos, quibus peregre manere gratiam, quam in urbe collegerint, delector." Cf. Ampère, *Histoire littéraire*, i. 201.

probable and, indeed, almost impossible, and should, at the outset, offer us an explanation for the silence concerning them, and indeed ignorance of them of earlier writers, before we can possibly attach any but a purely sentimental value to them. A modern writer on the history of the Church in Gaul has drawn our attention to the influence which these legends have had in the destruction of our confidence in the lists of the bishops of the Gallican sees. These lists are so full of interpolations, repetitions, and corrections that they bear their own condemnation on the very face of them. Their disastrous influence[1] was very active during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and had for its purpose the desire to present in each diocese a continuous succession of bishops from the first century of the Christian era. It was the influence of these legends which claimed for Gaul that the Gospel was introduced into it by some of the most illustrious of the disciples and friends of our Lord.

Such a process of interpolation was hardly possible in England, since no bishopric could be anterior to the last years of the sixth century, and therefore no names could be invented for the four or five centuries of Christianity which had then already passed away. Whatever Christian endeavour had been made here before the coming of St. Augustine was only attached to the English organisation after several centuries of independent action on the part of the English Church, and that only in districts where English missionaries had never worked.

Council of Constance.

It was, however, on March 3, 1417, at the twenty-eighth[2] session of the Council of Constance, that the

[1] Cf. Duchesne's *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, vol. i. cap. 1.

[2] L'Enfant's *Histoire du Concile de Constance*, pp. 452-4, ed. 1714 "L'Angleterre ne cède ni rien du Royaume de France ni pour l'étendue ni pour la dignité, ni pour l'antiquité—à l'égard de l'antiquité de la nation Britannique en qualité de nation chrétienne, si ce mémoir fait beaucoup d'honneur à l'Angleterre en attribuant sa conversion à Joseph d'Arimathée il n'en fait gueres moins à la nation françoise en lui donnant Denys l'Aréopagite pour premier Apôtre." Cf. also Von der Hardt v. p. 91.

French and the English bishops definitely bound their nations to the legends to which we have made reference. A controversy had arisen in the Council as to the right of the English Church to form a Nation of itself, and as an independent Nation to take part in the deliberations and decisions of the Council. The French bishops claimed that the English Church formed part of the Gallican Nation. The English bishops were Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, and Nicholas Bubwith, bishop of Bath and Wells.[1] Bubwith, and probably Hallam also, must have been aware of the reputed remains of St. Joseph of Arimathea, which were said to have been lately discovered in the monks' cemetery of the great abbey of Glastonbury. In that monastery, and for reasons which need not be here entered upon, the influence of these French legends was most strongly felt. In the Lady Chapel, to the west of the great monastic church, a shrine was being built and pilgrimages were being organised which were intended to perpetuate, as if it had been true, one of the most attractive of the myths of the Holy Grail. On the following week, in the thirtieth session of the Council,[2] the contention between the English and French bishops was very strong, the English bishops asserting that the kingdom of England was in nothing inferior to the kingdom of France. It was only two years after the English victory of Agincourt, and even in that year, 1417, many castles and towns in France had fallen into the hands of the English. In extent of territory, and in the dignity of its people, England did not indeed seem inferior to France. The controversy, however, turned on the antiquity of the national Church. Could

The legend of Joseph of Arimathea.

[1] The English representatives at first were the bishops of Salisbury, Bath, and Hereford, the abbot of Westminster, the prior of Worcester, and the Earl of Warwick. Cf. L'Enfant, p. 42. At a later day, in 1416, the bishop of London and the chancellors of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge arrived, and several doctors. The bishops of Lichfield and Norwich were also present (Von der Hardt iv. 952). Bishops Hallam and Mascall died during the sessions of the Council. Cf. Walsingham, *His. Aug.* in *Chron. monast. St. Albani.*

[2] Cf. L'Enfant, pp. 454, 455. Henry Beaufort, the cardinal-bishop of Winchester, had arrived at Constance.

the Gallican bishops claim for their Church that it was founded anterior to the foundation of the Christian Church in Britain? The Gallican bishops put forth the statement that the Gospel had been brought to Gaul by Dionysius the Areopagite. Thereupon the English bishops made the astounding assertion that to Britain had come, as its first Christian missionary, no other than St. Joseph of Arimathea.

Up to that moment there is no evidence that such a myth had ever been generally accepted in England. Only the Glastonbury[1] monks and their chroniclers William of Malmesbury and John of Glastonbury had definitely asserted it. To the rest of England it seems to have been a matter of no concern. Now, however, it received the formal sanction of the English Church, and the rivalry between the two nations endowed the fiction with the halo of patriotism.

The legend of St. Dionysius.

But we are only concerned at present with the assertion of the Gallican bishops. What was the authority on which they claimed Dionysius the Areopagite as the founder of Christianity in Gaul? In the fourteenth century, and indeed for some centuries previously, he had been regarded as the first bishop of Paris. He had for long been the patron of the kings of France, and had already become the patron saint of France. That he was the apostle of France was an almost universally accepted doctrine, so completely had the legendary taken the place of the historical. In the fifteenth century men never thought of doubting its veracity.

What, then, was the evidence which would connect him with Paris? The earliest extant list of the bishops of Paris is not earlier than the end of the ninth century.[2] The last name which it contains is that of Gozlinus, who was bishop of Paris A.D. 884-886. The

[1] Cf. Hearne's editions of William of Malmesbury's *Antiq. of Glast.*, vol. i. p. 7, in *Adam de Domerham*, vol. i. and *John of Glastonbury*, vol. i. pp. 30, 48.

[2] Cf. Duchesne's *Fastes épiscopaux*, vol. ii. p. 460.

first name on the list is that of Dionysius, and Dionysius was certainly a real person. In the life of St. Genovefa,[1] which comes to us in an eighth-century version, but which probably was written originally in the early years of the sixth, we find the initial stage of his cult. It was due to St. Genovefa, that saintly heroine whose character and courage had done so much for the people of Paris in the anxious days of the early summer of 451, when Attila and his destroying host passed so near to the island city and yet spared it. She was most anxious that the first bishop of Paris, whom she regarded as a martyr, should have a church built to his honour near to the scene of his martyrdom, and where he was then buried. Venantius Fortunatus,[2] writing fifty years afterwards, records that Amelius, the bishop of Bordeaux built in 520 at Bordeaux a church in honour of St. Dionysius. The record of Gregory of Tours is very definite. He says that Dionysius was one of the seven missionary bishops sent to Gaul during the reign of the Emperor Decius, 249-251.[3]

The *Passio* of Dionysius,[4] however, which was assigned to Fortunatus of Poitiers, the contemporary of Gregory, but which has been rejected by Krusch and assigned by Mons. Havet to a priest of Toulouse who, at the instigation of Chlodovech the Pious, wrote about the year A.D. 800, states that the mission of Dionysius was in the days of Clement, bishop of Rome, and therefore in the reign of Domitian and not that of Decius.

For this earlier date there is certainly no authority,

[1] *Mon. rerum Merovingicarum*, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 204. Cf. especially Krusch's critical introduction in which he takes a less favourable view as to the antiquity of the life than Duchesne has done. He says it is "nullius auctoritatis."

[2] Venantius Fortunatus in *Mon. Germ. historica*, iv. pt. 1; *Carmina*, iv. 11, p. 13:

> "Quam venerandus habet propriam Dionysius aedem
> nomine sub cuius sanctificata nitet."

[3] Greg. Tours, *Hist. Franc.* in *Mon. Germ. hist.*, bk. i. 28 "Parisiacis Dionisius episcopus . . . sub Decio et Grato consulibus," *i.e.* A.D. 251.

[4] Cf. Havet's "Les Origines de Saint Denis" in *Questions mérovingiennes*, Appendix 3, p. 38.

and Mons. Omont[1] has very ingeniously shown us that the mistake may not have been intentional. The statement of Gregory of Tours, which introduces the story of the mission of the seven bishops, is drawn from the ancient Acta of St. Saturninus and begins with the words "Hujus tempore."[2] Gregory's history, however, went through at least two stages, and in the earlier and shorter stage, Gregory's account of the martyrdom of St. Pothinus and the Lyons Christians was not inserted, and the sentence concerning the mission of the seven bishops followed a statement concerning St. Clement. It was possible, therefore, in good faith to assume that "Hujus tempore," which introduces the narrative of them, referred to St. Clement.[3]

Fortunately there exist some three or four early charters[4] belonging to the Frankish monastery of St. Dionysius, which help us to see the growth of the assumption that Dionysius of Lutecia was the Areopagite. Two charters of Chlothachar II. of the years 625 and 626[5] refer to the martyred bishop, but say nothing as to his date or his companions in martyrdom. In A.D. 654 Chlodovech II. confirmed by charter to the monks of this monastery, which claimed to keep and guard the remains of St. Dionysius, the right of choosing their own abbot, and in this charter we find for the first time the names of Rusticus and Leutherius. Then in A.D. 724 Theodoric II. confirms to these monks all their former charters, and states that St. Dionysius was sent to Gaul by St. Clement of Rome. The earliest writer who makes the statement that Dionysius of Lutecia was the same as Dionysius the

[1] Cf. Mons. Omont's edit. of Gregory's *Hist. Franc.*, bk. i.-vi., 1886, giving us the text of the Corby MSS. pp. 18, 19.

[2] Cf. Greg. T. *H.F.* i. 28 ut supra. The fact of the interpolations becomes evident on reading the narrative in capp. xxvi.-xxix.

[3] Capp. xxvi., xxvii., and part of xxviii. formed these later additions, the absence of which would allow "Hujus tempore" to refer to S. Clement.

[4] Cf. Havet as above; Appendix 2, pp. 42 and 45.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 47, and Pardessus, *Diplom.* ii. p. 9, nos. 253 and 527.

Areopagite is Hilduin,[1] abbot of this monastery of St. Dionysius, who died about A.D. 814, and who located the scene of his death at Montmartre. The Martyrologies, however, in no way help him in this statement. In the Martyrology known as that of St. Jerome[2] we find, on October 9, "Parisiis, natale sanctorum Dionisi episcopi, Eleutherii diaconi et Rustici presbyteri et confessoris."

The Martyrology of Ado,[3] bishop of Vienne 860-875, offers us very definite information :—

Oct. 3. Athenis, Dionysii Areopagitae.
Oct. 9. Parisiis Dionysii episcopi cum sociis suis a praefecto Sixinnio Fescinnino gladio animadversi.

The Martyrology of Usuard,[4] abbot of the monastery de Pratis, near Paris, about the same time, A.D. 875, says :—

Oct. 3. Natalis beati Dionysii Areopagitae, qui . . . glorioso martyris coronatus est ut testatur Aristides.
Oct. 9. Apud Parisium natalis sanctorum martyrum Dionysii episcopi, Rustici presbyteri et Eleutherii diaconi qui beatus episcopus a pontifice Romano in Gallias praedicandi gratia directus.

The growth of the legend, therefore, which would make Dionysius of Lutecia the same as Dionysius the Areopagite and sent by St. Clement of Rome, is fairly evident. First there was the erroneous inference drawn, perhaps quite honestly, but certainly in accordance with popular desire to magnify the antiquity, and therefore the value, of any relics of early martyrs that churchmen possessed, from the earlier stage of the narrative of Gregory of Tours' first book of his history of the Franks ; and then came the second assumption that if he belonged to so early a date in the spread of

[1] Cf. Havet, 32 ; Köhler's *Étude critique sur le texte de la vie latine de sainte Geneviève de Paris*, 1881, pp. xciv and xcv ; Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* cvi. 13-50.
[2] Cf. Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xxx. p. 475.
[3] Cf. Migne, *Pat. Lat.* cxxiii. p. 300.
[4] Cf. Molanus' edition, 1573, pp. 166 and 169 ; Migne, *Pat.* cxxiii. and cxxiv.

the Gospel he was probably Dionysius the Areopagite mentioned in connection with St. Paul at Athens.[1] In a subsequent chapter we will consider what is known of Dionysius, the missionary bishop of the reign of the emperor Decius.[2]

The legends of the family of Bethany.

We must now turn our attention to another group of legends, which undoubtedly has done more even than the legend of St. Dionysius to hide from us the true history of the foundation of the Christian Church in Gaul. The legends of this group are based on no historical authority, and, though somewhat obscure in their origin, seem to have sprung from bare and most unwarrantable assumptions. They appear first of all in Burgundy, and soon after, and apparently from mere local jealousy, in the district already becoming known as Provence, the district comprised in the Provincia of early Roman Gaul. It was from Provence that the Burgundian monks drew their authority for their legend in Burgundy, and it seems almost certain that the legends in Provence are only later offshoots of the legend in Burgundy. The legends concern the family of Bethany, Lazarus, Martha and Mary.

Vezelay.

In the Cluniac monastery at Vezelay,[3] in the district between Auxerre and Autun, a monastery famous in the twelfth century because in 1166 Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, took refuge in it, the monks claimed to have the tomb and the remains of St. Mary Magdalene. In all this group of legends the identity of the Magdalene with the sister of Lazarus and the woman who was a sinner is taken for granted.[4] It was the

[1] Cf. Acts xvii. 34. [2] Cf. Chapter III.

[3] In 1847 M. Faillon, of the Society of St. Sulpice, published through l'abbé Migne two exhaustive volumes: *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de S. Mariae Magdalenae.* Monseigneur Duchêsne has given us in his *Fastes épiscopaux*, vol. i., a very lucid précis of M. Faillon's labours, and I acknowledge my indebtedness to him. I have, however, gone carefully through M. Faillon's work, and also the monograph of Launoy (2nd ed. A.D. 1660), *Dissertatio de commentitio Lazari et Maximini, Magdalenae et Marthae in Provinciam appulsu*, which M. Faillon in vain tries to controvert and with nearly the same result as Duchêsne. Faillon, i. 821.

[4] Faillon shows us that in the West there was a large consensus of opinion in favour of identifying, as one and the same, all the three Maries—Mary of Bethany,

view generally adopted by the Western Church. The possession of such a treasure certainly demanded an explanation, and the story of the acquisition comes down to us in two versions which show us how keen were these mediaeval relic-hunters, and how unscrupulously they filled in the lacunae of an untenable story. The monastery of Vezelay was founded by Gerard de Roussillon in the first half of the ninth century. It was dedicated to our Lord and to the blessed Virgin Mary, and was perhaps at first a house of nuns.[1] This, if true, may account for the foundation being placed under the immediate patronage and protection of the Roman pontiff. After a period of decline, during the first half-century of its existence, it seems to have been restored as a house of Benedictine monks, and Eudes[2] was its first abbot. As late as the year A.D. 1001[3] there was no trace of the cult of the Magdalene at Vezelay. In 1050 we find mention of her name for the first time in connection with the dedication of the monastery. Geoffrey succeeded Heriman as abbot in 1037,[4] and at once began a reform of the discipline and a considerable rebuilding of the abbey. There was in the monastic church an ancient tomb, and fancy was free to imagine the remains it enclosed. No one knew whose it was. In the monastery were certain wretched captives, the victims of the rough justice of the age, and these in their misery began to call for help to her who had known the misery of her sin and had found forgiveness. At Clermont[5] a soldier in prison had invoked her aid and had been released and came to Vezelay, and hung up his chains close by this ancient tomb. So the idea

Mary Magdalene, and the woman who was a sinner. In 1521 the doctors of the Sorbonne censured those who held to the idea that they were not the same.

[1] Faillon, i. 822. Cf. *Chron. Vezeliacense* sub anno 838. The Privilegium of Pope Nicolas makes the dedication evident.

[2] Cf. *Spicilegium d'Acherii*, iii. 462.

[3] The early papal charters of John VIII. and XV., Benedict VI. and VII. Stephen and Sylvester II., which are quoted by Faillon, show that the dedication to the Magdalene had not as yet begun. Faillon, i. 824 and 828.

[4] Cf. Privilegium Leo IX. in the *Spicilegium*, iii. 468; Faillon, ii. 736.

[5] Faillon, i. 825 and ii. 737.

began to grow that the St. Mary of the dedication was Mary the Magdalene, and that this was her tomb, and Abbot Geoffrey was compelled to place rails[1] round the tomb, so great was the throng of country folk who came to pray at this shrine. A timely vision which was vouchsafed to Abbot Geoffrey revealed to him the fact that the tomb was that of the Magdalene, and that in it were her remains.

How then came the relics to Vezelay? The explanation appears for the first time in the second half of the thirteenth century, and then it is found, as we have said, in two versions. The earlier narrative declares how in the reign of Carloman, A.D. 870,[2] Adalgar, bishop of Autun, paid a visit to Vezelay accompanied by a certain knight Adelelm. Eudo was abbot of Vezelay at the time, and Adalgar told the monks he knew where the relics of their saint were, and at the request of the monks the knight Adelelm went off to search for them in Provence. On his arrival at Arles he heard that the place where the relics were to be found was then in the hands of the Saracens, though the Saracens had departed more than a hundred years before. He, however, fearlessly set forth into the district indicated, and succeeded in carrying off the remains not only of St. Mary Magdalene but also of a St. Maximin.

The second and more common form[3] of the story is that, so soon as Abbot Eudo heard from Bishop Adalgar of the supposed place of the Magdalene's sepulture, he sent off a monk Badilo to Aix to search for these remains. When he got there the place seemed to him on all sides to be suggestive of death, so desolate and lonely did he find it—"nihil in ea visum est apparuisse nisi extremae pestis et mortis imago." The narrator must surely have been thinking of Les Aliscamps at Arles. The monk, however, and his companion applied for information to some old men whom they met there, and

[1] Faillon, 827.

[2] *Ibid.* 835.

[3] *Ibid.* 838, and ii. 748.

demanded where St. Maximin had buried St. Mary Magdalene. They replied that she was buried in the crypt of St. Maximin's church. So he searches[1] and at last comes to a specially honourable sarcophagus, and he feels confident that he has come to the object of his search. The carving suggested the story of the Magdalene, *i.e.* the washing of our Saviour's feet and the anointing of His head in the house of Simon. So he opens the sarcophagus and perceives the body of a fair woman, and with the help of his comrade he removes it and starts on the journey home. As he draws nearer to Vezelay various miracles and strange occurrences convince him of the genuineness of the discovery, and the unknown tomb was afterwards believed to enclose the remains thus gathered from the south.

St. Maximin lies about nine miles south-east of Aix, and was at one time a priory belonging to the abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles. The estate, on which the priory had been founded, had been given to the monastery in 1038[2] by Peter, archbishop of Aix, and had belonged to some wealthy Gallo-Roman family. There are several stone sarcophagi there which date from the fifth or sixth century, and are ornamented with sculptures which, however, in no way represent any of the events of the Magdalene's or Lazarus' life. They belong to the private burial-place of the earlier possessors of the estate. How the place came to be called St. Maximin, and who St. Maximin was, is not recorded. The name and the designation of the place existed long before the legend arose.[3]

In Provence the Magdalene's name is coupled with St. Maximin. At Vezelay, though the story of the translation of the remains tells of St. Maximin with St.

[1] If the reader has ever wandered among the sarcophagi and Roman tombs in the churchyard of St. Matthias south-west of Trier he can easily realise the situation of these relic-hunters.

[2] Faillon, ii. 665-688.

[3] Faillon, ii. 665, No. 31, *Chartes relatives de la restitution de l'ancienne abbaye de S. Maximin.*

Mary, yet the tomb of St. Maximin is not mentioned, and certainly was not an object of veneration. In Burgundy the Magdalene is more especially coupled with Lazarus, and the monks of Vezelay and the people of Autun believed that it was Lazarus who brought his sister to Gaul. The church at Autun was dedicated to St. Nazaire, one of the martyrs of Milan, but when in 1144 it was rebuilt St. Nazaire had to give way to Lazarus.[1]

The legend in Provence.

We must turn now to Provence and gather up the chief items of this extraordinary legend. It was certainly later in its birth than that at Vezelay, and seems to have been deliberately invented in self-defence. If so great a treasure had ever existed there, those who had possessed it could surely not have been so careless as to allow of its theft. At Tarascon the church is dedicated to Martha [2] of Bethany, and the legend of the place declares that she taught and worked miracles there, and now lies in the crypt of the church erected to her honour. At St. Maximin there is a grotto [3] on the side of the hilly range which looks southward towards the city of Marseilles. It was originally dedicated to St. Mary, and in the uncertainty as to the identity of the name, and under the influence of this embryonic legend, it came to be regarded as the place where St. Mary Magdalene had spent many years of penance, and where ultimately she had died. Originally doubtless it gave birth to the legend of which in time it came to be looked upon as a corroboration.

At Marseilles Lazarus was claimed as the first bishop,[4] and beneath the church of the martyred soldier [5] St. Victor his remains are supposed to have been interred.

In the library of Magdalen College,[6] Oxford, there is a fourteenth or fifteenth century life of St. Mary

[1] Faillon, i. 1173.
[2] *Ibid.* i. 1222.
[3] *Ibid.* i. 478.
[4] Duchêsne's *Fastes épiscopaux*, i. 265, note.
[5] Faillon, i. 533.
[6] Faillon prints it in full, ii. 454-558.

Magdalene, which is ascribed to Rabanus Maurus, who was abbot of Fulda, and who in 847 became archbishop of Mainz. It is an uncritical composition filled with glaring historical errors, and has no real claims to be regarded as in any way the work of the theologian Rabanus. It belongs to a much later date, and was probably composed in the interest of Tarascon and the cave at St. Maximin.

'In this life we are told that fourteen years after the Ascension of our Lord, the Apostles, who were at Jerusalem, assigned to themselves various spheres of work. St. Peter and St. Paul took the west of Europe, and when St. Peter was about to go to Rome he chose twenty-four missionary bishops to go to the twenty-four provinces of Gaul and Spain,[1] knowing as he did, that he would not be able to go himself. As the guide and leader of these bishops he sent St. Maximin. Lazarus was not one of this band. It is stated expressly that he was acting as bishop in Cyprus. So St. Maximin went forth from Jerusalem taking with him St. Mary Magdalene, St. Martha, Parmenas, Trophimus, Eutropius, and the rest of the band of twenty-four pioneers of the faith.

Another version[2] of this legend runs as follows. Some time after the Ascension of our Lord there was a great persecution of the Christians. It began with the martyrdom of St. Stephen, and was especially directed against those of the companions of Christ who were most obnoxious to the synagogue. In the first rank of the proscribed, as particularly obnoxious to the Jews, were Lazarus, Martha, Mary, and their friend Maximin, who had baptized them. These four, therefore, fled from Palestine, and came ultimately to the Province. Lazarus laboured at Marseilles, Martha settled at Tarascon, the Maries, no longer regarded as one, made their home in

[1] In the first half of the first century there were certainly not more than eleven, and probably not more than nine, provinces in Gaul and Spain.

[2] Faillon, ii. 433.

the Camargue in the village which preserves their name, and Maximin went to Aix.

A third[1] and popular form of the legend told how this band of disciples was placed by the Jews on a vessel which they had intended to sink, and which was miraculously directed to Gaul, where they landed safely at Marseilles. In the old cantique of the sixteenth century the Jews are described as saying :—

Entrez Sara dans la nacelle,
Lazare, Marthe et Maximin,
Cléon, Trophime, Saturnine,
Les trois Maries et Marcelle,
Eutrope et Martial, Sidonie avec Joseph,
Vous périrez dans le nef.

Allez, sans voile et sans cordage,
Sans mât, sans ancre, sans timon,
Sans aliment, sans aviron,
Allez faire un triste naufrage !
Retirez-vous d'ici, laissez-vous en repos,
Allez crever parmi les flots.

The legends of the family of Bethany did not stand alone. They gave rise to others, since inquiry would have been at once set up as to the fate of the other numerous companions who with Lazarus and his sisters sought the hospitable shores of Gaul. At Rocamadour[2] in the Department of Lot we have the traditional tomb of St. Zacchaeus, which was discovered in 1166, and at Tongres and Trier footprints of St. Maternus, who is said to have been the son of the widow of Nain. At Marseilles a difficulty had arisen, since the body of Lazarus had been buried at Autun in 1147. The local tradition claimed a crypt in the church of St. Victor as the place where his remains had lain, but by the second half of the twelfth century this had become only a tradition.

Yet it is certain that as these other legends received their genesis from the legend of the family of Bethany, so in turn they helped to support the supposed

[1] Faillon, ii. 572.
[2] Cf. *Guide du pèlerin*, Rocamadour, 1897 ; *Gallia Christiana*, xiii. 373 and iii. 620.

historicity of it, and the group, and it is a considerable group, evoked a very large amount of local interest and a very powerful influence in southern France in mediaeval times. They all must stand or fall together.

What authority thus can be adduced in their favour? Their most ardent advocate in modern times, Mons. Faillon, falls back on the life of the Magdalene which is claimed for Rabanus Maurus. The manuscript itself belongs to the early part of the fifteenth century, and is a copy of a life written in the south of France, perhaps in the first half of the thirteenth century. No earlier date can be assigned to it. The abbot of Fulda would repudiate a work so full of anachronisms and historical blunders. As an authority it has neither antiquity nor weight. There was, however, in the twelfth century a desire to claim for Provence what in Vezelay was said to have been stolen from St. Maximin. At Tarascon[1] the legend of St. Martha had arisen as early as 1187, when a church was begun in her honour, and was consecrated in 1197. In the Otia imperialia[2] of Gervaise of Tilbury in 1212 we are told of the Church of Our Lady at Camargue, known as Ecclesia S. Mariae de Ratis, that it was dedicated to St. Mary by the refugees from Palestine, SS. Mary Magdalene, Martha, Maximin, Lazarus, Eutropius, and Martial. In 1252 the church at Montrieu[3] was consecrated by the archbishop of Aix, and in the deed of consecration it was solemnly stated that relics of St. Mary Magdalene and Lazarus, first bishop of Marseilles, were deposited in it. Ptolemy de Lucques[4] and Bernard Gui[5] relate in their

[1] Cf. Faillon, i. 1220.

[2] Cf. Leibnitz, *Scriptores rerum Brunswicensium*, p. 914 "illic ad littus maris est prima omnium ecclesiarum citramarinarum in honore beatissimæ Dei genetricis fundata ac a discipulis a Judaea pulsis et in rate sine remigio dimissis per mare."

[3] M. Faillon, *Monuments inédits, etc.*, ii. p. 733.

[4] Ptolemy of Lucca, Ord. Praed., died 1327, wrote *Annales* from 1061-1303 and *Hist. of Church of Christ* to 1312. He gives the discovery of Charles of Salerno under the date 1280.

[5] Bernard Gui, also of Ord. Praed., died 1331, wrote *Flores chronicorum* and *Vitae pontificum Romanorum*. He refers the discovery to 1279.

chronicles under the years 1279 and 1280 that Charles, king of Sicily and count of Provence, had ordered a search, and that, in the middle of the oratory of St. Maximin, the tomb of St. Mary Magdalene had been discovered, which in A.D. 710, to guard against damage from the Saracens, had been secretly hidden away. The monks of Vezelay replied in 1281 with a formal declaration from Pope Martin IV. "corpus S. Mariae Magdalenae quiescere Vezelaici." [1]

It is evident that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries churchmen were following only too well the evil example set them by the Holy See. It was Pope Zosimus in A.D. 417 [2] who ventured to declare that Trophimus of Arles was the first who sent forth Christian missions into Gaul. We are not surprised, therefore, to find in the authoritative Acta Sanctorum for July 22, "S. Maria Magdalena apud Massiliam in provincia Galliae"; and in the Martyrologium Romanum for 1589,[3] July 22, "Apud Massiliam natalis sanctae Mariae Magdalenae de qua Dominus ejecit septem demonia et quae ipsum Salvatorem a mortuis resurgentem prima videre meruit"; and for December 17, "Massiliae in Gallia beati Lazari episcopi quem Dominus in Evangelio a mortuis suscitasse legitur."

The Eastern testimony against the legend.

But what had the East to say about the family of Bethany, and what traditions existed there concerning its subsequent history? In the seventh century the tomb of St. Mary Magdalene was one of the sacred sites of Ephesus. Modestus, bishop of Jerusalem [4] 614-633, knows nothing of the flight of this family to

[1] Cf. Bull of Pope Martin IV. to the archbishop of Sens—"apud Viziliacum monasterium ubi gloriosum requiescit corpus ipsius," *i.e.* Magdalenae. Faillon, ii. 762.

[2] Cf. Zosimus' Bull "Multa contra" given in Babut's *Le Concile de Turin*, p. 13, and "Placuit apostolicae," sections ii. and iii. p. 58 "ad quam primum ex hac sede Trophimus summus antistes, ex cujus fonte totae Galliae fidei rivulos acceperunt."

[3] Cf. *Acta Sanctorum* sub die.

[4] Modestus, bishop of Jerusalem, 614-633. "Bethania . . . in quo est monasterium cujus ecclesia sepulchrum monstrat Lazari . . . qui dicitur postea exstitisse episcopum in Epheso XI. annis." Cf. Migne, *Pat. G.* lxxxvi. pt. ii. Homily on St. Mary Magdalene.

Gaul. He wrote a homily on St. Mary Magdalene, and seems to suggest that Lazarus was buried at Bethany, though he allows the tradition that he had been for forty years bishop of Ephesus. The English pilgrim Willibald,[1] a relative of St. Boniface, who in 741 became bishop of Eichstadt, visited Ephesus about A.D. 750, and records that the remains of St. Mary Magdalene reposed there. Bernard,[2] the Frankish pilgrim monk who was at Ephesus about A.D. 870, repeats the tradition, and in A.D. 899, by order of the Emperor Leo VI., these remains were solemnly translated from Ephesus to Constantinople.[3]

Of Lazarus the story is not quite so clear. He is said to have been buried at Citium (Larnaca) in Cyprus.[4] He is also said to have been buried at Ephesus, and the pilgrim Bernard records that he saw his tomb there. The continuator of Theophanes[5] says, further, that the remains were translated to Constantinople, and that a church was built there over his remains, and dedicated to him. The unnamed pilgrim from Bordeaux, who about the year A.D. 333[6] journeyed from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, and has left us a narrative of his pilgrimage, says that there was a house at Bethany called Lazarium, and a crypt below which was regarded as the place where Lazarus was buried. A few years afterwards we have the record of Etheria, or Silvia, whose Peregrinatio belongs to the years A.D. 385-388.

[1] Tobler's *Hodoeporicon sive Itinerarium in descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, 1874, p. 288.

[2] Bernard only reveals himself as "monachus Francus." He made a pilgrimage to the East in 870 with a Spanish monk "ex monasterio beati Innocentii Beneventani." Cf. Tobler, as above, p. 307.

[3] Zonaras, iii. 143, says that the body of the Magdalene was buried by Leo the Wise at Constantinople. Cedrenus, p. 599, says it was brought from Ephesus.

[4] Cf. Greek Menaea, Oct. 17. Zonaras says, as above, that the body of Lazarus was translated from Cyprus. Cf. Leo Gram. (Migne's) cviii. 1108.

[5] Anon. Cont. of Theophanes in the time of Constantine, the son of Leo, says: "imperatorem . . . ecclesiam condidisse quae Lazaro dedicata est . . . et translatum ipsius beati Lazari et sororis ejus Mariae Magdalenae corpus ibidem repositum." Migne's *Pat. G.* cix. p. 381.

[6] "Itinerarium Burdigala Hierusalem usque" in *Palestinae descriptiones*, Tobler, S. Gall, 1869, ix. "inde ad orientem passus mille quingentos est villa quae appellatur Bethania. Ibi est crypta ubi Lazarus positus fuit quem suscitavit Dominus."

She tells[1] us that there were two churches at Bethany, one at the place where Martha met our Lord as He came to them after Lazarus was dead, and which was about five hundred paces from the village, and the other at the house known as Mariae et Marthae Hospitium, which Jerome regarded as Sepulchrum Lazari.

The evidence of Church Calendars.

In the early Church Calendars of the East there is no trace of the story of the family of Bethany having been driven to Gaul, and in later times the memorial of St. Mary Magdalene was observed on July 22, and from the East was adopted by the West. It is not earlier than the eighth century. Gregory of Tours in his *Liber in gloria martyrum* (i. 29) said that Mary Magdalene slept at Ephesus. The ancient Western Martyrologies are, however, more condemnatory of this South Gallican legend than the Calendars of the East.

In the earliest, that which is ascribed to St. Jerome, and which is certainly not later than the end of the sixth century, we have the entry for January 19:[2] "Hierosolumae, Marthae et Mariae sororum Lazari." In the Martyrology of Beda,[3] A.D. 740, there is no mention of St. Mary Magdalene in January, though Florus of Lyons, A.D. 850, his continuator, records her death at Jerusalem on January 19. On July 22, for the first time in the West, we find in Florus the Magdalene's name recorded. In the Martyrology of Ado,[4] bishop

[1] Cf. *Sylviae Aquitanae Peregrinatio*, A.D. 385, Gamurrini's ed., 1887, and in Köhler's in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xlv., 1884 "Lazarium autem id est Bethania est forsitan secundo miliario a civitate. Euntibus autem de Hierosoluma in Lazarium forsitan ad quingentos passus de eodem loco ecclesia est in strata in eo loco in quo occurrit Domino Maria soror Lazari." Gamurrini found the *Peregrinatio* in the Arezzo MS., which contained Hilary's treatise *de Mysteriis*, and assigned the name Silvia on the authority of Palladius' Lausiac History (*Text and Studies*, vol. vi. pt. 2, p. 148). Pomialowsky, in his ed. of the *Peregrinatio*, 1889, deliberately omits the title *Silviae*, and Dom Butler, in his ed. of Palladius (cited above), says in note 99, "St. Silvia is a purely mythical person." The sister-in-law of the praetor Rufinus has nothing to do with this lady. Abbot Férotin of Farnborough in *Revue des questions historiques*, 1903, on the authority of the Spanish monastic writer Valerius, claims the *Peregrinatio* for the Spanish lady pilgrim Etheria; but see Meister's tractate *de Itinerario Aetheriae* (Bonn, 1909), who considers that. from the Latin style of the writer, she must have come from the neighbourhood of the Rhone and perhaps Aquitaine.

[2] Migne, *P.* xxx. p. 440.

[3] Cf. Giles' *Beda*, 1843, vol. iv. p. 25.

[4] Cf. Launoy in Faillon, i., 1361, cap. ii.

of Vienne, A.D. 875, on October 17 we have the entry "Marthae sororis Lazari," and in the small Roman Martyrology which Ado found in Italy, and therefore entitled Roman, we have for December 17, with the rubric, "In Bethania—eodem die beati Lazari quem dominus Jesus in Evangelio legitur resuscitasse a mortuis: item beatae Marthae sororis ejus. Quorum venerabilem memoriam extructa ecclesia non longe a Bethania ubi e vicino domus eorum fuit, conservat." In his account of the Holy Places, Beda[1] states that the monument of Lazarus was indicated by a church built on the spot, and by a large monastery at Bethany. Usuard[2] in A.D. 875 has no mention of St. Mary in January, but gives her mere name on July 22, and mentions December 17 as the fête day of Lazarus. Flodoard in the next century, A.D. 920, seems to suggest not only that Lazarus was buried at Bethany, but that the body of St. Mary Magdalene also lay in Palestine.

These entries, however, must not be regarded as evidence that there were fête days with special services, or that as yet any cult of the members of the family of Bethany had arisen in the West. There is no mention of them either in the Gelasian or Gregorian Sacramentaria,[3] and we must wait to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries before we find this legend and its cult enshrined in the offices of the Western Church.

Conclusion

It seems possible now to come to some conclusion concerning the historicity of this important group of legends. That the Western Church, the Church of Gaul, could be connected with a family on terms of such intimacy with our Lord Himself as were Lazarus, Martha, and Mary, was a most important fact, if fact it could be proved. The devotion of the faithful for the

[1] Cf. Giles' *Beda*, iv. 419.

[2] Molanus' ed. of Usuard's *Martyrologium*, 1573, pp. 121 and 211; cf. also Dom Quentin's *Les Martyrologes historiques du moyen âge*, Paris, 1908.

[3] Cf. Wilson's *Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. 321. The entry "Mariae et Marthae" on Jan. 19, refers to the Persian Marius and Martha his wife, who were martyred with their two sons in the Via Cornelia in the time of the Emperor Claudius; cf. also Gregory of Tours, bk. iv. p. 295, in Migne, *P.L.* lxxviii.

relics of martyrs would have assigned inestimable value to such treasures as these, and if there had been any, the slightest tradition that the resting-places of Lazarus, St. Mary Magdalene, or St. Martha were in Gaul, not a century would have passed away without many a reference to that fact from Christian writers in the West. When the legend began to gain ground its influence was most powerful, and as the churchmen of each diocese realised what such seemed to connote, that there was a Christian Church in Gaul in the first century of the Christian era, they were not slow to perceive that the list they had of the bishops of the diocese in which they lived was far too short to allow of the Church thus reaching back to that early period. There must be many lacunae they had not been aware of, and so additional names were inserted, and those lists have come down to our times no longer of any great historical value.

What then is known definitely as to the introduction of Christianity into Gaul? The historic evidence is quite plain and conclusive. Christianity was not permanently introduced into Gaul until a somewhat late period. The missionary work at Lyons and Vienne, with which we will deal in our next chapter, gives us a brilliant picture of Christian zeal and constancy in the third quarter of the second century, and it may have left traces which were never wiped out, either in those or in other neighbouring cities. Yet the story of the martyrdom of St. Saturninus[1] of Toulouse and the story of the martyrdom of St. Symphorian[2] of Autun, as we will soon perceive, show us that paganism largely prevailed in Gaul in the middle of the third century, and that the name of a Christian was rarely heard, and indeed hardly known. Sulpicius Severus[3] at the end of the fourth century says definitely

[1] Gregory refers to this life of St. Saturninus, *Hist. Franc.* i. 30; cf. also Ruinart, p. 177 "postquam sensim et gradatim in omnem terram Evangeliorum sonus exivit tardoque progressu in regionibus nostris apostolorum praedicatio coruscavit."

[2] Ruinart's *Acta sincera martyrum*, ed. 1859, Ratisbon, p. 125.

[3] Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* ii. 22 "serius trans Alpes Dei religione suscepta."

that the Gospel was late in crossing the Alps, and in being proclaimed in Gaul. The labours of St. Martin, a contemporary and a teacher of Sulpicius, show that[1] in his lifetime heathenism was everywhere met with in the districts of the upper waters of the Loire, Saone, and Seine. A hundred and fifty years afterwards Gregory of Tours is equally plain in reasserting this.[2] The bishops who met and welcomed St. Rhadegund to the monastery which she had founded at Poitiers in the second half of the sixth century refer to Aquitaine[3] as even then only lately converted to Christianity. These are distinctly historical statements. They tell us of what existed at the time when these men wrote. They agree with one another. When we turn away from them we enter into an area of speculation. Freculphus[4] in the ninth century introduced a new element. It was St. Philip who came to Gaul as the apostle of Christianity. To give further instances would be only further proof that men were writing without authority and in entire ignorance of the history of Gaul. The Faith of the Gospel was a light which could not be hidden under a bushel. The early Christians waxed valiant in their antagonism to idolatry. Records of the conflict between the old religion and the new would have survived. The cautious historians of the fifth and seventh centuries could not have failed to have heard of them. The Church of Southern Gaul would have been enriched with the blood of a noble army of martyrs, and those who laboured to build and organise in the fifth century would have referred to the example of the past to

[1] Cf. Chapter vii.

[2] Greg. T. *Hist. Franc.* i. 29; Gregory has no missionary work in Gaul to record before the Lyons martyrdom, A.D. 177.

[3] Greg. T. *Hist. Franc.* ix. 39 "itaque cum ipso catholicae religionis exortu coepissent Gallicanis in finibus venerandae fidei primordia respirare et adhuc ad paucorum notitiam tunc ineffabilia Trinitatis Dominicae sacramenta . . . beatus Martinus, etc." *i.e.* A.D. 372.

[4] Freculphi *Chronicon* in Migne, *P.L.* cvi. p. 1149, tom. ii. lib. ii. cap. iv. "singuli tamen certis locis in mundo ad praedicandum partes proprias acceperunt. Quod ut breviter repetam—Philippus Gallias."

encourage their hearers to persevere. But it was not so. Silence prevails, and a silence we cannot ignore. It is impossible, therefore, to accept these legends of the early introduction of the Gospel into Gaul. We must fall back upon a narrative which is strictly historical. The incidents it records are certainly few and isolated, and yet perhaps we will find that they reveal to us more than was at first perceived.

CHAPTER II

THE PERSECUTION AT LYONS

THE first historical event connected with the Church in Gaul of which we have any reliable evidence is that of the martyrdom of St. Pothinus and many of his flock at Lyons.[1] This occurred in the summer of A.D. 177 during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180). In a province of the Roman Empire so well organised, so remarkable for the intelligence of the native population, and where schools for law and rhetoric had already in several cities been established, and had threatened to rival the fame of those in Rome; in a province which was itself the high road to Spain, to the Britains, and to Germany, it is certainly a matter of surprise that we have no reliable[2] information which even hints to us of the introduction of a Christian Church here at an earlier date than the last quarter of the second century. Certainly the events of the year 177 were not evidence

[1] The letter "from the servants of Christ dwelling at Lyons and Vienne in Gaul to those brethren in Asia and Phrygia having the same faith, etc." is given by Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* v. i. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* i. 29, gives us some useful details concerning the persecution which seem quite independent of Eusebius, and it is clear that he must have seen some documents preserved at Lyons and which are now lost. He tells us in language of pious exaggeration that in the persecutions "ut per plateas flumina currerent de sanguine christiano." In the *Liber de glor. martyrum* he gives us a list of the names of the forty-eight martyrs which was probably derived from local information. Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, A.D. 434–449, wrote a homily on Blandina (Migne, *P.L.* 50) which, though very rhetorical, shows how greatly she was revered at Lyons in the fifth century. M. Paul Allard gives us a very able and lucid study of the scene at Lyons in vol. i. *Hist. des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles*, 1903.

[2] This may also be said of the Church in Roman Africa, but Africa never recovered from the Vandal invasion. The Saracen completed what the Vandal had begun, and we know not what records perished.

of the beginning of a movement. They formed a crisis in that movement, a crisis which had been brought about by years of patient labour, and a crisis which would not have occurred had not that work been conspicuously successful. Pothinus, the bishop of Lyons (and our historian, Gregory of Tours,[1] says definitely that he was the first bishop there), was ninety years of age when he suffered, and we cannot imagine that he was sent there except as a man in full possession of his physical powers. If we reject the idea of his going there as a young man, though there is no reason why we should, at any rate we cannot be very wrong in allowing him a ministry there of at least thirty years. Time was certainly necessary for the work which he had accomplished. There is evidence of organisation. The missionary work was not confined to Lyons, Lyons was only the centre. Vienne[2] is expressly mentioned as one of the cities of the newly organised Church, in subordination to Lyons, and apparently the first-fruits of the mission work from Lyons. As we proceed in our narrative of these events we shall discover evidence, not indeed as definite as we could wish, but yet very suggestive, that there were other towns in addition to Vienne that were linked with Lyons in the ministry of the Gospel, where missionaries had already sown good seed, and where small, humble, and obscure congregations had been created, and over them all Pothinus as the bishop exercised a faithful and effective spiritual supervision. It is certainly clear in any case that the work of the Church in Gaul must have been going on for some considerable time before the year A.D. 177,[3] and that the outbreak in that year was due to the resentment of

[1] Greg. Tour. *Hist. Franc.* i. 29 "ille primus Lugdunensis ecclesiae Pothinus episcopus fuit."

[2] Euseb. *H.E.* v. i. Sanctus is described as τὸν διάκονον ἀπὸ Βιέννης. Vienne is joined with Lyons in the heading of the letter, and the record tells how the Christians of Vienne and Lyons were collected by the authorities during the persecution.

[3] Pothinus was ninety years of age and the letter refers to his faithful performance of his work. Euseb. *H.E.* v. i.

the pagan Gauls at a religious propaganda which was, as it seemed to them, advancing at an alarming rate.

We have seen in our introductory chapter that Arles was now the port of Lyons.[1] To that prosperous commercial town rather than to Marseilles, whose decadence had begun many years before, ships brought from every city of the Mediterranean the merchandise which was to be displayed and sold in the market of the Gallic capital. With these various wares would come men of every nationality, owners, slaves, clerks, and salesmen, all anxious to make a profit out of the wares they had brought, and men such as these would be found thronging the wharves and narrow streets of Lyons. The narrative of the martyrdom brings this fact most vividly before us. Pothinus, Irenaeus, Attalus, Alexander and many others bore Greek names. The three last were certainly from Asia Minor.[2] Irenaeus had lived in Smyrna, Attalus came from Pergamum, and Alexander from the uplands of Phrygia. Our information concerning this crisis is derived from a letter which, as preserved for us by Eusebius, was written by the surviving Christians at Lyons to their brethren in Asia and Phrygia, to tell them of their sufferings, and of the constancy and courage which the martyrs had displayed. Was then the mission to Lyons a special effort on the part of the Church in Asia Minor? The letter would suggest it, but it does not really say so. It is more of the nature of a circular letter to other Christian churches, though the copy

[1] As early as the time of Julius Caesar, Arles began to be used by the Romans. In his *De bello civili*, i. 36, we read that he fitted out twelve war vessels there, and the vessels captured from the Massilians were brought there also, ii. 5; cf. Ausonius, *Ordo urb. nob.* x. p. 148:

> "pande, duplex Arelate, tuos blanda hospita portus
> Gallula Roma Arelas."

[2] Irenaeus apparently from Smyrna, Attalus of Pergamum, and Alexander from Phrygia. Cf. Le Blant's *Ins. chrét. de la Gaule*, Diss. Nos. 225, 557, and 613. Salvian in 440 remarks on the Syrians that were to be found in Gaul, *De gub. Dei*, iv. 69. At Trier there are four inscriptions in Greek of Christians from Asia Minor. Cf. Dr. Klinkenberg, *Die römisch-christlichen Grabschriften*, Köln, 1890.

which Eusebius saw was definitely addressed to religious communities in Asia Minor.[1] Twenty years before (A.D. 156) the Church of Smyrna had written a circular letter of this kind nominally addressed to the Church of Philomelium,[2] recording the martyrdom of St. Polycarp. The devotion of Irenaeus, one of the survivors of Lyons, for St. Polycarp offers us an ample reason for the letter without the assumption of a mission from Asia Minor. Both letters suggest that such mutual intercourse in trouble was not rare, and the little we know of this intercourse does not allow us to deny such a custom. We must refrain, however, from all inferences until all the information has been placed before us. Nor does the letter record in strict historical sequence the details of this cruel and bitter visitation. In every line it indicates the intense grief of the writers. As each incident occurs to their mind they note it down in their letter. They were more anxious to tell of the bitterness of the suffering, and of the calm courage of the martyrs, than of the exact sequence of the details of this popular outbreak.

The story of the outbreak.

We must endeavour then to recall these events as in all probability they followed one another in that memorable summer of A.D. 177. The Gallic Diet,[3] which Augustus had created, and which met yearly at Lyons on the first day of August to engage in solemn religious rites performed by their specially chosen priest before the altar of the genius of Rome and of Augustus, and to discuss with the imperial legate matters that concerned the welfare of the province, had grown into a power in Gaul, a power which made for loyalty to the

[1] Euseb. *H.E.* v. i.

[2] Cf. Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, vol. iii. p. 353.

[3] Suetonius, *Claudius* ii. 1; cf. Marquardt, *Römische Stadtsverwaltung*, i. 270; A. Bernard, *Le Temple d'Auguste et la nationalité gauloise*, p. 30; cf. also A. de Barthélemy, "Les Assemblées nationales dans les Gaules" in *R. des Q.H.*, July 1868. Guiraud, *Les Assemblées provinciales dans l'Empire romaine*, 1887, and Carette's *Les Assemblées provinciales de la Gaule romaine*, 1895. Cf. the references to Jews and Syrians in Gregory of Tours and the story of the Syrian woman at Orleans who was so kind to S. Columbanus. Jonas, *Vit. Columb.* 1. 21. M.G.H. *Vitae SS. aevi Merov.* vol. i.

Empire and for the peace of the country. In Lyons it was an occasion for social gatherings where national aspirations, revived by the meeting of friends from distant Gallic towns, were wisely allowed under the restraint of the Roman garrison. Men from far distant cities came not merely as the representatives of their locality to attend the Diet,[1] but also to transact business for themselves. Merchants prepared for this gathering by a renewal and an increase of the wares they kept for sale. The sailors that plied their vessels down the Rhone and the slaves that carried the merchandise to the market would catch the spirit of the delegates in their desire for employment and for gain. As we read the story it seems to suggest that the persecutions had lasted over some time, and this seems to be corroborated by other evidence to hand. The great and solemn Diet was undoubtedly on August 1, but the martyrologists[2] mention June 2 as the day of martyrdom. Later generations of Christians at Lyons thought nothing of the Diet as compared to the outbreak of the persecutions, and the commencement of the fiery trial was remembered regardless of the time during which it lasted. The minds of the citizens were filled with the thought of the Fair and of all that it was to them. But what of these devotees of the new religion, who had doubtless denounced the coming solemnities, and were therefore regarded with anxiety by the tradesmen as well as by the authorities of the city? They were to be met with in every street in the city, and the success of their creed meant the downfall of the Roman official religion. Surely men like these could not be loyal citizens of the Empire! Surely they should be opposed and, if possible, swept away! They were winning converts on all sides. The city had been disturbed but

[1] Eusebius calls it *πανήγυρις*, but Ruinart follows Valesius, and describes it as "solemnis mercatus."

[2] Cf. Migne's *P.L.* No. xxx.; Jerome vol. xi. p. 462 "Lugduno Galliae quadraginta et sex martyrum"; cf. also Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* ii. 32.

a short time previously by the conversion of Maturus, a man of rank and local influence, to the new religion.[1] So, as the narrative relates, the persecution began with various acts of unfriendliness shown by the people in Lyons to those who were suspected to be Christians. They refused them admission to their houses. They drove them from the public baths. They shouted at them in the streets. As opportunities occurred they inflicted blows upon them. They insulted them publicly. They would not traffic with them. Stones were thrown at them, and their goods were stolen from them.[2] Then the pagan fury waxed stronger. A group of these Christians was seized and led by the soldiers and some of the officers of the garrison to the Forum, and afterwards before the duumvirs of the city, and there in the presence of the multitude they were publicly questioned.

The legate was absent from the city,[3] a proof that the first outbreak must have occurred some time before the session of the Diet was to begin. The tribunes of the XIIIth Cohors Urbana[4] and the duumvirs of the city were in charge of public order. Those who confessed that they were Christians were imprisoned to await the arrival of the governor, and daily during the interval others were seized and committed to the gaol. So the persecution went on until the legate arrived. Forms of justice were ignored. Slaves were captured and tortured to obtain evidence against the accused. Nor did the legate, after he had arrived in the city,

[1] Euseb. *H.E.* v. 1 *ὑπερβεβλημένως δὲ ἐνέσκηψεν ἡ ὀργὴ πᾶσα καὶ ὄχλον . . . εἰς Μάτουρον νεοφώτιστον μέν, ἀλλὰ γενναῖον ἀγωνιστήν.*

[2] *Ibid.* . . . *ἐπιβοήσεις καὶ πληγὰς καὶ συρμοὺς καὶ διαρπαγὰς καὶ λίθων βολάς.*

[3] *Ibid.* . . . *ἕως τῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παρουσίας.* The governor of Gaul held the title of legate.

[4] The garrison of Lyons consisted of the XIIIth Cohors Urbana, and its commander was a tribune. Neither the tribune nor the duumvirs had power over criminal cases, though probably, as the city was filled with strangers, the usual conditions of jurisdiction were not very carefully observed. The terms used by Eusebius are *ὁ χιλίαρχος* and *ὁ ἡγεμών*, which Valesius translates by "tribunus" and "praeses." This latter he regards as equivalent to Procurator, Procurator Legate; cf. however, Marquardt as above, *R.S.* II, p. 466, and *La Cité antique* by Fustel de Coulanges, 1885.

interfere in this outburst of popular injustice. One whose name suggests missions far off in Aquitaine, and who had great influence among the Celtic population of Lyons, Vettius Epagathus,[1] boldly protested before the governor against this disorderly persecution, and since, at the governor's enquiry,[2] he had confessed himself a Christian, he was himself placed among the accused. The record tells of two distinct spectacles in which the Christians endured the tortures which ended in martyrdom. There were the gladiatorial contests, and afterwards the shows when the wild beasts were introduced on to the arena. But each day the prisoners seem to have been interrogated and tortured to break their constancy. Gregory of Tours tells us of forty-eight martyrs.[3] It is unlikely that these were all arrested at the same time. Search was made at Vienne as well as at Lyons, and all the prominent members of the two churches were collected[4] for examination. As the great Fair drew near fresh arrests were made, and the crowd spread charges of Thyestean banquets and other abominations, and these base stories were accepted as true in spite of the characters and protests of those against whom they were made. The first attack fell heavily on Lyons. Some were ready for the fiery trial and some were not.[5] Ten fell away while in prison, and in fear of torture abjured their faith. They were, however, not released but kept in custody, and since they were able to witness the constancy under torture of those who were true it would seem as if all were kept together in one common prison house. The evidence

The passion of the martyrs.

[1] Vettius Epagathus seems to have come from the country between the Cher and the Loire, in the territory of the Bituriges. A descendant of his, Leucadius, gave his house at Bourges to Bishop Ursinus for the first Christian church there; cf. Greg. Tours, *H.F.* i. 31.

[2] Are we to suppose that the legate had now returned to Lyons, and that an interval of some days had elapsed between the first charge in the Forum and this protest of Vettius?

[3] Gregory T. *Lib. de glor. mart.* cap. 48.

[4] Euseb. *H.E.* v. 1 ὥστε συλλεγῆναι ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐκκλησιῶν πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους.

[5] Eusebius terms them ἀνέτοιμοι καὶ ἀγύμναστοι.

of the slaves also enlarged the scope of the enquiry. They were accused on this evidence as guilty of abominable vices as well as being members of unlicensed religious associations. The four who are first mentioned, and to whom some importance seemed to be attached, were Sanctus of Vienne, the deacon ; Maturus, the recent convert ; Attalus, the influential Roman citizen ; and Blandina, a servant-maid, whose mistress also was among the imprisoned. To obtain evidence of guilt these were tortured by the application of red-hot metal plates, and to appease the people and to produce effect this torture seems to have been inflicted in public. Blandina's constancy was the marvel of her torturers and the consolation of her mistress. As a Roman citizen Attalus was set back, and the legate wrote to the emperor for instructions concerning him. His unauthorised tortures form a later portion of the tragedy. It is interesting to notice also that Sanctus and Attalus are both recorded as speaking in Latin,[1] evidence of the jargon of Latin, Greek, and Celtic, which was spoken at Lyons at the time of the Fair. First, then, Sanctus, the deacon, was tortured, and in answer to every question he continued to give the same answer, that he was a Christian. After the ordeal of the hot plates, which had scarred all the tenderest parts of his body, they produced one Biblias, who had denied her Christianity, and who they hoped would openly accuse him of some forbidden vice. The sight, however, of his fortitude under suffering brought repentance to her, and she vehemently denied the charge of eating children which had been brought against him. So further torture was administered to Sanctus, and then he was taken back into his prison house. The next to be brought forward was the venerable bishop, Pothinus. He was ninety years of age, feeble and infirm. He was partly dragged and partly carried by the soldiers to the tribunal, and the city magistrates, as his

[1] ἀπεκρίνατο τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ.

accusers,[1] accompanied him. He does not seem to have been brought into the amphitheatre, but from his prison to the tribunal he was the mark and the victim of the spite and cruelty of the citizens. As he stood before the tribunal the legate asked him who the God of the Christians might be, and in reply he boldly answered,[2] "If thou art worthy thou shalt know." What happened afterwards we are not told, but he was taken back to his prison and was again the victim of the people's fury. Some lashed at him with scourges, some kicked him, and others struck him with their hands. The treatment was too severe. Two days afterwards he sank away to his rest. Then came the great days of the Fair,[3] and it was announced that the Christians would fill the place of the gladiators. Maturus, Sanctus, Blandina, and Attalus were brought out, still wounded and suffering from their former tortures. As they passed to the centre of the arena they had to run the gauntlet of the executioner's lash. Maturus and Sanctus were, however, too weak for further tortures and were forthwith beheaded. Blandina[4] was tied to a stake for the wild bulls[5] to gore, but they would not touch her. Concerning Attalus the emperor's wishes had now been received, and with a label, "This is Attalus the Christian," attached to him, he was led before the concourse of people who were calling out for

[1] Euseb. . . . παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξουσιῶν.

[2] . . . τίς εἴη Χριστιανῶν ὁ Θεός; ἔφη, Ἐὰν ᾖς ἄξιος, γνώσῃ.

[3] They seem to have suffered on the island between the Saône and the Rhone, now forming part of the narrow strip of the city between the two rivers; cf. Vachez, *L'Amphithéâtre de Lugdunum et les martyrs d'Ainay*, pp. 24-30.

[4] On Blandina cf. Eucherius' homily, Migne, *P.L.* 50, p. 859 "digne inquam tecum, O Bethleem, Lugdunus noster certaret—chorus meus in pueris innocentes tuos habere potuit, chorus tuus Blandinam meam habere non potuit." The homily is short and very fervid, but dwells rather on the richness of Lyons in the blood of its martyrs than in any important details of Blandina's life. I cannot help adding to this note the eloquent words of Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 312: "Je suis chrétienne, il ne se fait rien de mal parmi nous. La servante Blandine, dont j'aime à citer ici les paroles, montra qu'une révolution était accomplie. La vraie émancipation de l'esclavage, l'émancipation par l'héroïsme fut en grande partie son ouvrage."

[5] Allard (*op. cit.* i. 427) suggests with great probability that the wild beasts must have been bulls. They would gore and trample on their victims, but would not eat them.

him. There were others with him whose names are not mentioned. When the legate had questioned them, he ordered those who were citizens to be beheaded. But Blandina was sent back to prison and Attalus was ordered to be exposed to the bulls, and with him were other members of the Church at Lyons. Then it was noticed that Alexander, a Phrygian who had long practised in Lyons as a physician, was encouraging the sufferers, and especially those who had at first apostasised and were again confessing their faith in Christ. So the mob denounced him to the legate, and since he confessed he was a Christian, he was made to take his stand by Attalus. His torture seems to have been brief, and soon after he was despatched with others whom he had urged to endure. The heated iron chair was then brought out and Attalus was placed in it, and as the fumes of his burning flesh spread around he exclaimed :[1] "Lo, this is to devour men—that which you are now doing to me. But as to us we neither devour men nor commit any such evil." The silence of the narrative allows us to believe that he died soon after.

But Blandina was still in prison, and with her was a boy of fifteen, Ponticus by name. It was the last day of the shows and now once more her constancy was to be tested. They brought her out again, and with her this boy Ponticus, endeavouring, by a renewal of the tortures now on her and now on the boy, to break down her constancy. Before her eyes, and while she encouraged him to endure, they tortured Ponticus to death, and yet she continued true to her faith. Then in their fury they turned the wild bulls upon her, and on this occasion these tossed her livid and half-conscious frame. But all feeling was departing and "in hope and in communion with Christ" she yielded up her soul under the blow of the executioner.[2] The cruel

[1] Euseb. . . . ἔφη πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ, Ἰδοὺ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν ὃ ποιεῖτε ὑμεῖς.

[2] In Beda's *Martyrology* Blandina's day is June 4. Usuard gives it as June 2. "Passa est quoque sancta Blandina ex eorum collegis quae primo secundo et tertio die

audience had seen enough, and the down-turned thumb showed that Christ had conquered.

The text of this letter only mentions the names of seven of the martyrs. Eusebius tells us that attached to the letter was a full list of those who had suffered, arranged under the heads of those who were beheaded, those who were exposed to the wild beasts, those who died in prison, and those who survived up to the date of the writing of the letter. Gregory of Tours, in his book, *De gloria martyrum*, gives us a list which seems to be derived from some genuine record then preserved at Lyons. Eusebius gave in his Συναγωγὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτυριῶν the original list appended to the letter. This work has now disappeared, but the martyrologists have preserved most of the names. The date of the martyrdom in the *Martyrology* known as that of Jerome, and in those of Ado and Usuard, is June 2—a date, as we have already stated, which seems to suggest the beginning of the outbreak. As it is certain that the leaders of the Church at Lyons must have died early in August, it can be regarded as more than probable that others fell as victims of the popular fury many weeks before.

The resentment of the people of Lyons did not, however, end with the death of their victims; their bodies were cast to the dogs, and the citizens watched carefully lest any portion might be seized by secret friends and given a decent burial. Then the bones were burnt and the ashes were thrown into the Rhone, in order that the Christians might not preserve any as objects of veneration.

The subsequent story is not very easy to make out. Confessors seem mingled with martyrs, and certainly some of those who had faced this fiery persecution survived to dictate or to commend this letter, which was written to describe all that they had endured, and which

pulsata cruciatibus, cum non superaretur quarto verberibus acta, cratulis exusta et multa alia perpessa ad ultimum gladio jugulatur"; cf. Molanus' edition, Usuard, 1573, p. 93.

was sent as a message of encouragement to other churches. Irenaeus is supposed to have been the writer of this letter, and was certainly the bearer of one copy sent to Eleutherus bishop of Rome.[1] Among the survivors was Irenaeus also among those who were styled the confessors? Not a word is said as to any harm coming to him and yet he must have been well known. Though Sanctus was only a deacon Irenaeus had been ordained priest by Pothinus. Perhaps the fury died down quickly after the days of the Diet, and when the delegates had gone off to their distant homes. Perhaps the legate feared the wrath of the emperor should he continue to allow executions and cruelties, which savoured of proscription. The martyrs themselves ere they died had urged that kindness should be shown towards[2] those who had displayed any weakness, and this wise treatment of the weak by the strong, which seems to have been carried out, may have resulted in their quick recovery. The survivors also commended Irenaeus the priest of Lyons to Bishop Eleutherus,[3] which act in itself seems as if Irenaeus had been purposely sent by the surviving Christians at Lyons, that at the hands of the bishop of Rome he might receive consecration as the successor of Pothinus.

Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons.

In going to Rome Irenaeus did not go to a city which to him was before unknown. His knowledge of it seems intimate and his influence not small. He intercedes with Eleutherus for the Montanists, and his later writings[4] "on Schism" addressed to Blastus, and "on Sovereignty" addressed to Rufinus, if for the general welfare of the Church were certainly also intended for the special welfare of the Church in Rome.

In later years, when he was bishop of Lyons, Irenaeus wrote to Victor, bishop of Rome 192-202, the successor

[1] Eusebius, *H.E.* v. 4.
[2] *Ibid.* v. 2.
[3] *Ibid.* v. 4 καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἔχειν σε αὐτὸν ἐν παραθέσει.
[4] *Ibid.* v. 20. Blastus was of the party of Florinus which had adopted Valentinian views.

of Eleutherus, not only giving him his advice concerning the Easter Question and the Quartodeciman controversy,[1] but also condemning very plainly Bishop Victor's high-handed and uncharitable conduct towards those who still clung to the Quartodeciman computation.

What then is the history of Irenaeus? Gregory of Tours writes of him as "a beato Policarpo ad hanc urbem directus."[2] Now Irenaeus as a boy—*παῖς ἔτι ὤν*[3]—was at Smyrna, and had already formed a great admiration for St. Polycarp. He was wont then to listen to his conversation, and could record thirty years afterwards how St. Polycarp would sit and discourse, and describe to the Christians at Smyrna, his intercourse with St. John and the others who had seen the Lord. When in A.D. 154 St. Polycarp came to Rome to discuss with Anicetus the Easter controversy Irenaeus was certainly at Rome, and Eusebius has related to us[4] the friendly terms that existed between the two bishops. Moreover, in the following year, the year of Polycarp's martyrdom, Irenaeus was established at Rome as a recognised teacher,[5] and may have had the famous Hippolytus as his pupil. He is said to have heard a voice as of a trumpet telling him in Rome that Polycarp had been martyred. Our next notice of him comes to us from Lyons. He was there at the time of the persecution and had been ordained priest by Pothinus,[6] and he is commended by the martyrs to the notice of Eleutherus. Was he then "directus" to the city of Lyons by St. Polycarp? Gregory of Tours knew little of him, though he had some documents which were of the highest value. He regards, however, Irenaeus as having

[1] Eusebius, v. 24 *τῷ γε μὴν Βίκτορι προσηκόντως ὡς μὴ ἀποκόπτοι ὅλας ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ, ἀρχαίου ἔθους παράδοσιν ἐπιτηρούσας πλεῖστα ἕτερα παραινεῖ.*

[2] Greg. Tour. *H.F.* i. 29.

[3] Eusebius, *H.E.* v. 20; Iren. *contra Haeres.* iii. 3. 4.

[4] Eusebius, *H.E.* v. 24.

[5] Letter of the Smyrnaeans, § 20. 2, as read in the Moscow MSS.; cf. Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, iii. 402.

[6] Euseb. *H.E.* v. 4. Photius' *Syntagma*, Bibl. cod. 121.

fallen in the persecution of A.D. 177,[1] a mistake which proves that he cannot be implicitly followed. Irenaeus was at Rome and not at Smyrna or Lyons when Polycarp suffered. Moreover, Irenaeus was not a follower of Polycarp[2] in the Paschal Question, but observed the rule which Anicetus and others had adopted. Not a word is said by Irenaeus as to the mission at Lyons being due to the initiation of Polycarp, nor is there any reliable evidence that the Churches of Asia Minor ever attempted missions to Gaul. That Attalus and Alexander, Christians from Asia Minor, were found in Lyons only proves the prosperity of the capital of Gaul which had attracted to it men from every part of the empire. We know nothing of the origin of Pothinus. He probably, as Irenaeus certainly, came from Rome. That he bore a Greek name does not prove that he came from Asia Minor. Of the names of the forty-eight[3] martyrs and confessors which Gregory preserves for us, almost one-third of them bore Greek names. The Gaulish converts, except those of noble birth like Vettius Epagathus, would probably have Latin names.

Like Rome itself Lyons was full of foreigners, and the appeal of the Christians in Lyons to Eleutherus, and the fact that Irenaeus, when bishop of Lyons, regarded the permanence of orthodox tradition in the Church as depending[4] on the continuity of the Roman episcopate, seem to prove that the mission to Lyons came at least through Rome, if indeed it did not emanate from Rome.

The persecution at Lyons ended with this holocaust of Christian martyrs in August A.D. 177. Then followed the mission to Rome of Irenaeus, sent by the surviving members of the Church there, and his return, consecrated by Eleutherus, as the successor of Pothinus.

[1] Greg. Tour. *H.F.* i. 29. Gregory had clearly certain traditional stories concerning the persecution, and these he has incorporated in his text. He does not seem, however, to have had very definite information.

[2] Euseb. *H.E.* v. 24.

[3] Greg. Tour. *Lib. de glor. mart.* cap. 48.

[4] Euseb. *H.E.* v. 24.

His subsequent work belongs in part to the Church in Gaul, and in part to the whole of the Catholic Church. His great treatise on the Heresies probably embodied the subject-matter of his lectures delivered in Rome before he started to join Pothinus at Lyons. Gnosticism in its various forms and also Montanism were troubling the Church; and the great work on the *Refutation of Gnosticism* by Irenaeus soon became a text-book for all Christendom. Everybody read it. It is constantly and almost from the very first quoted as the great authority by which error could be discovered, and the true faith recognised. It was written[1] in Lyons in Greek and was translated into Latin by a Gaulish priest. It is this Latin version which has come down to us. Of the original Greek, only fragments have survived. To the language spoken in Lyons we have already referred. Irenaeus suggests that it was trilingual. Greek and Latin were certainly used, and Irenaeus apologises for the decadence of his Greek style, by the fact that he had so constantly to converse in a barbarous tongue.[2] Certainly the Gauls who lived at Lyons and the Gauls who, as we believe, came from other parts of the provinces to consult him would desire to speak to him in some Celtic dialect.

About ten years after Irenaeus had been bishop of Lyons, Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, made a last attempt to uphold the Quartodeciman method of reckoning the Easter festival. He wrote to Victor of Rome in defence of his custom, and the violence of Victor's opposition threatened a serious breach of Christian communion. In the year A.D. 189,[3] or perhaps a few years earlier, Irenaeus, on behalf of the Church in general as well as of the Church at Lyons, wrote

[1] A fragment of Book iii. was discovered at Oxyrhynchus by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt which on paleographical grounds is actually assigned to the middle of the third century.

[2] Iren. *contra Haeres.* I. Preface παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν Κελτοῖς διατριβόντων.

[3] Cf. above; Euseb. *H.E.* v. 24. Irenaeus calls Eleutherus the XIIth bishop of Rome and his episcopate lasted 174–189. Irenaeus quoted the Version of Theodotion and so must have written after A.D. 181.

strongly to Victor condemning his severity and urging him not to cut off whole churches of God, who observed the tradition of an ancient custom. This letter, though especially addressed to the bishop of Rome, was also sent as a circular letter to other churches. Irenaeus, in the last decade of the second century, was the one important link with that band of bishops who had been disciples of St. John. He could speak, indeed, with authority, and he did not hesitate to write in all plainness to Victor. His subsequent history and his end are both obscure.

As we look over our evidence of this time we discover traces of missionary organisation which, reaching out from Lyons, extended to Germania,[1] Aquitania, and the Celtic lands beyond the Loire, and these traces we shall have to follow up as far as they seem to offer us any historic evidence in their support. They probably tell us of the organising efforts of the great bishop of Lyons, and perhaps also of the dispersive influences of a prolonged persecution. But was Irenaeus himself a martyr? Septimius Severus spent some time in Lyons and in Gaul during the years A.D. 202 and 203.[2] He passed through Lyons on his way to Britain in A.D. 208. He had persecuted the Church in Egypt, and his presence in Gaul may have been the occasion of attacks on the Christian Church there. We do not, however, know definitely of any. Eusebius does not refer to Irenaeus as a martyr. Jerome, in his *De viris illustribus*, written in A.D. 392,[3] does not call him a martyr, but in his *Commentary on Isaiah*,[4] written in A.D. 410, he describes him as "vir apostolicus, episcopus et martyr." Gregory of Tours[5] states the fact of his martyrdom, but evidently thought that it occurred

[1] *Contra haer.* i. 10. 2.
[2] Dion Cass. *Severus*, lib. lxxvi. cap. 11. 12; Aelius Spartianus, x. 3. 8.
[3] Cf. Richardson's edition, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xiv. 1. p. 25.
[4] Cf. Jerome, *Comment.*; Migne, *P.L.* xxiv.; Isaiah cap. lxiv.
[5] G. T. *Lib. de glor. mart.* § 49 "Hereneus successit episcopus per martyrium et ipse finitus."

A.D. 177. The *Martyrologies* of Ado and Usuard repeat the statement and give us June 28 as the day when his martyrdom occurred.[1]

The fugitives from Lyons.

In the letter which the Church of Lyons sent to the Churches of Asia Minor mention is only made of the Christians in Lyons and in Vienne. This statement suggests an organisation, and though it mentions only these two towns, it does not profess to limit the organisation. The words of Irenaeus in his book on Heresies suggest that there were churches or small communities of Christians in the other three divisions of Gaul as well as in Narbonensis.[2] On the supposition that such existed, it is natural to imagine that the survivors, or at least some of them, would, after the terrors they had experienced, try to leave the city for districts and religious communities less prominent than that of Lyons, and therefore safer. Now, we do not know of these communities, but we do know of martyrdoms which occurred at a very early date, and which seem probably to have been due to isolated attacks on Christians within the organisation which Pothinus had created and which Irenaeus had fostered.

The martyrdom of St. Epipodius and St. Alexander[3] is certainly one of those instances, and the authority for it is too early and too definite to be ignored. Epipodius was a citizen of Lyons, and Alexander, a Greek, was his

[1] Cf. Usuard, June 28, "apud Lugdunum Galliae, sancti Irenaei episcopi et martyris."

[2] Cf. above; Iren. *Contra haer.* i. 10. 2.

[3] Ruinart, *Acta martyrum*, ed. 1859, p. 119. The earliest mention of these saints is in a homily of Eucherius of Lyons, *circa* 440. Cf. Migne, *P.L.* vol. i. p. 861 "indigenarum martyrum cultus et honor specialium patronorum sicut peculiare dat gaudium, ita proprium requirit affectum." He does not give us any historic facts except that in the fifth century these two were regarded as martyrs at Lyons. Their days are for Epipodius April 22 and for Alexander April 24. Greg. of Tours, *Lib. de glor. mart.* § 49, says that they were buried on either side of Irenaeus in the crypt of the Basilica of St. John. In this book he also refers to the widow who preserved as a relic the sandal that Epipodius in his flight lost. The *Passio* printed by Ruinart is not earlier than the fifth century. The reference to the Catholic faith, "occulte operam dare Catholico fidei cultui," and Epipodius' remark, "non ita me Christi ac fidei Catholicae armavit affectus ut sensum meum tuae misericordiae figmenta promoveant," shows that the narrative was not drawn up until late in the fourth or early in the fifth century.

friend. They are said to have suffered in the year in which Pothinus was martyred. They were young men who had been friends and colleagues from their school-days. A domestic slave betrayed them, and this fact shows that in the autumn of A.D. 177 there were still men who were searching for Christians in the city. Knowing that they were betrayed, they endeavoured to hide themselves until such time as they could escape from Lyons and get away to the mountains of Auvergne. Their hiding-place was the cottage of a widow, in the street now called Pierre Incise, north-west of the hill of Fourvière. A spy had, however, marked them down, and when they tried to escape, endeavoured to seize them. Epipodius in the hurry lost a sandal, and this the widow afterwards kept as a relic. When captured they were brought before the magistrate, the multitude demanding at the same time their death. In answer to his enquiries they told the magistrates that they were Christians. Alexander, the Greek, was then put on one side, and Epipodius was examined. The magistrate expostulated with him, saying that he was young and a citizen, and that it was wrong to die in a bad cause. The heathen revered and worshipped the immortal gods, and why will he not do likewise? But Epipodius remained firm and declared that he was a Christian, and the magistrate ordered him the lash. Meanwhile the people grew clamorous, so he was taken from the tribunal and immediately executed. Two days afterwards Alexander was brought out of prison and in like manner examined. He also remained firm and unmoved by the appeals of the magistrate, and died rather under the ill-treatment and blows of the gaolers than from any deliberate act of judgment. It was the aftermath of the fiery trial of that terrible summer.

St. Symphorian.

Should any fugitive wish to make his way from Lyons along the great north road, he would soon come to Autun, and the historic evidences for the martyrdom of

St. Symphorian [1] under the emperor Marcus Aurelius is so strong that it is probable that in St. Symphorian we see, if not a fugitive from the persecution of Lyons yet one who as a Christian convert formed one of the small Christian community at Autun which Pothinus had organised. The municipal life of the towns of the Roman Empire was saturated with heathen religious ceremonies, and every detail of the narrative of the martyrdom suggests veracity and an early date. Symphorianus was the son of Faustus, a senator of Autun, an Aeduan living in the very centre of the ancient Gallic cult of gods whose names the Romans had changed into Berecynthia, Apollo, and Diana. At the time of his arrest the town was filled with people from the neighbouring hills and valleys, who had come to keep a festival in honour of Berecynthia, the mother of the gods. Heraclius, a man of consular rank, and the magistrate residing in the town, was anxious to obtain some information concerning those Christians, so many of whom had lately been executed at Lyons. So Symphorian went to talk with Heraclius. In the meanwhile the crowds passed along carrying in procession the statue of Berecynthia. All knelt in reverence as the image was borne before them, but Symphorian, who met the procession, was conspicuous by his refusal to show any respect for the image. So the mob in their sudden vexation charged him with being a Christian. His irreverence towards the image of Berecynthia was proof of the charge. Symphorian, therefore, was taken and accused as a Christian before the

[1] The story of St. Symphorian is very early. Greg. Tur. *Lib. de glor. mart.* quotes from it, § 76, and mentions the image of Berecynthia. In his *Liber de virtutibus S. Juliani*, § 30, he calls Symphorian an Aeduan, and in his book on the glory of the martyrs he tells how a certain religious man received the martyr's blood in a vessel and kept it as a relic, and placed it under the altar of the church at Thiers apud Tigernum. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* i. p. 50, says "La passion primitive de S. Symphorian est une pièce du V^e^ siècle notablement antérieure à tout le cycle que nous considérons," *i.e.* the group of legends concerning St. Benignus, Ferreolus, etc., of whom the *Passiones* apart from the fact are of very little historical value. Allard, i. p. 436, considers the incident concerning the processions and cult of Berecynthia distinctly historical. In the *Martyrology* of Beda, St. Symphorian's day is August 22.

magistrate Heraclius. Then we are told of the interrogation. What was his name? He must declare it in open court. He replied, "I am a Christian, and I am called Symphorian." Then Heraclius said, "Art thou a Christian? It is clear that for some time you have escaped our notice. With us there is not a great profession of this name. Why wilt thou not adore the image of the goddess?" "I have already told you," Symphorian answered, "I am a Christian." The judge then told him that he was not only sacrilegious but also disobedient to the laws, and in the *Passio* which Ruinart gives us it is recorded that the magistrate ordered the clerk of the court to read the rescript of the emperor.[1] It ran as follows: Aurelius imperator, to all administrators and rulers: we have learnt that the precepts of the laws are broken by those who in our time are called Christians. These seize, and unless they sacrifice to our gods punish with various kinds of torture.

After the imperial letter had been read the magistrate asked Symphorian what reply he had to make to it. He merely repeated his confession, and the judge ordered him to be scourged and imprisoned. Then after a specified period for reflection had been allowed him he was again brought out, and while he showed on his body the results of the scourging he remained firm and unconquered in the profession of his faith. "How much better would you act," said Heraclius, "if serving the immortal gods, the illustrious dignity of military service could claim you, rewarded for your devotion from the public treasury." But Symphorian remained unchanged in mind, and so Heraclius ordered him to be led to the place of execution. Meanwhile, from the walls of the city his mother looked down on the sad procession, and as her son passed along she cried in

[1] No rescript such as this is known—"un prétendu édit de Marc-Aurèle qui n'a jamais été promulgué"; cf. Allard as above. But may not this be a somewhat popular version of the instructions sent by the emperor to the legate at Lyons referred to in the letter of the Church of Lyons? Euseb. *H.E.* v. 1.

language which the people could not easily forget: "Nate, nate,[1] Symphoriane, in mente habe Deum vivum. Resume constantiam, fili . . ., hodie, nate, ad supernam vitam felici commutatione migrabis." "Oh my son, my son Symphorian, remember the living God. Be of good courage, my son; to-day, child, by a happy exchange you will pass away unto eternal life." So beyond the walls of the city they led him and with the blows of a club he was put to death. The words of his mother seem to have made a great impression. They were long remembered and often repeated, and were afterwards referred to in the "Immolatio of the Mass De Symphoriano" in the Gothic Missal.[2]

There is another group of martyrs of an early date, which seems to have been connected with Lyons if it has not reference to the converts and disciples of Pothinus and Irenaeus. These martyrs are earlier than the Decian persecution, A.D. 250-251, and are generally assigned to the time of Caracalla, A.D. 211-217. The scenes of their martyrdom are suggestive of the communities which may have formed a part of the organisation which was centred in Lyons. At Besançon suffered St. Ferreolus,[3] a priest, and St. Ferrutio, a deacon. The former must not be confounded with his namesake, a soldier of Vienne who suffered under Maximian. Gregory of Tours mentions him in his book on the glory of the martyrs, but only to record miracles stated to have been wrought at his tomb. He has a Mass in the Gothic Missal, and there is an early *Passio* which records his sufferings and which Gregory had seen. The story of their martyrdom may not be strictly historical, but there is no reason to doubt that some one of the name of Ferreolus took part with

[1] On the antiquity of this sentence cf. De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*, ii. p. 18.

[2] Cf. Mabillon's edition of the Gothic Missal, p. 281 "et materno conloquio pietate transfertur ad praemium; quia Martyribus vita non tollitur sed mutatur."

[3] Cf. Ruinart, p. 489. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* i. 48, regards this *Passio* as historically worthless, and considers that the group of names which it includes spring out of a legend concerning Irenaeus and St. Ferreolus of Besançon.

St. Benignus in a movement from Lyons for the conversion of Germania Prima, and suffered in the early years of the third century.

At Valence to the south we find at the same time the names of SS. Felix,[1] Fortunatus, and Achilles. We cannot reject them as legendary, but no historic incidents of their lives have been preserved.

At Dijon there is perhaps clearer evidence of this early missionary work from Lyons. About the same time, and in connexion with St. Ferreolus, St. Benignus[2] is said to have suffered with St. Andochius, at Viviers, and three others at Saulieu. They are said to have been sent to Gaul by St. Polycarp, a statement which can only be interpreted as meaning that they were in charge of mission stations, which had been founded from Lyons. In 590 the name of St. Benignus occurs in the so-called *Hieronymian Martyrology* as the martyr of Dijon. Gregory of Tours records the same, and has a story concerning a supposed miracle wrought at his tomb; and Gregory, bishop of Langres about A.D. 500, is said to have brought back to Dijon a life of St. Benignus. In a *Passio* of the sixth century, which Gregory of Tours had probably seen, the names of all five martyrs are grouped together. Thus at a very early date these other names were coupled with that of St. Benignus, and the fact of St. Benignus' undoubted historicity gives them the juster claim for our acceptance.[3]

Evidence of organised missionary work.

We must, however, sum up at the close of this chapter, the evidence, such as it is, which we have been able to gather concerning the earliest organisation of the Christian Church in Gaul. It had its origin at Lyons, where had been planted in the first half of the second

[1] Cf. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* i. pp. 50–54.

[2] Cf. Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, i. 447. He considers that there was no improbability in the story, a statement with which, so far as it would connect St. Benignus directly with Polycarp, I cannot agree; cf. Tillemont, vol. iii. pp. 38 and 603; Greg. Tur. *Lib. de glor. mart.* § 50.

[3] Cf. Duchesne as above.

century the first mission for the conversion of Gaul. Then in the process of intercourse between the capital and the towns of the province converts were won in other cities, and for their benefit Sanctus was sent to Vienne, Fortunatus and Achilles to Valence, and Benignus to Besançon, while at Autun, Viviers, Saulieu, and other places, were to be found members of the flock over which Pothinus and Irenæus presided. Individual Christians may thus naturally have been in many other cities of Gaul, and the labours of St. Maternus[1] at Trier belong probably to these early years of the third century. That there should be bishops in these towns was unlikely, since the numbers of the faithful was as yet very small. That no bishops are recorded except in the extravagant legends of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is evidence that the work was only beginning. Every effort had its origin from Lyons, and to Lyons and to its bishop[2] every priest, deacon, and lay convert looked for guidance and support. Of course the details of these lives are not strictly historical. They were composed in some cases long after the times when the saints they commemorated had lived. They offer many anachronisms and often they borrow one from another. But the men about whom the lives were written were often strictly historical, and their existence and probable relation to men and to organisations which are familiar to us help to define, perhaps somewhat dimly, yet with some probability, the growth of the Church whose history we are following.

[1] Haupt's *Trier*, p. 10, and Glocker's *Sanct Maternus oder Ursprung des Christentums in Elsass*, 1884, cap. iv. p. 59.

[2] Duchesne, i. 39 "tous les chrétiens épars depuis le Rhin jusqu'aux Pyrénées ne formaient pas qu'une seule communauté, ils reconnaissaient un chef unique, l'évêque de Lyon."

CHAPTER III

THE MISSION OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS

A COMPARATIVE examination of the lists of the bishops of the older dioceses of the Church in Gaul shows us fairly clearly that there were two influences at work which tended to deprive them of their historical value. There was, firstly, the desire to make the list of bishops conform to the idea developed by the legends of the family of Bethany of which we have told the story in our first chapter, an idea which assumed a very large amount of organised Church work in Gaul in the first century of the Christian era. The influence of this idea is not difficult to discern. It so entirely ignores the history of Gaul that we can detect it without much trouble. Then there was also another influence which is much more difficult to trace, and which would extend the lists of bishops to some indefinite date about the middle of the third century. There are some real historical facts behind this latter influence, and where it can be detected there are probabilities that the diocese which is concerned had some sort of origin, either as the field of some missionary work, or as the actual sphere of labour of some bishop, at some time before the end of the third century. The middle of the third century certainly witnessed a very definite attempt to spread Christianity in Gaul and to organise the result into dioceses. It is more than a tradition. Gregory of Tours[1]

[1] Gregory, *Hist. Franc.* i. 30 "hujus tempore septem viri episcopi ordinati ad praedicandum in Galliis missi sunt sicut historia passionis sancti martyris Saturnini

refers to it as an undoubted fact, and the study of the lists of the bishops of the older dioceses in Gaul tends in every way to corroborate what he says. We are on the track of general church organisation even if at first it is only revealed by the graves of its martyrs. This effort is known as the mission of the seven bishops, and the narration of it declares that they were sent from Rome to work in Gaul, and the date which is generally assigned to it is the time of the emperor Decius. There is much in the story which is obscure, and there are accretions to it which will have to be put aside, but a careful and unprejudiced study of all the facts which can be gathered from its tangled woof shows that it is clearly founded on facts. Gregory of Tours gives us the story in its earliest form. At least we do not know of any earlier tradition which materially differs from his version of the story. He has just mentioned the persecution which took place under the emperor Decius, A.D. 249-251—and he goes on to say—"In the time of this man seven bishops were consecrated and sent into Gaul to preach, as the story of the passion of the holy martyr Saturninus informs us." Then he quotes this *Passio*: "when Decius and Gratus were consuls (A.D. 250), as we have preserved for us on reliable tradition, first and foremost the city of Toulouse had as its bishop Saint Saturninus." After this he returns to his narrative, and says: "These, therefore, were sent: to Tours, Bishop Gatianus; to Arles, Bishop Trophimus; to Narbonne, Bishop Paul; to Toulouse, Bishop Saturninus; to Auvergne (*i.e.* Clement Ferrand), Bishop Austremonius; to Limoges, Bishop Martial; and to Paris, Bishop Dionysius." Again in his book, *De glor. martyrum*,[1] Gregory again refers to this story:

denarrat. Ait enim . . . 'sub Decio et Grato consulibus sicut fideli recordatione[m] retenitur primum ac summum Tholosana civitas sanctum Saturninum habere ceperat sacerdotem.' Hi ergo missi sunt: Turonicis Gatianus episcopus, Arelatensibus Trophimus episcopus, Narbonae Paulus episcopus, Tolosae Saturninus episcopus, Parisiacis Dionysius episcopus, Avernis Stremonius episcopus, Lemovicinis Martialis est destinatus episcopus."

[1] Gregory, *Lib. de gloria mart.* "Saturninus vero martyr, ut fertur, ab

"Saturninus, the martyr, as the legend goes, was ordained by the disciples of the Apostles, and was sent to the city of Toulouse." The legend or tradition was well known in Gaul in the sixth century, and Venantius Fortunatus,[1] the poet and contemporary of Gregory, tells the same tale, and twice refers to St. Saturninus and the details of his martyrdom.

Now the statement of Gregory is clearly founded on two established traditions. There is the general one concerning the mission of the seven bishops which he mentions as generally accepted, and does not regard as in need of corroboration; and there is something more than a mere tradition of the fact in the ancient story preserved and written down concerning the details in the martyrdom of St. Saturninus.

A hundred years earlier, in the second half of the fifth century, Toulouse was not in close contact with Tours or with the rest of Gaul.[2] For nearly a century, *i.e.* A.D. 419–507, it was in the hands of the Visigoths, who as Arians regarded with suspicion any very intimate relationship between the Catholic Christians at Toulouse, the capital, and their fellow Catholics in other parts of the province.[3] But Sidonius of Clermont[4] is aware of this legend of St. Saturninus, and

apostolorum discipulis ordinatus in urbe Tolosiaca est directus." Duchesne explains "apostolorum discipuli" as meaning the successors of St. Peter. It is probable that the phrase was misunderstood as early as the sixth century.

[1] Venant. Fort. ii. 8:

> "Saturninus enim martyr venerabilis orbi
> nec latet egregii palma beati viri,
> qui cum Romana properasset ab urbe Tolosam
> et pia Christicoli semina ferret agri."

[2] Cf. *Chron. Idatii* sub anno 418, "Gothi . . sedes in Aquitanica a Tolosa usque ad Oceanum acceperunt." Cf. Freeman, *Western Europe in the Vth Century*, cap. vi. and below cap. xi.

[3] About 495 Volusianus, bishop of Tours, was exiled to Toulouse by the Visigoths, owing to their suspicion of his loyalty to the Arian Alaric II. Cf. Greg. T. *H.F.* ii. 26; Sid. Apoll. *Ep. to Basil of Aix*, vii. 6.

[4] Sid. Apoll. ix. 16. 65:

> "e quibus primum mihi psallat hymnus
> qui Tolosatem tenuit cathedram
> de gradu summo capitoliorum
> praecipitatum

writes some verses on it about the year A.D. 476 or perhaps a little earlier. It is clear that the story of Saturninus is long anterior to the time of Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus, nor could it have been recently composed when Sidonius wrote his verses. Yet the *Passio* agrees with the traditions of Tours, and in his *Lives of the Bishops of Tours*, for which Gregory certainly possessed local documents of distinct historical value, he explains the extent of the episcopate of St. Gatianus, who was one of these missionary bishops, and its relationship in point of time with that of St. Martin,[1] and his story of the first bishop of Tours falls into agreement with this tradition of the mission of the seven bishops. Gregory clearly gives us the story in its simplest form as it was known and referred to at Tours, but what he says is corroborated by the definite legend at Toulouse, inserted quite early in the history of the church there, concerning the martyrdom of St. Saturninus.

We must, however, examine in detail the traditions concerning the origin of these seven dioceses before we can come to any decision concerning the historic value of the legend of this mission in the middle of the third century.

St. Saturninus.

At Toulouse the story[2] ran that Christianity had come but slowly and late to these parts, *i.e.* Narbonensis i. and Novempopulania. In the cities few places of worship had been erected to mark the zeal of the early converts, and Saturninus as he laboured, and preached, grieved

> quem negatorem Jovis ac Minervae
> et crucis Christi bona confitentem
> vinxit ad tauri latus injugati
> plebs furibunda
> . . . . . .
> post Saturninum volo plectra cantent," etc.

[1] Greg. T. *Hist. Franc.* x. 31.

[2] Cf. Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, p. 177, edition 1859.

The legend begins: "Ante annos L sicut actis publicis id est Decio et Grato," etc. For the interpretation of the "L." cf. Allard's note, ii. p. 328, and a further note on p. 329 as to the meaning to be assigned to "actis publicis."

Cf. Kuhfeld, *De capitoliis imperii Romani*, 1883; and Castan's *Les Capitoles provinçaux du monde romain*, 1886, p. 390.

over the idolatry of the people. He was a man well known to the citizens, and it was by his earnestness and faith that the false predictions of daemons had begun to fail. The wiles of the heathen teachers had been laid bare, and through the growing faith of the Christians the influence of these heathen propagandists was on the wane. On the occasion of a great fête in Toulouse large crowds had gathered in the streets that led to the Capitol, and the zeal and enthusiasm of the people took a religious turn from the heathen ceremonies that were observed at this fête. As they were leading a bull to the Capitol for sacrifice they met Saturninus and his two colleagues, a priest and a deacon, who were passing through the streets on their way to perform in their church their usual religious services. One of the most zealous of the heathen recognised the bishop, and in his hate denounced him as the man who spoke against their religion and would demolish, if he had the power, the temples of their gods. So the excited crowd surged around him, and in the confusion the bishop was separated from his companions, who, alarmed at the situation, turned and fled. The people then seized the bishop and bade him come and offer sacrifice to the gods. Saturninus refused, and in language which may have given a model to later hagiologists, but which at the time seems evidently authentic: "Unum et verum Deum novi. Huic laudis hostias immolabo. Deos vestros daemones scio." Then the citizens again laid hands on him. The bull had been led up to the Capitol by a rope which now hung down behind it. To this they tied the feet of the bishop, and then, having aroused the fury of the bull to toss and perhaps gore him, they drove it down the incline that led from the Capitol, and the bishop seems to have died from his injuries received by being dragged down the uneven street. The tradition in Toulouse was that the story of the martyrdom was written down for posterity by Hilary, who succeeded the martyred Saturninus. At Toulouse during the struggle for

the orthodox faith which St. Hilary of Poitiers so courageously carried on against the Arian party which the emperor Constantine favoured, there was a bishop Rhodanius, a fellow-worker with St. Hilary in the middle of the fourth century. He was sent into exile by decree of the Council of Beziers A.D. 356. Duchesne,[1] in his critical examination of the list of the bishops of Toulouse, places the above-mentioned Hilary immediately after Rhodanius, and thus we may regard this story as dating from the second half of the fourth century, and probably from the earlier part of it. The story, as given by Ruinart, is not indeed earlier than the ninth century. The original narrative had been embellished, and to this process we may assign the mention of the two companions, a priest and a deacon.[2] The interval between the martyrdom and the writing of the story is not what we would have expected. In later times the interval would have disappeared. It is, therefore, a legend which tends to corroborate the legend. In succession Rhodanius probably succeeded Saturninus, for we must not confound the mission of these seven bishops with the permanent foundation of sees in the towns where they laboured.

St. Gatian. Next in importance historically is St. Gatian,[3] the bishop who was sent to Tours. Now the history of Tours as the see of a bishop is better known than that

[1] Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, vol. i. p. 295.

[2] In the Mass of St. Saturninus in the Gothic Missal no mention is made of the two companions, but there is a reference to the East. In the Contestatio—"ipse pontifex tuus ab orientibus partibus in urbem Tolosatium destinatus, Roma Garonnae in vicem Petri tui tam cathedram quam martyrium consummavit." Mabillon, *De liturgia Gallicana.*

[3] Greg. T. *Hist. Franc.* i. 31 as above and i. 43 "quod si quis requiret cur post transitum Gatiani episcopi unus tantum, id est Litorius usque ad sanctum Martinum fuisset episcopus, noverit quia obsistentibus paganis diu civitas Turonica sine benedictione sacerdotali fuit."

Ibid. x. 31 (*Liber de episcopis Turonicis*) "primus Gatianus episcopus anno imperii Decii primo a Romanae sedis papa transmissus est. In qua urbe multitudo paganorum in idolatriis dedita commorabatur de quibus nonnullos praedicatione sua converti fecit ad Dominum. Sed interdum occulebat se ob inpugnationem potentum . . . ac per cryptas et latibula cum paucis Xtianis ut diximus per eodem conversis mysterium solempnitatis die dominica clanculo celebrabat."

A similar testimony concerning Gatian, Gregory gives us in his *Liber de gloria confessorum*, § 4.

of any other town, except, perhaps Lyons. Gregory in the lives of his predecessors gives us the first imitation of that which had already been begun in Rome in the *Liber pontificalis*, and there can be no doubt that the information he gathered was very largely historical. In his story of St. Gatian he is dealing with a period in the history of Tours when the inhabitants were mostly heathen. He is writing of times long anterior to those of St. Martin, and we must remember that at first St. Martin did not venture to live in the city, and only entered and settled in it, when the success of his apostolic labours had won for him the friendship and protection of powerful citizens. Gregory tells us how St. Gatian often concealed himself from the fury of the pagans, and was wont to go into the city only when opportunities of preaching offered themselves to him. The mysterious and most interesting caverns cut out in the hillside of Marmoutier, which to-day claim the affection and veneration of pilgrims, tell of his life, its dangers, and its simplicity, and reveal to us the very chamber where he lived, and the rude and solemn sanctuary where he worshipped. Gregory states also, that St. Gatian was sent by the Bishop of Rome, and in his calculations as to the length of the episcopate of the first three bishops of Tours assigns to St. Gatian a period of fifty years. He says that between St. Gatian and St. Martin there was only one, Bishop Litorius, and there was an interval of thirty-seven years between the death of St. Gatian and the accession of Litorius, because through the resistance of the pagan citizens, the city of Tours was for long without the blessing of a bishop. If then we accept these numbers, the traditional statistics of the church of Tours in the sixth century, and allow, as Gregory does, fifty years to St. Gatian, and thirty-three years to Litorius, and a period of thirty-seven years when there was no bishop in the city, we get a period of one hundred and twenty years between the accession of St. Martin in A.D. 371 and the coming of St. Gatian. The period

carries us back into the reign of the emperor Decius, and the legend at Tours is certainly in agreement with the tradition at Toulouse. There is in both towns a period between the arrival of these missionary bishops and the establishment in them of a permanent episcopate, and the interval carries us back to the troublous times when Decius was emperor.

St. Martial. At Limoges the story of St. Martial[1] cannot be traced out to its original form with equal clearness and certainty. He was one of the seven bishops of the celebrated mission, and Gregory, in his *Liber de glor. confessorum*, says that St. Martial was sent by the Roman pontiff to preach in the city of Limoges. Then when he had destroyed the superstitious rites connected with the worship of their images, and having filled the town with believers in the true God, he departed this life.

The first addition to this legend was the usual one that he was not alone, but had two companions to help him. This addition is, however, coupled with the unexpected statement that St. Martial had brought these companions with him from the East. For Gregory of Tours,[2] certainly St. Martial had a real historic existence. Men who had spoken disrespectfully of him were punished by loss of speech and hearing. He was classed among the great saints of Gaul, with Saturninus of

[1] Cf. Arbellot's *Dissertation sur l'apostolat de Saint Martial*, Limoges, 1855. His zeal for St. Martial is disfigured by his disregard of historical criticism. Canon Arbellot, however, has here brought before us all that is known concerning the apostle to Limoges.

Cf. Gregory, *Hist. Franc.* as above. Ruinart has no life of Martial, but Venantius Fort. thus refers to him :

> "non tua, sancte pater, poterunt depromere gesta,
> tellus te Romana, quibus te Gallica tellus
> post Petrum recolunt juniorem parte secunda,
> cum Petro recolunt equalem sorte priori
> Benjamita tribus te gessit sanguine claro,
> ürbs te nunc retinet Lemovica corpore sancto."

Cf. Arbellot, Appendix p. 44, who gives this quotation ; but I fear it is of doubtful authenticity, see Migne's *Pat.* lxxxviii. 115, 116, and Amaduzzi's *Anecdota litteraria*, Rome, 1783, vol. iv. p. 433.

[2] Cf. Greg. *Lib. in glor. confess.* § 27. The idea that Martial had come from the East, bringing with him to Gaul two priests as his companions, was already known in the time of Gregory.

Toulouse, Dionysius of Paris, Julian of Brioude, and Martin of Tours. His tomb was supposed to exist, and his two companions were buried by his side, and miracles were declared to have been wrought at his grave, an evident proof of identity and sanctity. Venantius Fortunatus does not add much to our information, but his verses on St. Martial make it quite clear that he was accepted as one of the seven bishops who came on a mission to Gaul. In the *Martyrology* of Jerome,[1] which is probably coëval with Gregory of Tours, St. Martial's day is given on June 30, and Usuard[2] in A.D. 875, who from Paris had made a pilgrimage in Aquitaine, gives us the names of the two companions of St. Martial as Alpinianus and Austroclinianus. There are no early lists of the bishops of Limoges,[3] but in all the lists that have been preserved St. Martial is at the head. The oldest carries us down to Bishop Jordanus, whose episcopate began A.D. 1021. It is the work of a priest named Ademar. There is a life of St. Martial by Aurelian,[4] who is supposed to have been St. Martial's immediate successor in the bishopric, but Aurelian as a bishop is certainly a fictitious person, and it is probable that the writer of the life is Ademar himself. The whole early history of the Church at Limoges and the succession of its bishops is completely obscured by the influences of the Provençal legend of the family of Bethany. Martial was of the company that, driven from Palestine, found a refuge at Marseilles, and so that which was historical at Limoges was altered to conformity with this extravagant twelfth-century legend. The lists of its bishops are full of interpolations of names of men in no way connected with the town, and to enable the succession to reach back continuously to the first century, repetitions and

[1] Cf. Migne's *Pat.* xxx. p. 464 "pridie Kal. Jul. Depositio St. Martialis episcopi."

[2] Usuard, Molanus' ed. 1573, p. 108 "Lemovicas civitate, sancti Martialis episcopi cum duobus presbyteris Alpiniano et Austricliniano."

[3] Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii. 47.

[4] Given in Arbellot's *Dissertation*, Appendix, p. 26.

additions have long ago taken away all historical value from them. After St. Martial the next bishop concerning whom we have any reliable information was Ruricius,[1] who was bishop during the Visigothic occupation, and who lived in the second half of the fifth century. In the eleventh century,[2] at the Council of Limoges, A.D. 1028, there was a controversy between a Lombard monk, Benedict of Turin, and Ademar of Chabannes, which seems to show us evidence of the survival up to that date of some reliable history. Benedict asserted that St. Martial was an apostolic man, a statement which meant he had been sent from the Apostolic See of Rome. Ademar, on the contrary, gives us evidence of the beginning of the Provençal legend since he asserted that St. Martial was one of the seventy-two disciples of our Lord, but Benedict's claim also that he had silenced his adversary is probable. The true history of the local saint had not as yet been pushed aside by the legend which would not merely place in the first century an unreal Martial at Limoges, but also an unreal companion Zacchaeus at Rocomadour.

St. Trophimus.

In the narrative of Gregory of Tours he tells us that Bishop Trophimus was sent to Arles.[3] Now Arles, the creation of Tiberius,[4] had, as a rival to Marseilles for commercial purposes, steadily risen in importance during the first three centuries of the Christian era. In the second half of the fourth century it began to enjoy political importance, and during the opening decades of the fifth century its influence was very considerable, and this influence increased as the extent of the imperial authority in Gaul steadily shrank. In A.D. 411, Bishop Heros,[5] a saintly and ascetic disciple of St. Martin, was for political reasons driven from his see of Arles, and

[1] Cf. Venant. Fort. iv. 5; and Sidonius Apollin. iv. 16, v. 15, and viii. 10.
[2] Cf. Duchesne as above, ii. p. 104; and Arbellot's *Dissertation*, pp. 40, 41.
[3] Greg. as above, i. 31. [4] Cf. above, cap. i.
[5] Cf. Prosper's *Chronicle*, A.D. 412, "Heros, vir sanctus et beati Martini discipulus." Cf. also Freeman's *Western Europe in the Fifth Century*, p. 282. The date of Heros' expulsion is uncertain, and possibly he may have been driven from Arles by the Visigoths in 413.

Patroclus,[1] a worldly and ambitious man, the friend of the patrician Constantius, and who was afterwards assassinated, succeeded him. The organisation of the Church of Gaul was as yet of a very simple character, the personal influence of the bishop giving more or less authority to the see which he held. After the days of persecution, however, that organisation was likely to develop on more permanent lines. Narbonne and Vienne, on account of their historic and political rôle, seem to have given their bishops the rank, or something like the rank of an archbishop, and since in the meanwhile Arles also had risen into political importance, Patroclus was ambitious that his own see should enjoy the same rank. In A.D. 417, therefore, he prevailed on Pope Zosimus[2] to recognise this increased authority of his city by raising it to metropolitical rank. Zosimus acceded to his petition, and in his Bull, *Placuit apostolicae*, gave his reasons for the step he had taken. These reasons were doubtless largely supplied by Patroclus, and assumed the great antiquity of the see in that St. Trophimus was its first bishop, the inference being that St. Trophimus, the first bishop of Arles, was the same as St. Trophimus of Ephesus, the fellow-worker of St. Paul. At a later time, in a letter written A.D. 449 by the bishops of the province which Zosimus had thus created, and sent on behalf of Hilary of Arles to Pope Leo the Great, it was definitely stated that Trophimus had been consecrated by St. Peter himself. The neighbouring church of Vienne[3] also enjoyed the honour, which seems naturally to have accrued to it as the chief town of Narbonensis Secunda, of being the see of an archbishop, and claimed Crescens as its first bishop. Thus in the rivalry between the two sees there seemed ground for assuming that Crescens and Trophimus were both of them fellow-workers of St. Paul. In the

[1] Cf. Prosper Tiro, A.D. 414, "infami mercatu sacerdotia venditare ausus."
[2] Cf. Babut's *Le Concile de Turin*, 1904, p. 56.
[3] Cf. Babut as above, p. 107; and Gundlach's *Der Streit der Bisthümer Arles und Vienne*, p. 10.

Martyrology of Ado, who was archbishop of Vienne A.D. 859-875, this is regarded as an established fact.

Now there is a difficulty concerning the Church of Arles, which is quite apart from this interested falsification of its ancient history. In A.D. 253 St. Cyprian[1] wrote to Stephen, bishop of Rome, to draw his attention to a certain Marcianus, bishop of Arles, who had joined the Novatian schism. He says that Faustinus, bishop of Lyons, had written to tell him of this trouble in the south of Gaul, and St. Cyprian called upon the bishop of Rome to send a letter to our "co-bishops in Gaul," requesting them to take steps to arrest the evil, and asked him also to write to the Church of Arles to assemble and depose Marcianus and select another bishop in his place. Clearly, then, Marcianus was an historical person and was bishop of Arles A.D. 253-254, and, therefore, if Trophimus was the first bishop sent to that city, it must have been at some date earlier than the accession of Decius. The mission of the seven missionary bishops must therefore not be tied too definitely to the year A.D. 251. The fact that Marcianus had adopted the austere views of Novatian concerning the restoration of the lapsed seems to show that the Decian persecution fell heavily on the Christians at Arles, and that he was branded as a Novatian through his exercise of a somewhat stern and unsympathetic discretion towards those who had shown weakness in the hour of trial. Trophimus in all probability laboured for only a short time and was a martyr. He is not styled such in the *Martyrology* of Ado or of Usuard, though his natal day is given by both as December 28. In the earlier *Martyrology* of Jerome there is a Trophimus mentioned on November 28 who is regarded as of Syria. Nothing is known in it of Trophimus of Arles, and it seems clear that even to

[1] Cyprian's Letter lxvii. "Faustinus collega noster Lugduni consistens, frater carissime, semel et iterum mihi scripsit significans ea quae nobis suo utique nuntiatu tam ab eo quam a caeteris coëpiscopis nostris in eadem provincia constitutis quod Marcianus Arelate consistens Novatiano sese conjunxerit."

Arles Trophimus soon became only a name. His work was cut short by the persecution, and the trouble of the schism,[1] however long it may have continued, made it less likely that his labours should have been remembered.[2]

The Church of Narbonne[3] claims as its first bishop Paulus, who, according to this tradition, was sent there from Rome. Gregory of Tours mentions him only by name, and that only in the statement concerning the mission of the seven bishops. Narbonne was almost entirely cut off from Tours at the time when Gregory wrote, and evidently he knew nothing about him. Prudentius, the Spanish poet, two hundred years earlier than Gregory, has some lines concerning him and regarded him as a martyr. In the story of his *Passio*,[4] which is late and of little historic value, mention is made of a Synod of Narbonne which assembled at some date between A.D. 255-260, and at which Paulus was charged by two of his deacons with certain immoral acts, and the narrative relates that he was acquitted of the charge by miraculous testimony of his innocence. No trace, however, of this Synod can be found elsewhere, though the incident does not seem exactly such as would have been invented. In Ado's and in the small Roman *Martyrology* Paulus is called *discipulus apostolorum*, and of course Ado identifies Paulus with Sergius Paulus.

St. Paul of Narbonne.

With St. Dionysius of Paris[5] we have already dealt

St. Dionysius.

[1] St. Cyprian, in his letter, cited above, suggests the calling together of a Synod of Gallican bishops—"coëpiscopos nostros in Galliis constitutos." He refers also to other bishops in the province of Lugdunensis. His remarks suggest an organisation such as we cannot discover in any Gallican documents of the time. There were doubtless a good many missionary bishops in Gaul at the time, but councils of Gallican bishops seem then to be an event of the future.

[2] St. Trophimus is only mentioned once by Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* i. 30, and it is evident that he knew nothing about him.

[3] That Paulus was martyred at Narbonne was known in the fourth century. Prudentius refers to the incident, *Peristeph.* iv. 35 :

"Barchinon claro Cucufate freta
surget et Paulo speciosa Narbo."

[4] *Acta SS. Mart.* iii. 371.

[5] Cf. Chapter I.

in an earlier chapter. As early as in the fifth century his cult had begun, and he was regarded as the founder of the Church in Paris. It is needless to relate again how he came to be regarded as the same as Dionysius the Areopagite.

St. Stremonius.

Stremonius or Austremonius of Auvergne or Clermont is also to Gregory only a name.[1] This is the more difficult to account for, since Gregory was especially interested in Auvergne, and wrote a whole book on the miracles of St. Julian of Brioude. A hundred years earlier Sidonius Apollinaris was bishop of Clermont, and refers to the labours of one whom he describes as a monk named Abraham,[2] who came and carried on mission work among the mountains and valleys of Auvergne. Sidonius has nothing to say concerning Austremonius, nor does he refer to any of his predecessors. There is a life of Austremonius[3] by Praejectus, who became bishop of Clermont in the eighth century and wrote a life of Austremonius, but it cannot be regarded as giving us anything more than a mere legendary narrative. The tomb of Austremonius was at Issoire.

From what we have already stated, it will now be acknowledged that the legend of the mission of seven bishops from Rome about the time of the emperor Decius, which Gregory gives us in brief, demands our careful attention. It cannot lightly be put aside. He knew the bare fact such as it was wont to be related at Tours, and from the *Passio* of Saturninus is derived a date which has clung afterwards to the legend. But in the *Passio* the date A.D. 250, when Decius and Gratus were consuls, only refers to the fact that at such

[1] Greg. Tour. *Hist. Franc.* i. 31, *Lib. in glor. confess.* § 29 "per sanctum enim Stremonium qui et ipse a Romanis episcopis cum Catiano beatissimo vel reliquis quos memoravimus est directus." To Gregory it seems evident that Stremonius was only known from the tradition of the mission of the seven bishops. Subsequent events in Auvergne had destroyed all traces of his work, and apparently all traditions concerning his personality.

[2] Sid. Apoll. vii. 17; Greg. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 21; *Vitae Patrum*, 3.

[3] Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* ii. p. 117.

a time Saturninus was at Toulouse and was labouring there as bishop. It does not give that date as the date when the mission began, nor yet is it given as the date of the martyrdom.

Ruinart, in his prefatory note, says that Saturninus went to Toulouse, it was believed, in the year A.D. 245. Certainly, according to the narrative which is supposed to have been compiled by Exuperius, who was bishop there A.D. 405, Saturninus must have laboured for some time at Toulouse. He was already well known to the people, and had noted and grieved over their idolatrous habits. The narrative certainly suggests that the missionary efforts at Toulouse had been in progress for some years, and the martyrdom was not the result of an imperial decree, as we would expect, but merely of an outburst of heathen zeal on the occasion of some local fête.

It is clear that the story as it is given us by Gregory of Tours cannot be set aside because in later years it had received accretions which were unhistorical and evidently incorrect. Gregory gives us the story as it was known at Tours in the sixth century. It was then old and was regarded as undoubtedly accurate. All that is attached to it, which would suggest its rejection, has come to it since the time when Gregory wrote. Gregory was not conversant with the lives of all the seven bishops. He knew nothing of Paulus of Narbonne or of Austremonius of Auvergne. Even the name of the latter was uncertain. He appears as Stremonius and Austremonius. The web of untruth which has been spun around this legend arose from one of three causes, of which the first two may certainly be due to ignorance. There was the natural assumption, in the absence of any known evidence to the contrary, that bishops who lived at the same time, and who held the names of Paulus, Trophimus, and Dionysius, were the three who belonged to the age of the Apostles. They imagined that to be true which they regarded as

due to the rank of the city or see, *i.e.* that men so closely connected with the apostles would be the first bishops there, and so statements made in ignorance but in good faith came to be repeated as undoubted historic facts. There was also the natural desire to believe in the antiquity of the Church of Gaul. Men could not understand why the Gospel had not made more rapid progress, for they knew not the difficulties against which it had to contend. So these two ideas supported each other. The Church in Gaul must have been founded in the first century, and therefore the three names of the bishops of Arles, Narbonne, and Paris must belong to the three fellow-workers or disciples of St. Paul.

An element in the story which offers us internal evidence of its veracity is the choice of the cities to which these missionary bishops were sent. Why should Limoges, Clermont, and obscure Paris be chosen in place of Autun, Trier, and Bordeaux? The fact that these towns are mentioned and not others makes it all the more probable that the mission itself was an historic fact.

St. Fabian of Rome.

One further question demands an answer before we can pass on to the evidence of the work of the Church in Gaul in the second half of the third century. If the mission to Gaul emanated from Rome, which of the popes can have sent it forth? Some of the missionary band must have fallen in the first or second year of Decius. Trophimus had passed away before A.D. 253, since Marcianus was then bishop of Arles. Saturninus perished perhaps in A.D. 251. The latter, however, had laboured for some time at Toulouse, and we must go back some years in our search for the date when it started forth. Now Pope Fabian[1] began his episcopate in Rome A.D. 236 and fell a victim to the Decian persecution in A.D. 250. His episcopate extended over the five years of the reign of the emperor Philip,

[1] Duchesne, *Liber pont.* i. p. 148; cf. also Migne, *Pat. G.* x. p. 183 "divinis praeceptis."

whose favour to the Christians gave rise to the belief that he was a Christian himself.[1] It was a time when the prospects of the Church were brighter than they had ever been before, and the converts scattered through the empire were emboldened to erect churches for worship, and assemble there openly for the observance of the rites of their faith. Nor was Fabian a man to lose this opportunity. His correspondence shows him anxious, not merely for the orthodoxy of the Church, but also for its development and organisation, and that which he is said to have promoted for the Christians in Northern Italy[2] we can well believe he desired also for the Christians in Gaul. The time for the founding of bishops' sees had perhaps not yet arrived, but the bishops were sent forth, and laboured where they could best obtain a settlement. Trophimus, Saturninus, and Paulus settled in Narbonensis at Arles, Toulouse, and Narbonne. Dionysius pushed up northward into that district already becoming known as Lugdunensis, and found his home at Paris; while Martial, Gatian, and Stremonius crossed over into Aquitaine and towards the Loire, to labour and to die at Clermont, Tours, and Limoges. They were not all martyrs. Gatian certainly lived on for many years in the neighbourhood of Tours. If Paulus and Trophimus were victims of the Decian persecution, Saturninus seems to have perished in an unpremeditated outburst of local heathen savagery. Of Dionysius it is only an assumption that he fell a martyr to the faith. The work, however, had now begun in earnest, and if here and there a leader perished, yet the conversion of Gaul was becoming more and more a fact.

An incident such as this, the subject of the present chapter, in which a definite and comprehensive effort

[1] Orosius, vii. 20 "Philippus . . . hic primus Imperatorum omnium Christianus fuit."

[2] Cf. Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, i. 148 "hic fecit ordinationes v. per mens. Decemb. presbyteros xxii., diaconos vii., episcopos per diversa loca numero xi." Cf. also the same author, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 331.

Why the mission was lost sight of?

is made for spreading the gospel in the richest of the provinces of the empire, certainly would claim that it should be well known to posterity. How, then, does it happen that we only know of this effort from the simple statement of Gregory of Tours, and two or three casual sentences in the most ancient narratives of the lives of early Gallican saints? The years that followed the persecution of Decius were for Gaul years that explain how the mission of the seven bishops was nearly lost sight of. They were years of anarchy for the Empire, and of misery for the province. The revolt which in A.D. 249 had proclaimed Decius as emperor[1] was a heathen reaction against the gentler and more humane measures which Philip had favoured. It demanded and obtained from Decius a bitter persecution of the Christians,[2] a persecution which in ignorance had imagined it possible entirely to suppress them. Yet if Decius led the way, in Gaul, as in Italy, there were many who would carry out the proscription with zeal and without mercy. Two years afterwards Decius was killed in battle, and Trebonianus Gallus was proclaimed as his successor (A.D. 251-253). To establish his position Trebonianus sent his lieutenant Valerianus into Gaul[3] to enlist Germans and Alamans from the borders of the Rhine, but before their arrival Trebonianus fell at Terni A.D. 253, and Aemilianus for the moment triumphed. Valerianus, however, could rely on the fidelity of his recruits, and the soldiers of Aemilianus made their peace with Valerianus by sending to him the head of the man who had overthrown the emperor Trebonianus.[4] Valerianus was a man of acknowledged probity,[5] an able general, and during the first four

[1] Oros. vii. 20.

[2] Orosius vii. 21 "Decius . . . ad persequendos interficiendosque Christianos vii. post Neronem feralia dispersit edicta, plurimosque sanctorum ad coronas Xti de suis crucibus misit." The actual wording of the edict is unknown, but it seems to have called on all Christians to sacrifice before a certain day; cf. Schoenaich, *Die Christenverfolgung des Kaisers Decius.*

[3] Zosimus, i. 21.

[4] Zonaras, p. 233.

[5] He suffers from the disgrace of his capture by the Persians.

years of his reign distinguished himself by his defence of Gaul from the invasions of the Germanic tribes beyond the Rhine and afterwards for his persecution in the province of all who should acknowledge themselves Christians.[1] Called away to the East by the needs of the Empire, harassed by invasions of the Persians, he left his son Gallienus in command of the armies assigned for the protection of Gaul, and in A.D. 257 Gallienus himself was compelled to hurry to Pannonia to defend Italy from an invasion of the Goths. On leaving Gaul, Gallienus left his son Publius Cornelius Valerianus[2] in charge of Sylvanus, the commander of the legion at Cöln. Valerianus, however, had left Posthumus as lieutenant to assist Gallienus, and the slight which thus was thrown on the fidelity of Posthumus by entrusting his child to Sylvanus, roused the indignation of the soldiers who had served under Posthumus. In rebellion they slew Sylvanus and the youthful Caesar Publius, and Posthumus found himself declared Emperor by the legions that guarded the frontiers of Gaul.[3] The anarchy that prevailed was the opportunity for the Germanic tribes beyond the Rhine. In 257-258 they poured into Gaul, crossing the Rhine in Upper and Lower Germany.[4] Down the valley of the Saône they advanced, and then seem to have divided into two hordes, of which the one moved west, and, having sacked Tours, passed through Aquitaine into Spain ; and the other, having devastated Avenches,[5] advanced south into

[1] Orosius, vii. 22 "Valerianus . . . mox ut arripuit imperium octavus post Neronem adigi per tormenta Xtianos ad idolatriam, abnegantesque interfici jussit" ; Lactantius, *De morte persec.* v., says "impias manus in Deum tentavit et multum, quamvis brevi tempore, justi sanguinis fudit." Von Schubert describes the persecution of Decius as the work of Valerianus, Möller, *K.G.* ii. 286.

[2] Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* cap. xxxii.; Trebellius Pollio, *XXX. Tyr.* No. 2. For his connection with the murder of Cornelius cf. Allard, iii. App. H., and Düntzer, 1867, *Postumus, Victorinus, und Tetricus*, and Zévort, 1880, *De Gallicanis imperatoribus.*

[3] Trebell. Pollio, *XXX. Tyrants*, No. 3. Whatever may be the value of the histories of Trebellius, Pollio, and Vopiscus, at any rate we have little else to fall back on, and I think they were actual writers of the time of Diocletian.

[4] Eutropius, *Brev.* ix. 8.

[5] Aurelius V. *De Caesar.* xxxiii. 3.

Narbonensis. Here at Arles,[1] under their king Chrocus, they were said to have been defeated by Posthumus and turned eastward into Italy. Amid the misery and suffering that prevailed Posthumus established his power, and was acknowledged as emperor in the three provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, which he now united into one prefecture. Of Posthumus' action towards the Christians we know nothing. His rule as an emperor is, however, well spoken of,[2] and under his protection Gaul began to recover from the ruin caused by the Germanic invasion. In A.D. 262 Gallienus returned to Gaul to revenge himself on the emperor of the West for the murder of his son, but his attack on Posthumus was unsuccessful and, wounded[3] at a battle of which the locality is not known, he retired into Italy. Three years afterwards, in A.D. 265, he again advanced against Posthumus, and was again repulsed; and the rule of Posthumus continued until A.D. 267, when he and his son fell at Mainz, murdered by the soldiers[4] whom he had offended by his impartial justice. The next year Gallienus fell at Milan,[5] and Marcus Aurelius Claudius was proclaimed emperor. Gaul, however, had its own aspirants to the imperial throne. The memory of Albinus and Classicus was revived, and the time seemed to have come when Gaul should

[1] Eutropius, *Brev.* ix. 9; cf. Orosius, vii. 22 "Alemanni Gallias pervagantes etiam in Italiam transeunt." Under the year 264 the Jerome Eusebius *Chronicle* says, "Alamanni vastatis Galliis in Italiam transiere." Cf. also Zonaras, xii. 24, Zosimus, i. 38, and Greg. T. *H.F.* i. 30.

[2] Trebell. Poll. *XXX. Tyrants*, cap. 3 "... ab omnibus Gallis Postumus gratanter acceptus talem se praebuit per annos septem ut Gallias instauraverit ... quod summotis omnibus Germanicis gentibus Romanum in pristinam securitatem recreasset imperium."

The Edict of Gallienus, revoking his father's edict and making Christianity a *religio licita*, belongs to the year A.D. 261, Euseb. *H.E.* vii. 13, and it is possible that Posthumus acted on it in Gaul. There is no evidence against him as a persecutor.

[3] *Ibid.* "... cum sagitta Gallienus est vulneratus." Also Treb. Poll. *Gallieni duo*, cap. 4 "Gallienus muros circumiens sagitta ictus est." The name of the town is not given.

[4] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 9 "qui seditione militum interfectus est quod Moguntiacam civitatem ... diripiendam militibus tradi noluisset."

[5] Gallienus does not appear to have been a persecutor, but, on the contrary, revoked the Edict of Valerian, Euseb. vii. 13.

unite and enjoy an emperor of her own. Two generals, Laelianus and Aurelius Marius, had arisen on the frontier and had as rapidly fallen ; and then Marcus Piavonius Victorinus, who was probably a native of Gaul, was proclaimed as emperor. With him, and soon to take his place, was his mother Victoria or Vitruvia, by whose strategy, when her son had perished, Caius Aesuvius Tetricus, a Gaul of Auvergne, was raised to the purple.[1] His accession as emperor of the West is evidence of the widespread nature of the national movement. He was not proclaimed from their midst, by the legionaries at Mainz, Trier, or Cöln, but at Bordeaux, in the midst of that Aquitaine which as civil governor he had administered. But the time had not as yet arrived when the people, apart from the legionaries that kept them in subjection and protected them from invasion, could decide on their emperor. Autun, which had supported Tetricus, and was itself the centre of the national movement, had become the object of the soldiers' wrath, and in A.D. 269, after a siege of seven months, it fell and was sacked by the soldiers whose duty it had been to protect it. The fall of such a city as Autun with all its traditions of nationalism was a great blow to the influence of Tetricus ; and in disorder, alarm, and misery Gaul awaited the arrival of an emperor who could ensure the loyalty of the army and the obedience of the people. In A.D. 270 the emperor Claudius died at Sirmium and Valerius Aurelianus succeeded him. A bitter persecutor of the Christians, he won for himself also the character of being blood-thirsty and cruel.[2] Lyons had resented alike the rise of Bordeaux and the military influence of Trier. In A.D. 273 Aurelianus arrived in Gaul, and Lyons was

[1] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 10 "Tetricus senator, qui Aquitaniam honore praesidis administrans absens a militibus imperator electus est et apud Burdigalam purpuram sumpsit." His name Aesuvius reveals his Celtic origin.

[2] *Ibid.* ix. 14 "saevus et sanguinarius ac necessarius magis in quibusdam quam in ullo amabilis imperator" ; Vopiscus, xxvi. 36 "Aurelianus quod negari non potest, severus, truculentus, sanguinarius fuit princeps."

the first place to feel the wrath of the cruel and vindictive emperor. Then he advanced northward, and a double task lay before him. He had to compel the allegiance of the soldiers on the frontier, who had proclaimed Faustinus[1] as their emperor, and he had effectually to subdue all the local forces which had upheld the emperor Tetricus. Advancing beyond Autun he sent on eastwards his lieutenant Probus to deal with Faustinus and the legionaries at Trier and Mainz. Tetricus was near Chalons,[2] and towards the force that protected him Aurelianus himself now marched. For such a conflict Tetricus was not prepared, and by the betrayal of his own soldiers and a voluntary surrender of himself he won the disapproval of posterity and the disgrace of a leading part in Aurelianus' triumph at Rome. Then Aurelianus marched on to Genatum, to which he gave his own name Orleans, and afterwards he made his way into the territory of the Carnutes,[3] to suppress with relentless cruelty the influence of the Druids among the woods and glens which covered the high ground of La Beauce. Soon after the emperor was called to join his lieutenant in the east, and help him to check the invasion of the Alamans. The task was of increasing difficulty, and the cruelty of Aurelianus alienated the affections of the soldiers. He would not or could not estimate aright the difficulty of the task that was before him, and in January 275 the emperor was assassinated by the officers of his staff.[4] Then

[1] Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, xxxv. 4.

[2] Trebell. Poll. *XXX. Tyrants*, No. 24. 5; Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 13 "superavit in Gallia Tetricum apud Catalaunos ipso Tetrico prodente exercitum suum, cujus adsiduas seditiones ferre non poterat."

Vopiscus' *Aurelian*, 44. 4 "dicebat enim quodam tempore, Aurelianum Gallicanas consulisse Dryadas sciscitantem utrum apud ejus posteros imperium permaneret."

[3] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 15; Aurelius Victor, xxxv. 8.

[4] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 16 "Gallias a barbaris occupatas"; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, xxxv. "Germanis Gallia demotis." Probus, the successor of Aurelian, strove to free Gaul from this German invasion; cf. Vopiscus, *Probus* "his gestis cum ingenti exercitu Gallias petit, quae omnes occiso Posthumo turbatae fuerant, interfecto Aureliano a Germanis possessae. Tanta autem illic praelia et tam feliciter gessit ut a barbaris sexaginta per Gallias nobilissimas reciperet civitates," etc.; cf. also Zonaras, xii. 27.

the Alamans poured into Gaul and found no force to check them. Sixty cities[1] of the province were permanently occupied by them. Over the deeds of the emperors Tacitus and Probus we need not delay. Events were preparing the way for Diocletian, and with the persecution which occurred in his reign we are not concerned. Its relation to Gaul will be dealt with in the following chapter.

Valerian, the successor of Decius, and Aurelianus,[2] the restorer of the Empire in Gaul, were both persecutors of the Christians, and the events which we have already recorded tend to show how impossible it was during the last quarter of a century to found here any permanent organisation of the Church, and how natural it is that what was done should come down to us only as sporadic efforts of the faith and isolated martyrdoms of venturesome converts. The pagan reaction of A.D. 249, which continued throughout the reign of Valerian and burst forth afresh under Aurelian, and the ruin and misery that followed on the invasions of Alamans in A.D. 257 and 275 left little room for progress, much less for the successful propaganda of a new faith.

At Cimiez,[3] near Nice, St. Pontius suffered, a mere name perhaps, and yet a name which should be recorded. The Edict of Valerian, if it was not issued soon after he had been hailed as emperor and while he was still in Gaul, was a declaration on his part of a continuous policy against the Christians. It belongs to the year A.D. 257 and 258, and in Patroclus,[4] who was beheaded at Troyes on January 22, 259, we cannot but recognise a victim from Gaul. Aurelian's Edict belongs to the year A.D. 274, when he crossed into Gaul and advanced northwards up the Saône. Did he regard the disturb-

[1] Vopiscus, *ut supra*.

[2] Orosius, xxiii. "Valerius Aurelianus . . novissime cum persecutionem adversus Christianos agi, nonus a Nerone decerneret." Under Tacitus, his successor, the persecution ceased apparently as a reaction against Aurelian's cruelties.

[3] For St. Pontius cf. *Acta SS.* May, vol. ii. p. 274.

[4] Cf. *Acta SS.* January 21; Allard, iii. p. 102, considers that he suffered in 259, and not, as his *Passio* would have it, under Aurelian.

ances in Gaul as caused by the converts to the new faith? Did he imagine the discontent to have been fostered through the denunciation of the gods of the Empire by the advocates of the new religion? At least it seems as if his journey through Gaul was indelibly stained by the Christian blood which he shed. Autun, Auxerre, Sens, and Troyes were all in the line of march of a general who was moving north up the Saône and through the country watered by the Seine, and who, while himself making for the valley of the Loire, desired to keep in touch with his army which was marching eastward. At Autun [1] a bishop, Reverianus, with Paulus, a priest, and others, are said by Usuard to have suffered under Aurelian. The name is not mentioned by earlier writers, and the first bishop of Autun seems to have been Reticius,[2] who was present at the Synod of Rome A.D. 313, and at Arles in the following year. At Auxerre [3] St. Priscus and St. Cottus are regarded as martyrs under Aurelian; at Troyes [4] St. Julia, St. Sabina, St. Venerandus, and St. Savinian are also remembered as martyrs of this persecution, and at Sens [5] we have in the same period St. Sanctianus, St. Columba, and St. Sabinian. The name of this Sabinian heads the lists of the bishops of Sens, and he is said by Usuard to have been sent by the Roman pontiff. He may have been the last missionary sent by Pope Felix, who died in 274. Of St. Columba [6] there was a very early cult, and a monastery was erected in his honour, which, in A.D. 1087, was said to have completed an existence of eight hundred years.

Of course it cannot be said that there is strict historical evidence for each one of these martyrs of Gaul.

[1] Cf. *Acta SS.* June, i. p. 39. Autun was probably for a time the headquarters of Aurelian.

[2] Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* ii. p. 174.

[3] Cf. *Acta SS.* May 16, and Tillemont's note, vol. iv. 3.

[4] Cf. *Acta SS.* July 21, vol. v. p. 132.

[5] Cf. *Acta SS.* September 7, vol. ii. p. 668.

[6] *Acta SS.* December 31; cf. Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, xii. 104, Molanus' Usuard, p. 217, and Pertz, *Mon. Germ.* i. p. 102.

Yet Usuard was well informed of the events of the history of Central Gaul, and if some mistakes have been made in the names they were such as would be made in the repetition of the story of the martyrdom by people who clung affectionately to the fact and had not leisure or freedom to record it in writing. The Church still existed in spite of the persecution of Decius, Valerian, and Aurelian, and was steadily taking root not merely in the chief cities of Gaul, but also, as these martyrdoms show us, in the remoter towns and villages of the country around.

CHAPTER IV

THE LAST PERSECUTION

THE persecution of the Christians which had been carried out under the orders of Aurelian came to an end with the murder of that emperor in 275. His successor, Tacitus, though emperor for less than a year revoked [1] his predecessor's policy and probably his edicts, and his successors, Probus, Carus, and Carinus, followed the example of Tacitus, so that for ten years the Christians in Gaul enjoyed a peace and a liberty which for long had been unknown to them. On all sides places of worship began to be erected giving evidence of the prevalence of the new faith; and the freedom that was accorded to the Christians encouraged them to acknowledge their belief in Christ, and to prove by their numbers how futile the attempts of earlier emperors to suppress the Christian religion had certainly been. But on September 17, 284,[2] Diocletian was proclaimed Augustus by his soldiers, and Carinus was deserted and soon murdered. At first the new emperor seems to have accepted the policy of his immediate predecessors, and his conduct would almost suggest that he was really in favour of toleration. He is, however, among the emperors

[1] Cf. Vopiscus, *Tacitus*, § 2 "quanta populo quies." There is no actual edict of Tacitus to this effect, but, as Allard argues, the *Acta* of S. Chariton at Iconium are evidence that peace began and the persecution ceased. Optatian's life of Tacitus has not survived. Cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires* iv. 4.

[2] Cf. Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.* iv. 594; and Vopiscus, *Carinus*, § 18. 2; Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 19.

who are known as persecutors, and the bitter persecution that broke out in 303 has always been connected with his name. He was certainly a man averse to changes, firm, unfeeling, and inclined to regard the ancient prosperity of the empire as due to the favour of those gods whom the Christians were intent on destroying. For a year he ruled alone, and on April 1, 286, he associated with himself, in joint authority, a Pannonian general, M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, whom he surnamed Herculeus, as he himself had assumed the surname of Jovius, and to Maximianus was assigned the sovereign power in the west. This subdivision of authority was not, however, sufficient for the needs of the Empire, where, as now, on all its borders, barbarian tribes were threatening invasion. In 292 [1] two more coadjutors of their sovereign rule were adopted, Constantius and Galerius. They were subordinate to Diocletian and Maximian, and held the title of Caesar. To Constantius was given the surname Chlorus, and to Galerius Armentarius, and while Galerius assisted Diocletian in the East Constantius was the colleague of Maximian, ruling from Trier as his headquarters while Maximian stayed at Milan. Now all we know about Constantius Chlorus tends to show [2] that he was opposed to any persecution of the Christians. So great was his clemency that it was even said that in secret he was a Christian. His rule extended throughout the prefecture of Gaul, *i.e.* the three dioceses of Britain, Gaul, and Spain, while Maximian had charge of Italy and Africa. It is certain, however, that persecution did break out in Gaul, notwithstanding the efforts for toleration which Constantius undoubtedly made, and later ages, looking back over several centuries of confusion and change, considered that the martyrs, whose memory they revered, suffered under the emperor

[1] Lact. *de Mort. persecutorum*, § 7 ; Eutropius, ix. 22.

[2] Euseb., *Vit. Constantini*, i. 17. Constantius is said to have dedicated to God all his children, his wife, and household, so that the crowd that filled the palace differed in nothing from that which thronged the church.

Diocletian, whose name was the last to be connected with a persecution of the Christians. Some may have suffered, indeed, under Aurelian, and some may have fallen victims to popular outbreaks when the occasion of great heathen festivities roused the pagans to excesses of religious zeal. Certainly in some cases their martyrdom cannot be assigned to any time but that when Diocletian reigned. Now when we examine into these cases it will be found that nearly all of them are instances of the martyrdom of soldiers, or of those who lived in garrison towns and were associated more or less closely with the army. This fact enables us to explain how and when they happened. They belong to the six years when Maximian reigned alone in the West[1] and before the year A.D. 292, when Constantius was raised to power. That Maximian was a foe of the Christians there can be no doubt.[2] That he was a good general and zealous to uphold the discipline and effectiveness of his soldiers is also certain. The years of anarchy, of military revolt, and martial misrule had weakened the discipline of the legions. Generals could no longer rely absolutely on the loyalty of their subordinates. Soldiers were recruited from subject races[3] and even from barbarian tribes, and were moved to distant parts of the empire to ensure their devotion to their leaders. It was Maximian's desire to effect reform in the imperial army, and it is apparently in connection with this reform that persecutions took place in Gaul. Now during the third century many Christians had been found enrolled within the army, and while these recruits brought their faith to enforce their loyalty they also brought a conscience which set a limit to their obedience, and of this fact the emperor seems to have been well aware. He desired to make the soldiers absolutely subservient to his will, and he found that among the

Martyrs of the last persecution.

[1] Orosius, vii. 25.

[2] Orosius, vii. 25 "Maximianus Herculeus in Occidente vastari ecclesias, affligi interfici Xtianos . . . cepit."

[3] Mommsen, "Das römische Militärwesen seit Diocletian," *Hermes*, 1889.

Christians alone were his efforts hopeless. Of men like these the army must therefore be purged. In 286,[1] under the orders of Diocletian, Maximian set out from Milan to pacify Gaul.[2] It was suffering from the poverty and misery that the political strife had created. Bands of marauders[3] perhaps barbarians under some able leader, perhaps the poor downtrodden Celtic peasantry who had gathered together for mutual protection, and whom hunger had driven into crime, wandered through the valleys and table lands of Auvergne, Gevaudan, and Bourgogne, under the title of Bagaudae. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but it is supposed to be connected with a Celtic word, bagat,[4] a multitude. It was necessary in the opinion of the emperor to put them down, and Maximian was intent on nothing less than a thorough suppression. Among the soldiers he took with him was a vexillatio or cohort of a legion[5] raised in Egypt[6] and chiefly from Syene, Elephantis, and Philae. As this army was marching down the Rhone valley at the head of the lake of Geneva, these Thebaid soldiers learned for the first time the duty on which they were bound.[7] They were Christians and they were being taken to Gaul largely

The Thebaid Legion.

[1] Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus*, § 39. It is uncertain whether Maximian, who had been clothed in the purple the year before, started on the expedition as Caesar or Augustus; cf. Otto Seck in *Comment. Woelfinianae*, Leipzig, 1897.

[2] Lactantius, *de Mortibus pers.* xxix. "redit in Galliam plenus malae contagionis ac sceleris."

[3] Allard points out, *La Persécution de Dioclétien*, i. p. 21, that the peace which the Christians had enjoyed for ten years would have ensured their loyalty. Eutropius, *Brev.* ix. 28, calls the Bagaudae "agrestes"; and Jerome follows in his continuation of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, and calls them "rustici." See also Salvian's sympathy for them, *de Guber Dei*, v. *n.* 5 and 6.

[4] Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, explains *baga* as "a struggle" or "a foe," one with whom you have to contend. Eumenius, in his speech, § 4, at the restoration of the schools at Autun speaks of "latrocinio Bagaudicae rebellionis"; and Eutropius, ix. 20 "tumultum rusticani in Gallia concitassent et factioni suae Bacaudarum nomen inponerent."

[5] Cf. Dion Cassius, lv. 24. The II. Trajana cohors. See also Marquardt ii. 452.

[6] "Hi in auxilium Maximiano ab Orientibus partibus acciti venerant"; cf. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. pp. 449–452. Agaune is about fourteen miles east of the lake of Geneva.

[7] For the massacre of the Thebaid *vexillatio* cf. Eucherius' *Passio Agaunensium martyrum* in the Vienna *Corpus*, vol. xxxi. part i. p. 165; and in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* vol. l. p. 827.

to subdue Christians. So they thought and so they argued. Their officers were Mauricius[1] the primocerius, Exsuperius the campiductor, and Candidus the senator militum. Officers and men alike[2] protested against this task of putting down a peasantry whose misery and want alone had caused them to rise. When first the murmurs of these Christian soldiers began Maximian was not in the camp, and news was sent on to him of their suspicious, if not rebellious, conduct. He was a severe commander and seems to have regarded their protest as in itself an act of treason.[3] The cohort was surrounded and the execution of every tenth man was ordered.[4] The three officers tried to reason with their general, but the fact that the trouble was caused largely because the men were Christians, and had religious scruples, made him the more resolute to suppress this disobedience. After the first slaughter he found that the survivors were still firm in their resolve not to act as the murderers of the poor depressed peasantry. A second tenth[5] was then ordered for execution, and still those who survived persevered in their determination, encouraging one another to endure patiently this persecution which God had allowed to come as a trial of their faith. So at last Maximian ordered the entire[6] cohort to be destroyed, and in the massacre of his Christian soldiers gave evidence of what he would do when he stayed in Gaul.

The evidence for the massacre cannot be denied. The tragedy is strictly historical. Eucherius, bishop of Lyons (434-449), has given us a simple but graphic

[1] For the titles of St. Maurice and his companions, *primicerius*, *campiductor*, *senator militum*, cf. Marquardt, ii. 548. The first and last of these titles do not belong to the legions, and probably indicate a mixed cohort of men, some on foot and some on horseback. *Campiductor*, instructor, is a common term.

[2] "Et hi sicut ceteri militum ad pertrahendam Christianorum multitudinem destinarentur, soli crudelitatis ministerium detrectare ausi sunt."

[3] "In furorem instinctu indignationis exarsit."

[4] "Decimum quemque ex eadem legione gladio feriri jubet."

[5] "Imperat ut iterum decimus eorum morti detur."

[6] "Una sententia interfici omnes decrevit et rem confici circumfusis militum agminibus jubet."

account of this persecution in the Agaunensian valley. The story was told him by Christians who had heard of it from Bishop Isaac of Geneva, and he had received it from Theodore who was bishop of Octodure (Martigny) before 349. One other victim was claimed ere the legion left the scene of its cruel and fratricidal act. While the soldiers were feasting on that very evening a veteran soldier named Victor,[1] expressed his horror at their joy, and refused either to share with them the spoils from their slaughtered comrades, or join in the feast of which they were partaking. Turning[2] in surprise to him they asked if he too were a Christian. He replied that he was and always would be. So there and then they rushed on him and killed him. For two hundred miles the road of march runs down past the shore of the lake and along the banks of the Rhone, and the Christians of the capital of Gaul, as they would be the first to hear of the tragedy would also be the most zealous to bear it in mind, and to revere the constancy of their slaughtered brethren. The words of Gregory of Tours[3] and the narrative itself of Eucherius[4] help to correct the exaggerations of later ages. Gregory does not say that a legion was massacred, and the three officers whom Eucherius names as the officers of that section of the army shows that only a detachment suffered. Among the treasures which they placed under the altar of the new church of St. Martin at Tours[5] were relics of these Christian soldiers and[6] in 522 when Sigismund mourned for the loss of his son Sigeric, whose murder he had ordered, he went to Agaune to do penance near the relics, "beatissimorum martyrum legionis felicis," and gave largely to the en-

[1] "Victor autem martyr nec legionis ejusdem fuit neque miles sed emeritae jam militiae veteranus."

[2] "Detestatus convivas detestatusque convivium refugiebat requirentibusque ne et ipse forsitan Christianus esset, Christianum se et semper futurum esse respondit."

[3] Greg. *Lib. de glor. mart.* § 75.

[4] *Corpus script. eccles.* xxxi. pt. i.

[5] Greg. of Tours, *Lib. de epp. T.* in *Hist. Franc.* x. on himself as bishop.

[6] Greg. of Tours, *Lib. de glor. mart.* § 74.

dowment of the monastery there. Venantius Fortunatus[1] records the courage of St. Maurice as the leader of the band, and in the Immolatio of the office for the day, September 22, in the Gothic Missal the number of the martyrs is first of all reckoned as six hundred, and afterwards an additional six thousand seems to have been added, so that an event strictly historical, and one that helps us largely to realise the condition of the Christian Church in Gaul at that time has thus been so exaggerated that it has at last come to be regarded as fabulous and worthless.

During the years 287 and 288 Maximian seems to have been engaged not merely in the pacification of Gaul and in a journey to Britain, but also seems resolutely to have taken in hand the purging of his army. As he advanced northward from Lyons, the Bagaudae fled before him and took refuge between the Marne and Seine, endeavouring to protect themselves by a canal across a bend in the latter river. Their leaders, Aelianus and Amandus, had proclaimed themselves Augustus and Caesar, and had endeavoured to collect a force capable of meeting him. But Maximian made short work of their resistance, and the cruelty with which he crushed this rebellion gave rise in after days to the belief that the leaders of the Bagaudae had been Christians.[2] It would, however, be best if we follow Maximian in his march from the south to the north of Gaul. In Marseilles, in the martyrdom of St. Victor and his companions, we again meet with the emperor, and it is more probable that this incident took place soon after the massacre of the Thebaid legion, than in the more hurried time after his return from Britain and while on his way to Italy. The incident is coupled by

St. Victor of Marseilles.

[1] Venant. Fort. ii. 18 :

"quo pie Maurici ductor legionis opimae
traxisti fortes subdere colla viros."

[2] Cf. *Life of Saint Babolin* in Dom Bouquet, iii. 568–569.

Venantius Fortunatus[1] with the martyrdom of St. Alban in Britain, and the two narratives help to support each other, and our view, that they belong to the times when Maximian was persecuting the Christians who happened also to be soldiers in his army. The *Passio* of St. Victor[2] connects his martyrdom with that of St. Maurice and the Thebaid legion. Maximian had given out an order in Marseilles that every worshipper of Christ was to be put to death, unless he was willing to sacrifice to the gods. To this[3] Victor, a Christian officer, opposed himself, anxiously going round the camp each night, to encourage his fellow Christians to show their fortitude and to prepare when it might be necessary to resist. His action, however, could not escape notice, and he was soon seized and brought before the court of the military prefects,[4] who urged upon him very kindly not to despise the gods of the country, or the accustomed duties of military service, or the friendship of Caesar, and all for the worship of a man who was dead. Victor's answer was such that the prefects saw he was not to be influenced by them. The soldiers who stood around, and who heard him denounce their gods, raised a shout of protest, and began to ill-treat him, but since he was an officer and a distinguished soldier the prefects decided that he was to be sent for trial to Caesar himself. Victor was therefore taken before Maximian—"furens imperator" the *Passio* calls him—and while plied with the craftiest arguments to bring him to submission everything was done to compel obedience either by an account of

[1] Cf. Venant. Fortunat. viii. 4:

"egregium Albanum foecunda Britannia profert,
Massilia Victor Martyr ab urbe venit."

[2] Ruinart, p. 333, suggests that the *Passio* which he prints may have been written by Cassian. The monastery of Marseilles possessed several monks in the first half of the fifth century who could have written it.

[3] ". . . perturbatisque nostrorum animis invincibilis sese in medium Victor opposuit, singulis noctibus sanctorum castra sollicite circumiens."

[4] "Praefecti primum suadent clementius viro, ne deorum culturam sperneret, nec consueta militiae stipendia et Caesaris amicitias pro cultu cujusdam olim mortui recusaret."

the terrors of what would otherwise happen, or the reasonableness of the demand itself that he should consent to sacrifice to the gods. His obstinacy made Maximian all the fiercer, and he ordered him to be dragged through the town by a rope so that in the disgrace of such a punishment he might avenge the insults heaped upon the ancient gods, and terrorise the Christians who witnessed it. To see this spectacle and to show their approval of the decision of the emperor, the people crowded the streets, and with hands and feet tied as if he were some degraded felon Victor was dragged through the town and the mob assaulted him as he went. When this parade of a Christian officer and all its cruelty was over, Victor was again brought, bruised, wounded, and blood-stained as he was, into the presence of the prefects who were obliged to carry out the commands of the emperor. Once more they exhorted him to deny Christ and to sacrifice to the gods of the empire. They hoped that the punishment which had been already inflicted, and the contemptuous treatment he had received from the people would have induced him to yield. But he still remained strong in his allegiance to Christ, unmoved either by the threats of further torture, or the promise of the special friendship of the emperor. On the contrary, he asserted his loyalty to Caesar and to the Republic, and endeavoured on his part to bring them round to believe in the true God. "When will you cease, Victor," [1] they exclaimed, "thus to philosophise? Choose one of these alternatives, either appease the gods or else miserably perish." "Deos sperno, Christum fateor" he is said to have replied, and so he was handed to the lictors for yet further torture. It is said that in the midst of the pain which they inflicted upon him he became conscious that Jesus was with him to encourage and to sympathise.[2] At last having

[1] "Impiissimi Praesides rationum pondere oppressi—Adhuc, inquiunt, Victor, philosophari non desinis? Unum tibi elige, aut placare Deos aut cum summa infelicitate deperire."

[2] An experience which he must have confided to some Christian bystander.

exercised all their ingenuity in devising fresh cruelties for him, they cast him into the darkest dungeon of the military prison, and left him for the night to await his execution on the morrow. During the quiet of the night, however, his example[1] and his teaching brought three soldiers, Alexander, Longinus, and Felicianus to confess Christ, and a priest who had in secret ministered unto him having been summoned, since the prison was near to the sea, the three converts were baptized the following morning. Of course, when Maximian heard of this, for the news of this fresh conversion was told him without delay, he was the more enraged against Victor, and determined to make his punishment the more severe. With his three comrades he was hurried by the lictors to the Forum. The people as usual ran together to see the end, and the lictors again, but again in vain, endeavoured to induce his companions to recant their profession of faith. They recognised that this was the work of Victor, and so they determined that he must see how it would end. All four, however, were unyielding and ready to die, and so before his eyes his comrades were beheaded with a sword. Then Victor was led once more before the emperor, and Maximian ordered an altar to be brought and Victor was placed before it.[2] "Pone, inquit, thura, placa Jovem, et noster amicus esto." Instead of obeying this order Victor goes to the altar, and hurls it to the ground, so the lictors take him away and crush his limbs under millstones, which seemed to grind him as the chosen seed-corn of God,

[1] "Milites ergo claritatem tanti cernentes fulgoris, ad pedes sancti cernui procedunt, veniam flagitant, baptismum petunt, quos pro tempore diligenter instructos, adscitis sacerdotibus, ipsa nocte ad mare duxit ibique baptizatos propriis manibus de fonte levavit." Cf. Acts xvi. 13 "praefectorum tribunalibus praesentatur," *i.e.* military prefects. Marseilles was autonomous and therefore the proconsul of Narbonne had no jurisdiction there, nor would the duumviri of the city have such authority over an officer of Maximian.

[2] Cf. Prudentius, *Peristephanon* x. 916–618, on the martyrdom of St. Romanus:

"reponit aras ad tribunal denuo
et thus et ignem vividum in carbonibus
taurina et exta, vel suilla abdomina:"

Oresius was probably the first bishop of Marseilles. He was present at the Synod of Arles 314; cf. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* i. p. 265.

and with a sword they sever his head from his mangled body. Those who stood near, Christians doubtless whose real faith was not as yet known, but men who remembered and related what they had seen and heard, thought that as the soul of St. Victor passed away to Him whose martyr he was, they heard a voice from heaven : "vicisti, Victor beate, vicisti."

Gregory of Tours[1] does not relate to us the incidents in the passion of St. Victor, but tells us how that, nearly two hundred years after the martyrdom when a pestilence prevailed at Marseilles, the bishop and his clergy, perhaps it was Honoratus, the namesake of the abbot of Lerins, went into the crypt of the basilica which had been built in honour of the martyr St. Victor, and over his remains, and all the night through implored, with marked success, for the plague was stopped, the aid of the martyr. Nor was this the only evidence which Gregory knew of, and which told of the sanctity and influence of the soldier martyr.

St. Genesius of Arles.

In Genesius of Arles we meet with another soldier saint whose martyrdom gives evidence of the bitter fury of Maximian against the Christians in his army. Seventy years afterwards the Spanish poet Prudentius,[2] sings of him as casting a lustre on the city to which he belonged :

> teque praepollens Arelas habebit,
> sancte Genesi.

Gregory is always concerned with the miracles worked at the martyrs' tombs, or the benefits which can be derived by invoking their assistance. He tells us[3] of one who was in danger of drowning, and invoked the aid of Genesius under conditions which were rather exacting,

[1] Greg. Tours, *Lib. de glor. mart.* i. § 77.

[2] Cf. Prudent. *Peristephanon* iv. on the martyrs of Zaragossa. St. Genesius and St. Paul of Narbonne are the only two Gallican saints mentioned by Prudentius. Cf. Greg. *Lib. de glor. mart.* § 68.

[3] Cf. Greg. *Lib. de glor. mart.* §§ 66, 67, 68.

and did not call in vain. In the middle of the sixth century the cult of Genesius had taken root at Arles. His story briefly is that as a youth he had enlisted in the local militia, and his duty was to carry out the orders of the judge Exceptor.[1] He had not yet been baptized, but as a catechumen had been instructed in the Catholic faith. He soon found, therefore, that it was impossible to remain a Christian and yet perform all the orders given him for execution. On his refusal to obey some instructions which had been given him, the judge handed him over to the lictors as one disobedient to the orders of the court. When, however, Genesius realised that he was a prisoner,[2] he watched his opportunity and jumped into the Rhone to swim to the other side, and would have escaped had not an executioner followed him and on the other side put him to death with a sword.

From Arles we follow Maximian to Vienne, though, of course, the incident may have occurred as the emperor went from Lyons to Marseilles and not on the way back. We find here the record [3] of the martyrdom of two, the circumstances of whose death seem to point to the activity against the Christians which the commander showed to the soldiers of his army. These men, St. Ferreolus and St. Julian, were both connected with the army and knew [4] that serious difficulties would soon arise for them. St. Ferreolus held tribunitial authority [5] in the city—"in supradicta urbe tribunitiam gerebat potentiam"—and in the early *Passio* of St. Julian, it is recorded of St. Ferreolus that "militiae officium gerebat." Ferreolus urged Julian to escape,

SS. Julian and Ferreolus.

[1] "Ante tribunal judicis Exceptoris"; cf. Ruinart, sub nomine, p. 559.

[2] Ruinart, "atque is, ubi se perspicit deprehensum, instinctu Domini Rhodanum petiit et sancta fluento membra committit."

[3] Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, sub nomine, p. 489.

[4] Ruinart, *Passio*, § 2 "sanctissimus autem Ferreolus et ipse a Deo martyr probatus tunc in supradicta urbe tribuniciam gerebat potestatem."

[5] ". . ait ad sanctum Julianum: Cognovi persecutionem Xtianorum ad hanc urbem esse venturam et ideo obsecro ab isto loco amoveas."

and while the younger man made his way towards the valleys of Auvergne, Ferreolus prepared himself for the inevitable trial. Then at last the time came and he was ordered as a soldier to sacrifice to the gods—"pro militiae stipendiis fidem debes et pro majestatis reverentiam." To this Ferreolus could only say,[1] "I am a Christian, I ought not to sacrifice to the gods." The president then said, "Whence comes, O Ferreolus, to you this so great confidence in dying? Perhaps your neglect of the laws and your insult to your prince leads you on to despair?" Ferreolus denied this suggestion, and the president, seeing that he had no influence over him, orders him to be handed over for various kinds of torture, and then to be heavily manacled and cast into prison. "He who despises good counsel must show that he is also superior to pain." So Ferreolus was cast into prison. On the early morning of the third day, while the guardians were sound asleep, Ferreolus realised that his chains were loosed from hands and feet, and that the way was open for his escape. So he passed through the streets, now silent and empty, and through the northern gate of the road which led to Lyons, and[2] coming to the Rhone cast himself in and got safely to the other side. Then he made his way northward as far as the river Gier, and here his pursuers overtook him, and, with hands bound behind his back, conducted him once more towards the city. Was it fatigue or was it an attempt at rescue? We do not know, but soon they turned upon him and killed him on the road. The zeal of the Christians at Vienne secured for him a Christian burial, and soon after a church was built to mark the site of his martyrdom.

Meanwhile St. Julian was making his way to Auvergne. When he got near to Brioate (Brioude)

[1] "Christianus sum, sacrificare diis non debeo."

[2] Ruinart, p. 490 "egressus foras portam Lugdunensem."
Ruinart, p. 490 "et in ulteriorem ripam securus exit. Dehinc concito gradu ingressus aggerem publicum usque ad Jarem fluvium percucurrit."

he begged a shelter and a hiding-place in the cottage of a veteran soldier. The spies from Vienne were, however, on his track also, and having marked whither he went came to the cottage and demanded whether he was still within. The soldier's wife betrayed him, and then and there they put him to death.

Gregory of Tours,[1] whose interest in all religious matters in Auvergne is very remarkable, wrote a whole book on the miracles worked at his tomb or in his name, but he gives us very little of the details of his life, and probably knew little of them. To this day Julian is the Saint of Brioude. Venantius Fortunatus[2] mentions him in connection with St. Privat and St. Ferreolus:—

> Privatum Gabalus Julianum Arvernus abundans
> Ferreolum pariter pulcra Vienna gerit.

A hundred years earlier than Gregory, Sidonius Apollinarius,[3] bishop of Clermont Ferrand (472-488), wrote to Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, who was about to translate the remains of St. Ferreolus and a relic of St. Julian to a new church which had been built in his city to receive them, and compared him with St. Ambrose in being the guardian of two martyr tombs, and asked to be included among those remembered by the Church in Vienne.

ss. Rogatianus and Donatianus

Far away, near the mouth of the Loire and not far from the borders of Armorica, the action of Maximian in the south seems to have roused the heathen Celts to persecute the Christians, and to urge on the officials to carry out the laws of the empire. It is not certain whether Maximian, after his failure in Britain, may have gone as far west as Nantes, but St. Rogatianus

[1] Greg. T. *Lib. de virt. St. Juliani*, i. "sic et inclitus martyr Julianus qui Viennensi ortus urbe Arvernus datus est martyr . . . quia cum esset apud beatissimum Ferreolum."

Ibid. § 30 "advenit Ferreolus collega tuus ex Viennensibus."

[2] *Ep.* viii. 4.

[3] Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* vii. 1.

and St. Donatianus[1] certainly suffered at Nantes for their faith at some time between the years 286 and 292. The story of the martyrdom was well known at Tours, and again we find Gregory[2] recording, not those leading details of their lives which to-day we so much desire to know, but a certain miraculous appearance as of a procession of men clad in white which came forth from the church that had been built over their remains and made its way to the church of Similianus. Donatianus, as the story goes, was a young citizen of Nantes, of good position and remarkable thoughtfulness. He knew that Christianity was forbidden, but this fact in no way deterred him from urging on all his friends to forsake their idols and put their faith in Christ, and he became the more active as men began to insist that the orders of the president of that part of Gaul should be obeyed, and that all should sacrifice to the gods. He himself had been baptized and was educated in the Christian faith. Among the heathen was his younger brother Rogatian, whom[3] at last he was the means of converting to the Christian faith, and had it not been that the priest had fled from Nantes in fear of the persecution, Rogatian would gladly have been baptized. Seeing an executioner with the instruments of torture going on his way, one of the heathen crowd accosted him, and said that he had come most opportunely to bring back to the worship of the gods those who were seen to stray away from the Jews, and to put their faith in the Crucified One. "You know," said he, "that Donatian is a follower of this doctrine, and you ought first of all to carry out your stern instructions on him. For not only has he ceased, contrary to the orders of

[1] Tillemont considers the *Passio S. Donatiani* to be of the fifth century.

[2] Cf. Greg. T. *Lib. de glor. mart.* § 59.

[3] Ruinart p. 321 "Quod ad praesens ne susciperet baptisma, audita persecutione, fecit sacerdotis absentia fugitiva, sed quod de fonte defuit martyrii, cruor fusus impendit." The first bishop of Nantes is said to have been S. Clair, but *sacerdos* can here only mean a priest, since Nantes cannot have been organised as a diocese so early as the time of Diocletian. Duchesne is inclined to assign the martyrdom perhaps to the persecution of Decius. *Fastes ép.* ii. p. 360. The officer is called *persecutor*, *praeses*, *praefectus*, and *judex*.

the emperor, to observe the worship of the gods and to venerate Jove and Apollo, but he has also led away his brother into the same persuasion." So the president, before whom he was brought, ordered Donatian to stand forth in the presence of all, and then began at once to question him as to his faith. Donatian endeavoured to enter upon an argument, but the prefect, annoyed at his obstinacy, cut him short and ordered him to be bound and put into prison. Then Rogatian was brought forward, and every means was taken to induce him to change his opinions. He is young, they argue, he has not yet been baptized, and if only he will yield, a desirable post in the palace of the emperor will be offered to him. But Rogatian, too, was firm, and when the prefect saw that he had failed in his purpose, he ordered Rogatian also into prison. The next day they were brought out and made to stand before the public gaze, and since he could do nothing to bend their resolves, the president ordered them to be stretched on a torture frame,[1] so that those whose minds could not be moved by argument might have the muscles of their limbs broken by the punishment. Then the lictors, after further tortures, pierced their necks with a soldier's lance and beheaded them with a sword.

Edict for a general persecution.

The simple story of the sufferings of these martyrs is, of course, the work of a somewhat later age. With the exception of Eucherius' account of the massacre of the Thebaid legion there is an interval of two or three centuries between the event and the record of it. We cannot, therefore, rely on all the incidents, though most of them are natural and extremely likely, and we certainly can give little weight to the arguments between judge and accused, and the prolonged speech which some are said to have delivered. They all, however, form one especial group, they concern the

[1] "Jussit eos in equulei catasta suspendi."

Christians that were in the army, and they all were victims of Maximian's zeal for purging his army. They take place at centres where detachments of the army may have been located, and while they belong in one sense to the Diocletian persecution since they occurred when Diocletian reigned, they took place not as the result of his edict for a general persecution, but on account of the determination of Maximian to have an army free from those who were of the Christian religion.

Maximian returned from Britain in 289, and after making terms with Carausius and also the barbarians on the Rhine, he seems to have retired to Italy. Then, as we have mentioned before, in 292 Diocletian created Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Armentarius Caesars, and to Constantius fell the three dioceses of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, with Maximian at Milan as the Augustus whose orders he had to obey. Galerius seems to have been always averse to the Christians, and to him rather than to Diocletian was the edict against them due. Going to Nicomedia in the autumn of 302[1] he did what he could with Maximian[2] to strengthen the heathen influence at the palace, and long were the discussions that took place between the two emperors as to whether or not a persecution was to be allowed. There can be no doubt that the Christians were very numerous, even at the palace, and they had for their friends no other than Prisca and Valeria, the wife and daughter of Diocletian. The emperor was, however, not easy to move. It seemed a wicked thing to disquiet the empire, to shed the blood of many, and of those men who they knew well were quite ready to die. A private consultation, therefore, took place at the palace of some of the judges and military commanders, and they agreed with Galerius and encouraged Diocletian

[1] Lactantius, *de Mort. persecut.* § 14.

[2] *Ibid.* § 10 "tum Maximianus quoque Caesar inflammatus scelere advenit." See also § 18.

to act. Messengers were therefore sent to consult the oracle of Apollo, and an answer was returned that was hostile to the new religion. Galerius would have ordered all Christians to be burnt, but Diocletian would only sanction a proclamation which stopped short of blood-shedding. Meanwhile Galerius had taken steps to force the hands and take away all hesitation from his colleague. The heathen festival of the Terminalia, February 23, 303,[1] was drawing near. A fire burst out in the palace, and he tried to persuade Diocletian that it had been lit by the Christians. On the day of the festival during the rejoicing an attack was made on the church at Nicomedia. The doors were burst open and a pretended search took place for the statue of the Christians' God. None was, of course, found, but the Holy Scriptures were discovered and these were promptly burnt. Then since the emperor would not sanction the lighting of a fire, the soldiers of Galerius in a short time demolished the church. Meanwhile another mysterious fire broke out in the palace, and now Diocletian's resolve gave way, and the edict for persecution was signed.

When once he had yielded to his junior colleagues, Diocletian showed himself ready to continue the attack with cruelty and with energy. His own[2] wife and daughter he compelled to sacrifice. The edict was put up on the Palace gates in March 303. A Christian of[3] good birth and high position tore it down. The poor man was degraded and butchered. The edicts of Valerian A.D. 257 and 258 ordered that bishops, priests, and deacons were to be punished and exiled, that senators and men of position were to lose their dignity, and that if they persisted in declaring themselves to be

[1] Lactantius, *de Mort. persecut.* § 12.

[2] *Ibid.* § 15 "furebat ergo Imperator, jam non in domesticos tantum sed in omnes; et primam omnium filiam Valeriam, conjugemque Priscam sacrificio pollui coëgit."

[3] *Ibid.* "quod edictum quidam etsi non recte, majus tamen animo diripuit et conscidit . . . statimque productus, non modo extortus sed etiam legitime coctus, cum admirabili patientia postremo coctus est"; cf. Eusebius, *H.E.* viii. 2.

Christians, they were to be beheaded. The edict of Diocletian ordered that the churches were to be pulled down and levelled to the ground, the sacred Scriptures were to be burnt, and those in positions of honour, who were found to be Christians, were to be degraded. Freedmen as Christians were to lose their liberty.

Galerius then left Nicomedia for the East, and Diocletian continued to enforce the edict. This, his first edict, was soon followed by others, enlarging and making more cruel the terms of the first. Bishops were to be cast into prison and compelled by every means to sacrifice to the gods. The prisons were full, and unheard-of forms of tortures were invented and made use of. Altars were erected in every court-house that the accused might immediately be tested, and their refusal to sacrifice was at once taken as a proof of their guilt. To go before the judges was also to go before the heathen gods.

From Nicomedia copies of the edict[1] were sent to Maximian and to Constantius. The former readily acted upon it. The latter found himself in a position of great difficulty. Lactantius[2] tells us that he dare not disobey, and yet he was unwilling to carry it out. He threw down the walls of the churches, knowing that they could be easily rebuilt, but the true temple of God which is in man he preserved unharmed. So Gaul was protected through the clemency[3] of Constantius, and after the departure of Maximian there was no persecution there. Of course the edict had to be published, perhaps in Trier, perhaps in Lyons, but it may be safely said that there was no organised attack on the Christians in Gaul while Constantius, Caesar and afterwards Augustus, was alive.

[1] Lactantius, *ibid.* § 15 "et jam literae ad Maximianum atque Constantium commeaverunt ut eadem facerent. Eorum sententia in tantis rebus expectata non erat. Et quidem senex Maximianus libens paruit per Italiam, homo non adeo clemens. Nam Constantius ne dissentire a majorum praeceptis videretur, conventicula id est parietes qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est; verum autem Dei templum quod est in hominibus incolume servavit."

[2] *Ibid.* § 15.

[3] Euseb. *H.E.* viii. 13.

For two years the persecution raged,[1] but happily not in Gaul, and then in 305 Diocletian abdicated and compelled his earlier colleague Maximian, much against his will, to do the same.

The sovereign power now fell to Galerius and Constantius, who became Augusti, while Severus and Maximinus[2] became Caesars. Diocletian was averse to the succession of sons, and Constantine the son of Constantius and Maxentius the son of Maximianus were passed over. The next year, however, Constantius, the newly made emperor, died, and Constantine his son, who had returned to Gaul, assumed the rank of Caesar. Then the soldiers at Rome chose Maxentius as Imperator, and Maximian, who had regretted his abdication, again assumed the title of Imperator,[3] and the confusion in the empire was but the prelude to a lengthy and serious struggle. In 307 Severus, who on the death of Constantius had taken the title of Augustus, marched against Maxentius, but his soldiers deserted him and he was put to death at Ravenna. Galerius then appointed Licinius Augustus, and Constantine, who in the meantime had been in Gaul, assumed for himself the same rank. The interests of Gaul were wrapt up with those of Constantine, and it is unnecessary to follow the various developments of this tetrarchy beyond the struggle which soon took place between Constantine and his father-in-law Maximian. The edict of 303 had only been formally obeyed by Constantius in Gaul. On his death in 305 Constantine, who assumed the position his father had vacated, does not even seem to have made a pretence of obedience to it, and as the years went on the secret hatred between him and Maximian developed into open hostility. In 308, after he had resumed the reins of power and in reliance on his son, who had lately been hailed as Imperator at Rome,

[1] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 27; Lact. *ibid.* § 16 "vexabatur ergo universa terra et praeter Gallias ab oriente usque ad occasum tres acerbissimae bestiae saeviebant."

[2] Eutrop. x. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*

Maximian went to Lyons, seized the treasury, and endeavoured to bribe the soldiers to take part against his son-in-law. Constantine was then on the banks of the Rhine, and Maximian imagined that he could not return. But Constantine returned sooner than was expected, and in assumed friendship placed his father-in-law at Arles in an honourable but limited authority. Shortly after, it was discovered that Maximian was trying to rouse the province of Narbonensis II. to rebel, and on the approach of Constantine the aged emperor fled to Marseilles and there shut himself up. His soldiers, however, could not be trusted. Though Marseilles[1] had been prepared for a siege, on the arrival of Constantine they opened the gates, Maximian was stript of his imperial robes, and in 310 Constantine ordered his execution.

The death of Maximian seems to have coincided with the recognition by Galerius of the futility of his opposition to the spread of that religion he had been so anxious to suppress. During the autumn of 309 he had been slowly dying of a disease so horrible that even his attendants found it impossible to come and help him in his sufferings.[2] The doctors could do nothing for him, and Galerius sent to consult the priests of Apollo and Aesculapius, but no hope of recovery was held out to him. It is said[3] that a doctor who had been condemned to death because he was unable to cure him, ventured to suggest that as the disease was sent by the gods it was impossible to expect human skill to cure it. "Think of the cruelties," he exclaimed, "you have shown to the servants of God and your impiety towards their religion. You should know where one ought to look for the remedy. Kill me of course you can, but no doctor will be able for all that to cure you." Then it was, as

[1] For the death of Maximian at Marseilles cf. Eucherius, *Passio Agaunensium martyrum*, § 7 "deprehenso dolo ejus apud Massiliam captus nec multo post strangulatus teterrimoque hoc supplicio adfectus impiam vitam digna morte finivit." See also Lactantius, *de Mortibus persecutorum*, § 30; Eutrop. x. 3.

[2] Lact. *ibid.* § 33.

[3] Orosius, vii. 28.

in the spring of 310 he lay slowly dying at Nicomedia, that Galerius turned to the Christians and asked them to pray for him. The document is at once an anxious request and an edict. It is perhaps the most remarkable public document in the history of the Empire. He orders toleration that the Christians may set on prayer. Lactantius gives us probably the original Latin of the edict, and the document runs as follows[1]—Among all the measures we have adopted for the convenience and welfare of the republic, we have always desired to draw men to observe the ancient laws and accustomed discipline of the Romans, and to see that even the Christians who have forsaken the religion of their ancestors should be brought to a good state of mind. But for some cause[2] or other so great a desire had seized on them, and such madness had affected them, that they could not be induced to follow those institutions of the ancients which it may be their parents had established, but according to their own caprice, and as they will, they make laws for themselves, and in diverse places have established their houses of assembly ("conventicula sua"). Then when our own will was made known, some submitted through fear and some were punished, and when many persevered in their opinions and we observed[3] that on the one hand they did not give to the gods the worship and the service that was their due, and on the other side they did not seem to us to recognise the God of the Christians, yet having regard to our extreme clemency and to our habit of dealing very kindly with all our subjects, we have felt it our duty to extend even to them our clemency and to allow that Christians[4] as such may exist and

Edict of Toleration.

[1] Lact. *ibid.* § 34; Euseb. *H.E.* viii. 17.

[2] Cf. Lactantius, *ibid.* § 34 "tanta eosdem Xtianos voluntas invasisset et tanta stultitia occupasset ut non illa veterum instituta sequerentur quae forsitan primi parentes eorundem constituerant."

[3] "Nec diis eosdem cultum ac religionem debitam exhibere, nec Xtianorum Deum observare."

[4] "Ut denuo sint Xtiani et conventicula sua componant, ita ut ne quid contra disciplinam agant."

may erect their places of worship so long as they do nothing contrary to public morality. By another letter we have signified to our judges our will and what they are to do in regard to it. In return[1] for this our kindness they ought to pray to their God for the return of our health, for the welfare of the State, and for their own good, so that the republic may on all sides prosper, and they may be able to live freed from anxiety in their homes.

This strange and misleading document was issued by Galerius in the name of the Emperors Galerius, Constantine, and Licinius, and was dated as from Nicomedia on April 30, 310. It does not seem, however, to have been published until the next year. Galerius died very soon afterwards, and the execution of the law rested with Constantine and Licinianus. In the West there had been practically no persecution since 305, but in the East the Christians had suffered severely. Maximinus in the far East was bound to accept the edict, but interpreted it only as forbidding an active search for, and persecution of, the Christians, and as soon as he felt able he carried on the persecution with most intense bitterness, which only ended with his defeat by Licinius and his death at Tarsus in 313.

The result of the edict was of course more conspicuous in Italy and eastward than it was in Gaul. Lactantius describes it in reference to Dalmatia and Illyria in writing to one who had suffered for his faith —then,[2] O dearest Donatus, the prison gates were thrown open, and you with a large company of other confessors were freed from custody, and left that prison which had been to you for six long years your home.

Meanwhile Constantine was in Gaul and was preparing for that conflict with Maxentius, victory in

[1] "Debebunt Deum suum orare pro salute nostra et reipublicae ac sua."

[2] Lact. *ibid.* § 35 "tunc apertis carceribus Donate carissime cum caeteris confessoribus e custodia liberatus es, cum tibi carcer sex annis pro domicilio fuerit."

which would alone assure him of sovereign power in the West. In 312, therefore, Constantine assembled his army at Trier and began his march to Italy. It was known that Maxentius was using all the arts of the old religion to make sure of success, and was consulting soothsayers and magicians that he might cast such a spell on Constantine as would bring about his destruction. He entered into an understanding with Maximinus, if not into a secret treaty, and gathered new troops in Italy, and even summoned them from Africa. Then he began the quarrel by demanding from Constantine some explanations concerning the violent death at Nicomedia of the Emperor Galerius, and ordered the statues of his rival to be thrown down. Constantine, on his part, was certainly aware of the difficulties which lay before him. He could not entirely denude the banks of the Rhine of the soldiers that protected the boundaries of the Empire, and the force which he took with him was inferior to that of Maxentius, and was also somewhat reluctant to face the serried ranks of the Pretorian guards. He entered into an alliance with Licinius, and agreed that Licinius should marry his sister Constantia.

As he was approaching Italy, and was going on horseback[1] either through Gaul or northern Italy, he reflected on the weakness of his force and the religious efforts which Maxentius was making to ensure victory. For himself there seemed no help to be gained by an appeal to the gods of the country, and so he decided to call for assistance from that God of the Christians whom his father Constantius had recognised if not revered. In after years, when he was living at Constantinople, he reviewed all the details in this crisis of his life, and told to Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, who was as it were his private chaplain, the steps which led him on to become a Christian. As he was[2] praying, he said, God sent to him a miraculous sign. It was after noon, and the sun

[1] On Constantine cf. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, i. 27; Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins der Grossen*, 1880. [2] Euseb. *Vita Constantini*, i. 28.

was sinking in the horizon, when he saw in the heavens above the sun a luminous cross with this inscription attached, Τούτῳ νίκα. The sight alarmed him. It was seen also by the soldiers, who bore witness of the miracle. He asked himself therefore what the sign meant, and for long he thought of it, and during the night, and while he dreamt of the event of the day just past, Christ appeared to him carrying the sign which he had witnessed in the heavens, and bade him make a military standard after the model of this mysterious symbol, which should be for him a safe protection in all the conflict which lay before him.

The dream was naturally his own, but the sign in the heavens was known to the whole army, and there were various interpretations as to its meaning. The haruspices regarded it as a monition of coming disaster, the Christians among the soldiers were more hopeful. The emperor strictly enjoined silence on those of his soldiers who were heathen, and slowly the army began to hope for success.

As he advanced, victory after victory came to him at Turin, Milan, Brescia, Verona, and Aquileia, and only once did a slight check seem to delay him. Then he marched rapidly towards Rome and found himself face to face with his rival Maxentius. His foe, however, was confident of victory, and Maxentius pushed forward his troops across the Tiber, so that behind them lay the river which could only be crossed by the Milvian Bridge. During the battle Maxentius was in the city, but growing impatient of delay he crossed and made for the front of the army, desirous of leading his soldiers against his rival Constantine. It was October 28, A.D. 312. Constantine is said also to have had another premonition of success which yet further encouraged him in the conflict. Slowly the Pretorian guards were pushed back on the river and the bridge, and in his efforts to recross with the crowd of his soldiers Maxentius fell into the Tiber and was drowned before the eyes of

his retreating and defeated army. Constantine was now master of Rome, his rival was dead, and he was lord of the western portion of the army and of the Empire. His entry into the capital was as if he had delivered it from some scourge. The new standards of the army, carrying aloft the sacred Labarum, showed that Christianity was in the ascendant, and while those who were attached to the old religion were not repelled, the Christians in the city were filled with hope for the future. That which Tertullian[1] had imagined to be impossible seemed now to have come to pass. Everything indicated that Constantine was on the side of the Christians. That same autumn, or in the winter, the emperor wrote a threatening letter[2] to Maximinus, calling upon him to recognise the edict of Galerius and cease from the bitter cruelties he was inflicting on the Christians in the East. The reply of Maximinus is contained in a rescript, which Eusebius gives us,[3] sent to Sabinus, stating the mere fact that if any wish to follow their own worship they may have liberty to do so, without giving any instructions concerning the return of their buildings to the Christians, or granting to them permission to assemble for public worship.

Early in 313, after he had entered on the consulship for the third time, Constantine went to Milan, not merely to be present at the marriage of Licinius with his sister Constantia, but also to discuss with Licinius some measure of further toleration. So important was the meeting that the aged Diocletian was summoned from Salona to attend it, but ill health and old age prevented him, and he died on the[4] first of May of that year, the very day on which Maximinus himself passed away after his defeat and flight from Licinius.

The Edict of Toleration,[5] issued by Constantine and ii. Edict of Toleration.

[1] *Apology*, § 21 "aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Caesares."
[2] "Constantini litteris deterretur," Lact. *de Mort. pers.* § 37.
[3] Euseb. *H.E.* ix. 9.
[4] Lact. *ibid.* § 47.
[5] Lact. *ibid.* § 48 "cum feliciter tam ego Constantinus Augustus quam etiam ego

Licinius, was an advance on that of Galerius. Much had been done by Maximinus and by local authorities in the interests of the ancient religion without instruction from the emperor and which had now to be definitely prohibited, and Constantine himself was more than ever pledged to do something for Christianity. The princes had come together, the edict said, to consult for the common welfare of the republic, and among the first matters to regulate were those by which reverence for God was to be upheld. We grant, therefore, to Christians and to every one full liberty to follow that religion which they please, so that God may be appeased by us and all who are under our authority. With correct intention and desire for the welfare of all, we decree then that liberty is not to be denied to any one to follow or to carry out the observances of the Christian religion as they may feel most suitable, so that God may continue to us His accustomed favour and protection. All exceptions and restrictions, therefore, which have been laid down in our former letters are to be removed, and any that seemed harsh and contrary to our accustomed clemency annulled. You shall know, therefore, that each individual Christian may freely and without hindrance pursue that observance of his religion which seems to his will. We would have you know also that to them we grant this freedom of religious observance. We also decree that the places where the Christians were wont formerly to assemble, which others may have purchased, are to be restored to the Christians without any money or other compensation. If these buildings or sites have been bestowed on any as grants from the State, they are to be given back to the Christians as soon as possible, and compensation is to be made to the grantees out of our treasury. The Christians also had not only places of worship and

Licinius Augustus apud Mediolanum convenissemus," etc. This, as being probably the original Latin document, is more reliable than Eusebius's Greek version, *H.E.* x. 5. Lactantius gives us the rescript of Licinius, issued in order to carry out the edict in the East, the διάταξις of Eusebius.

private houses, but also other property in their corporate capacity. Such property we desire to be at once restored to them, and those who do so promptly and gratuitously may look for indemnity to us. It is your duty also to look personally into this matter, that our wishes concerning the Christians and their goods may be fully and effectually carried out.

To this rescript, says Lactantius, he added verbal instructions that the churches of the Christians should be restored to their former condition, and thus from the overturning of the Church to its recovery were ten years and nearly four months. The edict, therefore, was issued in June 313.

CHAPTER V

THE PEACE OF THE CHURCH

WHAT then did the Edict of Milan really mean? Was Constantine a Christian?[1] The eagles had been lowered before the Labarum, but was the new emperor prepared to submit to the restraints on his conduct demanded by the new Faith? The document is very remarkable, and its special character seems to be due to the emperor himself. His thrice-repeated statement[2] that liberty was granted to the Christians, that they should be free to choose their form of religion and their observance of it, and his thrice-repeated insistence that their churches and corporate possessions were to be restored to them undamaged, clearly point to an author who was well informed and of great influence, and such could not have been a mere Secretary of State. There is too much personal character in the document. Whoever had inspired it, had heard the tale of many an act of cruel injustice and undeserved suffering. The imprisonment of unoffending Christians and the confiscation of their property was well known to him. In Italy that story would certainly have been confirmed

[1] Cf. the excellent remarks of Mons. Boissier, *La Fin du paganisme*, i. cap. 2. The reader should also consult Prof. Schultze's *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, vol. i. 1. He has some good remarks on Constantine and the idea of a state religion. Sôzomen iii. 17.

[2] Lactantius, *de Mort. persecut.* § 48 "ut daremus et Christianis et omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem quam quisque voluisset . . . ut nulli omnino facultatem abnegandam putaremus qui vel observationi Christianorum vel ei religioni mentem suam dederet . . . ac simpliciter unusquisque eorum qui eandum observandae religionis Christianorum gerunt voluntatem citra ullam inquietudinem ac molestiam sui id ipsum observare contendant."

which Constantine had often heard in Gaul. He was now determined to make reparation. Christianity was now a *religio licita*. It was tolerated.

The document, however, seems to show a yet further advance towards Christianity. It was more than tolerated. Churches and property formerly held by Christians[1] were to be given back to them. If necessary, reparation was to be provided from the imperial chest. It was a far-reaching bid for the loyal support of the Christians, and the men who had been accused as the cause of the dying influence of paganism were now encouraged to uphold an emperor who promised more than toleration for their Faith. The Church[2] could now lift up its head and rejoice. The dread, inspired by those who were wont to persecute, vanished. With joy and gladness the Christians kept their festivals, and, as Eusebius says, everything was full of light, and all who had been weighed down with sorrow now looked on one another with smiling and cheerful faces. In cities and in villages the congregations sang hymns in praise and honour of God, the King of all the universe, and then extolled the emperor, who had given them such peace and liberty.

Certainly the edict was regarded as due to Constantine. Whatever approval Licinius may have given was soon forgotten. Writing twenty years after the publication of the edict, Eusebius virtually ignores him, in reference to it. The influence and the will of Constantine was alone recognised. The edict was clearly due to him and was part of his far-seeing policy, under which he acquired absolute sway over the Empire. In numbers certainly the Christians were not to be despised. It has been said[3] that at the time of the declaration of toleration issued by Galerius on his death-bed nineteen out of every twenty of the popula-

[1] Lactantius, *ibid.* ". . . et conventiculis eorum reddi jubebis."
[2] Eusebius, *H.E.* x. 1.
[3] Beugnot's *Histoire du paganisme en Occident*, quoted by Boissier i. cap. 1, sec. 3.

tion of the Empire were heathen. The persecution had for the Christians tested the sincerity of their faith, and such an estimate, if true, can indicate only men who, as opportunity occurred, would become open and active propagators of the Christian religion. The two years' interval from the order of Galerius to the edict of Constantine and Licinius in 313 must have seen an enormous increase of Christians, and it is possible that Constantine anticipated, and for his own purpose, that demand for liberty, which, had it been made, and it certainly would soon have been made, could not safely have been refused.

The faith of Constantine.

It is not easy to gauge the real feelings of Constantine in regard to Christianity. Because he more than tolerated it, it was assumed that he was convinced of its truth, and the subsequent adulation of Churchmen, who hoped for promotion at his hands, makes it difficult for us to test his character. He was certainly not a Christian. A quarter of a century was to pass away before he was baptized, and his approach towards the Faith was slow and very doubtful. He was a superstitious man[1] and believed in a watching and protecting divinity, and this he desired to propitiate whether it was the God of the Christians or the ancient gods of the Empire. The decision was forced on him when he was marching into Italy against Maxentius. The haruspices in Gaul warned him[2] that all the signs were against him. Maxentius was the favoured of the ancient gods, and so Constantine turned to Him who was the God of the Christians. His victory he regarded as evidence of the help of this God. A year afterwards he wrote[3] to Anulinus, the governor of Africa—God punishes those who disobey, and grants prosperity to those who serve Him. The words he ordered to be placed on his triumphal arch near the Colosseum — *instinctu divinitatis* — seem an accurate

[1] Euseb. *Vita Const.* i. 47, and Baehren's ed. *Paneg.* ix. 2 and x. 14.
[2] *Paneg.* ix. 2. [3] Euseb. *H.E.* x. 7.

index of his mind. It was evidence of what might be as time went on.

We cannot, however, ignore the criticism of Eutropius.[1] His judgment must be set against the flatteries of the nominal Christians who crowded the emperor's palace. His early success seems to have influenced him to his harm, and the leniency which he had once displayed gave place to a cruelty which was incompatible with the profession of a Christian. At first, wrote Eutropius, he might be regarded as the equal of the best of emperors, but at the end of his life he could only be classed with those who were mediocre. The friend of Lactantius had become the persecutor of Athanasius.

It is possible that the change which we cannot but notice in Constantine as his reign was prolonged was due to an error of judgment. Christianity was tolerated, but toleration alone would never satisfy Christianity. The new faith could not rest until it had become itself the religion of the State and had destroyed the old religion it had supplanted. Moreover, the edict was revolutionary.[2] Up to that moment there had been no religion for individuals. All religion was a matter of associations. The individual had not been thought of, and now the edict had given him full individual liberty. It recognised a definite relationship between the man and his God. The emperor had acted as one who was able to speak and to give orders concerning religious matters to his subjects. What was his own relationship towards the new religion? Would he assume towards it the position he had held towards the old faith? As sovereign pontiff would he interfere and regulate in

[1] Eutropius, *Epit.* x. 5 "verum insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinum ex illa favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus, egregium virum et sororis filium, commodae indolis juvenem, interfecit, mox uxorem, post numerosos amicos. Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus."

[2] Cicero, *de Leg.* ii. 8 "separatim nemo habessit deos neve novos neve advenas nisi publice adscitos, privatim colunto."

the Christian Church ?[1] All was as yet unknown.[2] It was undoubtedly possible that he would do so, and as we advance into the century we will see the imperial policy taking shape. Eusebius recorded in later times how Constantine had said to the bishops assembled at Nicomedia[3]—you are the bishops within the Church, and as for myself God has made me the bishop of external affairs. Nothing, however, as yet had indicated that such was to be his policy.

The Donatist schism.

It was in the year A.D. 313, the year of the edict, that Constantine as emperor showed the extent to which he felt he was responsible for the welfare of the Church. He had not merely granted it liberty. He had taken it under his protection, and now he must endeavour to save it from schism. He had evidently received definite news from Africa and had been in communication with some of the African and Italian bishops. In the edict the emancipated religion was that of the Catholic Church. A few months afterwards he wrote to Anulinus,[4] the governor of Africa, concerning the Catholic Church of the Christians in that province. He was aware of the religious dissensions among the Christians there, and desired to support the Catholics against the Schismatics. The benefits of the edict are being narrowed down. They are for the catholics and not for the sectaries, for the recognised society and not for the individual.

The persecution under Diocletian and Maximian,[5] A.D. 303-311, had raged with special bitterness and cruelty in North Africa, and the feuds created by the Decian persecution,[6] A.D. 249-252, intensified the suffering, and when on the cessation of persecution the Church began to recover, there was a harvest of trouble

[1] Cf. Beulier, *Le Culte impérial*, pt. ii. cap. ii., on the Christian Church and the imperial cult from the time of Constantine.

[2] Cf. Schultze's *Geschichte des Untergangs der Heidenthums*, i. cap. 1, p. 39.

[3] Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv. 24 ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καθεσταμένος ἐπίσκοπος ἂν εἴην.

[4] Euseb. *H.E.* x. 5. [5] Euseb. *H.E.* viii. 10 and 14. [6] *Ibid.* vi. 43.

which painfully checked the progress of peace and order. What was to be done to those Christians who in a moment of weakness, and in fear of torture and death, had surrendered the Holy Scriptures to be burnt, had offered incense at some heathen altar, had given in a list, correct or not, of the names of brethren, or had by an act of duplicity purchased certificates which delivered them from trial? The question was not new. It had troubled the African Church since the age of Cyprian, and now it still divided the Christians there.

Mensurius,[1] bishop of Carthage, had striven to bring back these fallen converts by a policy of kindness, and so from his sterner and stricter colleagues, the neighbouring bishops, had incurred the charge of weakness and unfaithfulness. A deacon, Felix, had been accused as a traditor, and had taken refuge in the bishop's house, and Mensurius refused to give him up. So the neighbouring bishops appealed to Anulinus, the proconsul, as to him[2] whose function now it was to decide who were those Christians sanctioned by the edict of Galerius, and perhaps also to suppress those who were not. Anulinus then referred the matter to Rome to be decided by Maxentius himself, and Mensurius and his accusers were sent to Italy. Here at Rome the controversy was examined and Mensurius was acquitted, and especially of the later charge that he himself was a traditor; but on his way back to Africa Mensurius died.[3] In his place the Christians of Carthage chose as their bishop the archdeacon Caecilianus, and he was consecrated by Felix, bishop of Aptunga.[4] This procedure was perhaps irregular, since Secundus of Tigisis[5] as the neighbouring metropolitan of Numidia should probably have performed the act

[1] Optatus i. cap. 17, Ziwsa's edition in the Vienna Corpus.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 8; Euseb. x. 7.

[3] Optatus i. 7 "profectus causam dixit: jussus reverti, ad Carthaginem pervenire non potuit."

[4] Opt. i. 18.

[5] *Ibid.* i. 19 " . . . tunc suffragio totius populi Caecilianus eligitur et manum imponente Felice Autumnitano episcopus ordinatur."

of consecration, and in his vexation Secundus led an opposition to Caecilian, and was strongly supported by Donatus, bishop of Casae Nigrae. In A.D. 312 Secundus and Donatus and their friends came to Carthage and held a meeting,[1] a conciliabulum it was afterwards called, of their adherents in the house of a rich lady of Carthage, Lucilla, who was specially hostile to Caecilian on account of some strictures he had made on her life. To this meeting they summoned Caecilian as one accused of some crime, and since, under such conditions, he refused to meet them, the bishops wrote to Constantine, who was then in Gaul, and told him the charges they had against Caecilian, and asked him[2] through Anulinus, the proconsul, to try the charge himself. Constantine, however, now began to show that he was a bishop of external matters. He did not try the case himself, but chose three Gallican bishops, probably friends, and possibly men who had lately taught him somewhat of the new faith he had favoured with his protection — Maternus, bishop of Cöln, Reticius, bishop of Autun, and Marinus, bishop of Arles —and bade them go to Rome and with Melchiades, bishop of Rome, hear the charges against Caecilian. Eusebius gives us a Greek version of Constantine's rescript to Melchiades[3] in which he tells him what he had heard from Anulinus and how he had ordered the proconsul to send over the bishop of Carthage and ten of the bishops, his accusers, and ten others whom Caecilian might consider as necessary, and that he desired Melchiades and the three whom he had sent him as his colleagues to decide on his behalf, because he had such regard for the Catholic Church that he wished to leave no room for schism or dissension. The Council was held on October 5, A.D. 313, at the house

[1] Optatus i. 16.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 22 gives us the words of this appeal: "rogamus te Constantine optime imperator quoniam de genere justus es—petimus ut de Gallia nobis judices dari praecipiat pietas tua."

[3] Euseb. *H.E.* x. 5; Optatus i. 23 "Maternus ex Agrippina civitate, Reticius ab Augustoduno civitate, Marinus Arelatensis."

of the Empress Fausta[1] on the Lateran. Caecilian appeared, and his case was carefully considered, and he was completely acquitted and Constantine not only recognised him[2] as the Catholic bishop of Carthage but transmitted to him considerable sums for the rebuilding and refurnishing of the churches which had been despoiled and ruined. The letter is important because it is the first of its kind, and because it shows us the idea Constantine was forming of his responsibility towards Christianity. The edict created equality, but it must soon have become evident in which direction lay the emperor's fancy. "We have determined," wrote Constantine[3] to Caecilian, "that in all the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania, grants should be made to all the clergy of the most holy Catholic religion to defray their expenses, and I have ordered Ursus, the vicar of Africa, to pay to you three thousand folles, and you are to distribute this money among these clergy. Should this sum be not sufficient you are to make a demand on Heraclides, the procurator, and he will supply what is needed. I hear that some men wish to turn away from the Catholic Church and I have given instruction to Anulinus the proconsul and to Patricius the vice-prefect that they are specially to watch this matter. If then you see any men so acting you are to report it to these judges that they may pay attention to it."

Another letter to Anulinus[4] expresses the desire of the emperor that in the restitution of the property of the Church care should be taken not to harass those by whom this property has been rightly acquired. If any of the decurions or others have in their possession the things belonging to the Catholic Church of the Christians they are at once to give them up, for he had determined that what these churches had before they should have

[1] Opt. ut supra, "convenerunt in domum Faustae in Laterano."
[2] Euseb. *H.E.* x. 6; Opt. i. 25. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] Euseb. *H.E.* x. 7.

again now, and Anulinus is to see that the restoration of houses, lands, and gardens should take place with as little delay as possible.

When the Donatists in Africa heard the result of the judicial enquiry at Rome, that Caecilian had been acquitted, and that the emperor had recognised him in a very marked way, they complained that the trial was irregular and, therefore, the judgment was invalid, and through Anulinus[1] they again appealed to Constantine and asked him to hear the case himself.

The emperor was naturally angry, because their opposition seems to have struck at the very foundation of his new self-constituted position as the protector of the Catholic Church. He decided to take steps to assert his authority, and to act with severity if they did not submit to the decision arrived at. His first thought was to summon a general council of the bishops of the Catholic Church, but with the East he had as yet little acquaintance, and with the West he was more likely to gain the end he desired. He decided, therefore, to summon an assembly or council of representative bishops from the western part of the Empire, and this was to meet at Arles[2] on August 1, 314, in the house of Marinus the bishop there. So the Donatist controversy through the Council of Arles finds an entrance into the history of the Gallican Church.

Council of Arles.

The Council was summoned — *jussu Constantini Magni in Caeciliani et Donatistarum causa.* The imperial authorities were ordered to provide conveyances and to pay the travelling expenses of the bishops going to Arles who on account of poverty were unable to defray them themselves, and who were journeying in obedience to this order; and among those who travelled through Gaul[3] from the provincia Britanniarum were three bishops — Eborius de civitate Eboracensi, Restitutus de civitate Londinensi, and Adelfius de

[1] Optatus i. 25. [2] Optatus, Appendix iii. "Constantinus Augustus Aelafio."
[3] Mansi, *Concil.* ii. 469.

civitate colonia Londinensium.[1] During the interval between the enquiry at Rome and the Council of Arles Melchiades had died and Sylvester had succeeded him. He did not go to Arles, but was represented by four of his clergy. About four hundred were said to have been present, or rather, perhaps, were summoned. Marinus seems to have taken the lead, though it is probable that Constantine himself was present.[2] Caecilian's case was again considered, and he was again acquitted, and though this judgment and even Constantine's threats of harsh treatment did not silence them the Donatist, controversy does not again enter into the history of the Church in Gaul.

There were other matters, however, in addition to this African controversy concerning which this first Council of the Church in Gaul was called upon to deliberate, and the bishops drew up twenty-two canons for the regulation of the affairs of the Church, the first indication of the Church's need, and the fullest evidence we as yet have had of the extent to which the Church in Gaul was then in process of organisation. Attached to the Canons of the Council is a letter sent by Marinus,[3] the presiding bishop, to Pope Sylvester, and to this letter is, yet further, attached the names of thirty-three bishops. The names of their sees[4] are not mentioned, but Arles, Trier, Autun, Rheims, Cöln, Rouen, Bordeaux, Lyons, Vienne, and perhaps Metz are represented, with Adelfius from Britain, and Caecilian, the bishop of Carthage.

At the end of the Canons of the Council there is a list of those said to have been present during the session which differs somewhat from the list of bishops whose names are appended to the letter to Pope Sylvester. These lists of bishops, however, are not so reliable, as historical documents, as the canons, many of them are

[1] Haddan and Stubbs suggest that we should read *Legionensivm* in place of *Londinensium*.

[2] Euseb. *Vita Const.* i. 44. The fact is not quite certain.

[3] Mansi, *Concil.* ii. 465.

[4] We cannot conclude from these identifications that the Sees were actually formed. The bishops were rather labouring in these cities as missionary bishops.

later insertions, and often on authority which is purely traditional. Certainly if we judge by the number of the names, the Council was a much smaller one than had at first been intended and may have consisted, to a great extent, of priests representing their bishops than of the bishops who were originally summoned.

In the case of Caecilian very little is said. His accusers were *aut damnati aut repulsi*—a phrase which suggests disturbances and expulsions. Then follow the twenty-two[1] canons of which perhaps two or three may refer to the Donatists.

1. Easter is to be kept on one and the same day throughout the world, and the bishop of Rome is to decide the day.

2. Where a person receives ordination there he is to remain.[2]

3. Men who take part in gladiatorial combats are to be excommunicated.

4. Christians acting as charioteers are to be excommunicated.

5. Christians taking part in theatrical displays are to be excommunicated.

6. Catechumens[3] waiting for baptism and falling ill may receive the laying on of hands.

7. Christians appointed to offices in the State are not necessarily to be excluded from Church ordinances but are to receive the fatherly advice of their bishops.[4]

8. Heretics, who have been rightly baptized, are to be examined, and if they are now orthodox they are only to receive the laying on of hands.

9. Letters dimissory[5] are to be from the hands of the bishop and not from confessors.

---

[1] Cf. "Collectio Conciliorum Galliae" in Bruns' *Bibliotheca ecclesiatica*, vol. i. part ii. p. 107. Mansi, ii. 460.

[2] This and the 21st Canon deal with the same subject. It was a necessary step in the permanent organisation of the Church.

[3] The word used is "conversi." It seems doubtful whether this refers to confirmation or to some ceremony with which converts were recognised as catechumens. Had "manus impositio" come to be used in a technical sense?

[4] There is a similar canon among those of the Council of Elvira. Public officials would naturally be called upon to take part in ceremonies more or less heathen, and at Elvira (Can. lvi.) it was decreed that they should abstain from attendance at church during their period of office. The difficulty was only temporary, and the edicts of Constantius soon made it superfluous.

[5] Cf. Canon of Elvira No. 25. There had been a great increase of these due to the exaggerated view of the sanctity and courage of confessors, and it was subversive of the rightful authority of the bishops.

10. A man may not marry again on the ground that his wife has been unfaithful.

11. Christian maidens married to heathen husbands must refrain for a time from church privileges.

12. Priests are not to lend money upon usury.

13. If any[1] are found who have delivered up the Holy Scriptures or the sacred vessels of the Church, or handed in lists of the names of their fellow Christians, they are to be degraded, but the ordinations performed by them are valid.

14. Those who accuse their brethren falsely are to be excommunicated for the rest of their lives.

15. Deacons are not to celebrate the Holy Eucharist.

16. In whatever diocese a man has been excommunicated, there, if at all, he is to be received into communion again.

17. Bishops are not to hinder one another in the performance of their episcopal duties.

18. Urban deacons[2] are to do nothing without the knowledge of the priests who are set over them.

19. Bishops from other dioceses are to be allowed to celebrate the Holy Eucharist.

20. No bishop is to be consecrated unless there be three bishops to take part in the ceremony.

21. Priests and deacons wandering from their own spheres of work into other districts are to be deposed.

22. Apostates who in sickness seek communion are not to be received back into Christian fellowship unless they show by their conduct that they are contrite and striving to amend their lives.

The first council of the church in the West under the changed conditions not only of toleration but also of the favour of the emperor was followed in the same year by a council in the East at Ancyra.[3] It was necessary that the Church should at once make arrangements for the future. The kingdom of heaven was being taken by storm. Crowds of men for political and worldly reasons were coming into the Church, passing from the altars of the heathen gods to the

[1] This deals with one of the causes of the Donatist schism.

[2] May this be taken as indicative of the missionary character of the Gallican Church at this time? Deacons in charge of small villages, and priests alone in towns might be induced to forget the limits of their spiritual functions.

[3] Cf. Mansi, ii. 534.

sanctuary of the Christians with little or no thought of the change in life that such a step demanded. The example which Constantine had set was indeed a real danger to the Church. To have worked its own way to freedom would have been much safer for the Church. Growth was so rapid that organisation was almost impossible. Councils of the Church could only lay down general principles. Another century had to pass away before we find in the West the permanent organisation which has come down to our own times.

With the Council of Arles the Donatists were much disappointed. Its decision they refused to accept, and the emperor realised in their resistance a limit to his power. In A.D. 315[1] he summoned Caecilian to meet him in Rome in the month of August. At the time appointed Caecilian was too ill to undertake the journey, and by permission of the emperor he was allowed to meet him at Milan in November 316.[2] There he was received by Constantine and his case was again thoroughly examined and now his acquittal was final. The emperor treated him with every respect as undoubtedly an orthodox bishop of the Catholic church, and sent word to Eumalius the vicar of Africa to act with severity towards the Donatists who still persisted in their opposition, and if necessary to send them to Italy for punishment.

The Council of Arles gives us our first view of the organisation of the Church in Gaul. In the Corbey MS. of the Canons of the Council we have appended a list of the bishops said to have been present. We have the names[3] of twelve bishops of the province of Gaul with that of a deacon representing the isolated town of Javols in the Cevennes and a priest representing the ancient city of Orange. The bishops' sees are those of Arles, Trier, Autun, Rouen, Rheims, Cöln,

[1] Optatus, Appendix vi.
[2] Aug. *Epp.* No. 162 [No. xliii. in ed. 1797] "dixit quidem apostolus Paulus."
[3] Mansi, *Concil.* ii. 463.

Lyons, Marseilles, Vienne, Vaison, Bordeaux, and the distant town of Eauze, the capital of the older Aquitaine and now the capital of the later Novempopulania.

Church organisation in Gaul.

During the ages of the persecutions the church had been slowly developing its organisation, and the distinction between the clergy and the laity and the need of a duly ordained ministry had been definitely recognised. Dioceses, however, in the sense of territorial spheres of supervision and work for the bishops were yet to come, though, of course, all in one city would regard him as the head of their community. It was not till A.D. 341,[1] after the Council of Antioch, that the Church adopted the civil arrangements for her own spiritual administrative districts. The influence had been relative and personal, now because of his peculiar sanctity and now because of the importance of the city where the bishop laboured. Slowly the city and its commune was becoming the see and diocese of the bishop.

This approximation of the organisation of the Church to the geographical arrangements of the state seems to have gone on steadily during the fourth century. The order of development in England is exactly reversed, and for this English readers are not prepared. In Gaul, as part of the Roman Empire, the State was organised before the Church took root in its midst. In England the Church anticipated the State. In Gaul what was new was that which the Church had brought in. In England it was the Church which had introduced and preserved the older traditions of the Empire, its laws and its organisation, and what was new came from the Teutonic traditions which the English monarchs cherished and often against the influence of the Church. It is certain that in the second half or perhaps rather in the last quarter of the third century there had been a considerable increase of the number of Christians

[1] Cf. Mansi, *Concil.* ii. p. 1340.

in Gaul. The list of bishops' sees which is attached to the Canons of the Council of Arles is probably not a complete list of the dioceses of the bishops of Gaul. Neither Tours, Toulouse, nor Narbonne are mentioned. It offers us, however, evidence of the general spread of Christianity throughout the country, and we may well believe that there were in many other towns small groups of Christian citizens under the care of some priest or deacon which were preparing the way for a yet larger development of the Church's episcopal organisation. The Gaul of Julius Caesar was a country of Celtic tribes, and the settlements of these tribes were cantons, the home of each particular tribe. The Roman principle was municipal, the planting of colonies and cities which should become energising foci of Roman rule and civilisation, and the records of the yearly gatherings of Lyons gives us evidence of the way the Roman authorities were turning these cantons or tribal centres into Roman towns. In the year A.D. 21,[1] the year of the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir, a list is given of the cities of Gaul. In Aquitaine there were seventeen, in Lugdunensis twenty-five, and in Belgica twenty-two. At that date many of these cities could not have been cities at all but merely camping-grounds of Celtic tribes. But the usual camping-ground slowly became the territory of the tribe with its city where the members of the tribe dwelt. The territory of the tribe was becoming the land of the city, and this transformation went on steadily and was all but complete when in the time of Caracalla[2] (A.D. 212-217) the title of Roman citizens was conferred on all the subjects of the Empire. The varying size of these city territories is to be traced to the fact that since Julius Caesar's time some of these tribes had been absorbed into others so that what we see to-day is the result of a slow amalgamation. Perhaps

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 44.

[2] Dion Cassius, lxxvii. 9, *Digest*, i. 5. 17; cf. Aug. *De civ. Dei*, v. 17 "factum est ut omnes ad Romanum imperium pertinentes societatem acciperent civitatis et Romani cives essent."

also in some cases one of a group of communes may have acquired a kind of pre-eminence and with that pre-eminence may have gone a certain corresponding increase of territory. So it was that when the Church began to organise the episcopate on a territorial basis, in order that the whole province should be mapped out into bishops' sees, the country was ready for the organisation. Districts had not to be created, they already existed and were used for civil purposes. Moreover, the State had, in its great political division of the province, prepared the way for the Church. Under Diocletian the allocation of the provinces to the emperor and the senate ceased to be of any importance, and the division of the Empire in A.D. 286, which resulted in the permanent settlement in Gaul of a Caesar under the Western Augustus, gave rise to very important subdivisions of the province. From the time of Julius Caesar to the age of Diocletian the same divisions had continued practically unchanged, Narbonensis, Aquitania, Gallia Celtica, Belgica, Sequania, and Germania. Early in the fourth century[1] these districts were subdivided. Narbonensis became first of all Viennensis and Narbonensis, and later on still, in A.D. 381, Narbonensis was divided into two and the chief towns of these three sub-provinces were Vienne, Narbonne, and Aix. Aquitaine had already at some time previously witnessed a partial division when local government was assigned to the original Aquitaine, *i.e.* the portion of Gaul between the Garonne and the Pyrenees, the district which afterwards became known as Novempopulania. Now under Diocletian Aquitaine was again divided into two sub-districts and also later on in A.D. 369 we have the three towns of Auch, Bordeaux, and Bourges re-

[1] Cf. *Breviarium Ruf. Festi*, "sunt Galliae cum Aquitania et Britanniis provinciae decem et octo: Alpes Maritimae, Provincia Viennensis, Narbonensis, Novempopulania, Aquitaniae duae, Alpes Graiae, Maxima Sequanorum, Germaniae duae, Belgicae duae, Lugdunensis duae," and four provinces in Britain. See also Block in Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 276.

presenting the three divisions of Novempopulania, Aquitaine I. and Aquitaine II. Then the province of Gallia Lugdunensis, that portion of Gallia Celtica, which was north and east of the river Loire, was divided into Lugdunensis Prima and Secunda, and in A.D. 385 yet further sub-divided into Lugdunensis I., II., III., and IV., with the towns of Lyons, Rouen, Tours, and Sens as their capitals. In like manner Gallia Belgica became Belgica i. and ii. with Trier and Rheims as the capitals, Sequania with Besançon, and Germania became Prima and Secunda with Mainz and Köln as the capitals. The two districts known as the Alpes Maritimae and Alpes Graiae, with their chief towns of Embrun and Moutiers in Tarentaise, made up the seventeen provinces of Gaul which were grouped into the two civil dioceses of Vienne and Gaul, Vienne being the head of the seven provinces of Vienne, Narbonensis I. and II., Novempopulania, Alpes Maritimae and Alpes Graiae, and perhaps Aquitaine II., and the other ten forming the diocese of Gaul, and Vienne and Trier were the two capitals.

Before the end of the sixth century[1] we find that more than half of these seventeen civil provinces had already become the provinces of archbishops, *i.e.* Trier, Rheims, Sens, Rouen, Lyons, Bourges, Bordeaux, Vienne, Narbonne, and Arles, and the process was still going on under which the church was accepting the geographical divisions of the State as the basis of its own organisation.[2]

[1] Cf. Longnon, *Géog. de la Gaule au V^e siècle*, chap. ii.

[2] In the *Notitia Galliarum* (Seeck's ed., Berlin, 1876) one hundred and eighteen cities of Gaul are recorded, and Monseigneur Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, i. 29, has some important remarks on them and on the question of the establishment in Gaul at that time of episcopal sees. Only twenty-four dioceses possess well-kept and historically valuable catalogues of their bishops, and in all cases there are omissions at the beginning, *i.e.* just where we need information as to the origin of the see. These sees are Angers, Auxerre, Beauvais, Bourges, Chartres, Chalon-sur-Saône, Grenoble, Langres, Lyons, Metz, Nantes, Orleans, Paris, Rheims, Rouen, Sens, Senlis, Toul, Tours, Trier, Troyes, Verdun, Vienne, and Viviers. We know from other sources of the existence, as at Arles, of bishops' sees in other places than those mentioned here. The Bull of Zosimus—*Placuit apostolicae*; cf. Babut, *Le Concile de Turin*, p. 56—testifies to Arles at any rate early in the fourth century.

To what extent, however, had the Church established itself in Gaul when the first Council of the West met at Arles? During this fourth century there is very little evidence as a whole. The two Councils of Arles II[nd.],[1] A.D. 353 and Beziers[2] A. D. 356, were dominated by Arian bishops, and the Council of Paris,[3] A.D. 361, was a protest of the orthodox Church against the Arian persecution which Constantius had carried on. There are no lists of bishops present at these, nor would the lists be likely to give us any reliable evidence. There were said to have been thirty-four Gallican bishops who joined in the decree of acquittal of St. Athanasius at the Council of Sardica, A.D. 343-344,[4] but only the names are recorded and not the sees, and it is impossible to say whether "Gallican" may not have included the bishops who belonged to the great Western dioceses of Britain, Gaul, and Spain. As far as the names can be identified in the lists of bishops of the dioceses of Gaul it is possible that the sees of Trier, Rheims, Rouen, Tongres, Metz, Auxerre, Soissons, Paris, Orleans, Chalon-sur-Saône, Lyons, St. Paul Trois Chateau, and Arles had bishops at that date. But clearly there are omissions which cannot be explained, except that the traditions of the see were not continuous, and there are entries which suggest that the increase of the episcopate had been very considerable since the days when liberty and favour were first granted to the Church. In 314, however, seven out of the seventeen chief towns of the province of Gaul seem to have had by that time bishops of their own, Cöln, Trier, Bordeaux, Tours, Lyons, Arles, and Vienne, and perhaps, as of the nature of missionary bishops, at Rouen and

But the existence of a bishop at a city early in this century does not prove a continuous episcopate there, and many years were to pass away before that came to be possible. We have already in Chapters I. and III. dealt with influences which were at work to claim an episcopate in many cities long before such was actually established, and that influence in many cases has resulted in the destruction of the historical value of the episcopal catalogue.

[1] Mansi, iii. 20; cf. Hilary, *ad Constantium Aug.* i. p. 1222.
[2] Cf. Hilary as above, p. 1218.
[3] Mansi, iii. 358.
[4] Mansi, iii. 42; Athan. *Apol. contra Arianos.*

Rheims. Nor is it probable that many more bishoprics had been by then permanently founded.

The political strife in Gaul, A.D. 250-360.

During the second half of the third century Gaul had not only been invaded and devastated by the Alemans, but had also been the scene of many local uprisings and military campaigns. In A.D. 254[1] the Alemans and Franks had passed in two bands through the land. One had laid siege to Tours, and through western Aquitaine had passed on into Spain. The other had sacked Avenches, passed through Sequania, and after a defeat at Arles, had turned eastward into Italy. Again in A.D. 275,[2] the year after the death of the emperor Aurelian, the country was once more invaded and the eastern portion devastated by the same barbarians. The plains of Chalons and the valleys of the Saône, the Marne, and the Seine were the scenes of innumerable conflicts. Among the deeds for which the emperor Probus (A.D. 276-283),[3] was remembered was the fact that he had restored Gaul after its occupation by the barbarians. Nor was this in a single campaign. The whole of Gaul[4] had been occupied by the barbarians, and Probus had won it back only after many and serious battles. The Alemans had been in possession of sixty cities, and these he had delivered only by indiscriminate slaughter. Diocletian in the earlier part of his reign (284-305) had spent much of his time in Gaul, protecting the frontier from the Germanic invasion and suppressing the local outrages of the unfortunate Bagaudae. It was for this object that he sent his colleague,[5] Herculius Maximian,

[1] Eutropius, ix. 8 "Alamanni vastatis Galliis in Italiam penetraverunt." "Vastatum Aventicum," *Chron. Fredegarii*, pt. ii. p. 55, in Monod, *Études Ecritiques*, 1885.

[2] Eutrop. ix. 13.

[3] *Ibid.* ix. 17 "Gallias a barbaris occupatas ingente proeliorum felicitate restituit."

[4] Vopiscus, *Probus*, cap. 13 "tanta autem illic proelia et tam feliciter gessit ut a barbaris sexaginta per Gallias nobilissimas reciperet civitates." Cf. also Orosius vi. 24.

[5] Eutrop. ix. 20 "Diocletianus . . . cum tumultum rusticani in Gallia concitassent et factioni suae Bacaudorum nomen inponerent, duces autem haberent Amandum et

to subdue the Bagaudae, who were led by two recognised chiefs, Amandus and Aelianus, and who are recorded not only as having laid waste the country in every direction, but also as having laid siege to and taken by assault many of the cities. Nor had Maximian an easy task. His whole time was taken up with campaigns against the invaders. The panegyrist speaks of innumerable battles and victories.[1] The whole of Gaul was threatened with destruction by the barbarous nations that roamed throughout its length and breadth. They were not only Burgundians[2] and Alemans, but also among the most valiant the Chaibons and the Eruli. In A.D. 293 Constantius Chlorus was adopted by the emperors as Caesar, and his whole life in Gaul formed one long campaign. He is said to have slaughtered sixty thousand Alemans at Langres.[3] Everywhere was ruin and devastation, and he had to fill up the empty cities and cultivate the wasted lands by the employment of those barbarians whom he had captured in war. Amiens, Beauvais, and Troyes are mentioned as the scenes of these labours,[4] and under his careful government the city of Autun witnessed again the rise of its walls and the rebuilding of its temples.[5] Apparently it had lain waste since the march of Aurelian to subdue the local tyrant Tetricus. The skill of Constantine, in his warfare against these Alemans, won for him the loyalty of his soldiers, and when Maximian reappeared in Gaul, they marched with their leader in all haste from the Rhine[6] to the Saône and down the

Aelianum, ad subigendos eos Maximianum Herculium Caesarem misit qui levibus proeliis agrestes domuit et pacem Galliae reformavit."

[1] Claudius Mamert. *Paneg. on Maximian Aug.* vi. "transeo innumerabiles tuas tota Gallia pugnas atque victorias."

[2] *Ibid.* v. "cum omnes barbariae nationes excidium universae Galliae minarentur, neque solum Burgundiones et Alamanni sed etiam Chaibones Erulique, viribus primis barbarorum."

[3] Eutropius, ix. 23.

[4] *Paneg. Constant. Caesar.* xxi. "quicquid infrequens Ambiano et Belovaco et Tricassino solo Lingonicoque restabat barbaro cultore revirescit . . . civitas Aeduorum . . . accepit artifices et nunc extructione veterum domorum et refectione operum publicorum et templorum instauratione consurgit."

[5] *i.e.* Autun, Augustodunum, Bibracte or Beuvray had been already abandoned.

[6] *Pan. Constantino Augusto*, No. viii. § 18.

Rhone to drive Maximian from Arles and to capture him at Marseilles. Certainly the policy of Constantius was also the policy of his son. Civil war, barbaric invasion, and the evils of a perpetual camp had depleted eastern Gaul of its inhabitants. The panegyrist of the emperor[1] tells of his skill in transporting barbarians from their distant homes to fill up the empty and desolate cities of Gaul. He was as famous in peace as he had been in war. Franks and Alemans in countless numbers had been slain and their kings had been captured. At Windisch[2] the fields had been enriched by the blood of the invaders, and their bones still whitened the scene of the battle. At Langres[3] they had been met with signal defeat though the emperor himself had been wounded in the conflict. And so the record of the historian, brief and yet significant, continues. Constantius II. had the same tremendous task to face as had occupied all his grandfather's public life, and all the early days of his father. In 353 Constantius[4] arrived at Arles to avenge himself on the partizans of Magnentius, and in the next year,[5] on account of the frequent incursions of the Alemans, led by Gundomadus and Vadomorius, he marched to Valence and afterwards to Chalon, waiting there to collect his forces, and to obtain supplies from far distant Aquitaine before he ventured on an attack. Four years afterwards Mamertinus[6] returned thanks to the Caesar

[1] *Pan. Constantino Augusto*, No. vii. § 6 "quid loquar rursus Franciae nationes jam non ab his locis quae olim Romani invaserant sed a propriis ex origine sui sedibus atque ab ultimis barbariae litoribus avulsas ut in desertis Galliae regionibus collocatae et pacem Romani imperii cultu juvarent et arma dilectu?"

[2] *Ibid.* "quid Vindonissae campos hostium strage completos et adhuc ossibus opertos?"

[3] *Ibid.* "quid commemorem Lingonicam victoriam etiam imperatoris ipsius vulnere gloriosam?"

[4] Ammian. Marcell. xiv. 5 "Arelate hiemem agens Constantius."

[5] *Ibid.* xiv. 10 "haec dum oriens diu perferret, caeli reserato tepore Constantius . . . egressus Arelate Valentiam petit in Gundomadum et Vadomarium fratres Alemannorum reges arma moturus quorum crebris excursibus vastabantur confines limitibus terrae Gallorum."

[6] Mamertin. *Grat. act. Juliano*, No. xi. 21 "in omnibus conventiculis quasi per benevolentiam illa jactantes, Julianus Alemanniam domuit, Julianus urbes Galliae ex favillis et cineribus excitavit. Illae provinciae obsessae, expugnatae, ferro igneque vastatae beatiores sunt his oppidis quae habet sine hoste Constantius."

Julian, whose energy and warlike skill seems to have given some slight respite to the suffering land. In every pothouse, he says, men were boasting, Julian has tamed Alemannia, Julian has raised again from their ashes the cities of Gaul, and those provinces which had been attacked, captured, and devastated by fire and the sword are now happier than those towns which Constantius occupies undisturbed by a foe.

If such, then, had been the condition of the greater part of Gaul during the second half of the third century and the greater part of the fourth, it is clearly impossible to believe, except there exists very strong historical evidence in its favour, any large extension of the episcopate or any permanent organisation there before the time of the edict of Milan. It was indeed to this fourth century, and not much before the end of it, that the general foundation of the Christian Church in Gaul can be assigned. In the capitals of the sub-provinces there were to be found, and perhaps also in a few other cities, bishops ministering to communities of Christians, or priests or deacons in outlying villages, engaged, in the same beneficent work, to communities of yet smaller numbers. But the work was only in its initial stage. Even at the end of the century heathenism largely prevailed among the country people.[1] Gaul had not as yet been won for Christ.

We must turn once more to the work of Constantine as the liberator and protector of the Church, and the promoter of orthodox as against heretical Christians. His zeal was certainly not shared by his colleague Licinius, who from neutrality slowly changed into a persecutor. This Eastern emperor began his hostile policy by placing restrictions[2] on the liberty granted by the edict, compelling Christian soldiers to offer sacrifice to the heathen gods, or else expelling them with disgrace from the legion. Then he ordered

[1] Cf. Chapter VII.

[2] Lactantius, *De mort. persecut.* xlviii.; Euseb. *H.E.* x. 8.

bishops into exile and despatched Christians to work as felons in the mines, and in 321[1] it became evident that Licinius and Constantine were rivals and not colleagues. As Constantine became more and more the protector of the Christians, Licinius showed himself the defender of the heathens, and war was inevitable. On the 3rd of July, A.D. 323, Licinius was overthrown[2] by Constantine at Adrianople and again at Chrysopolis on the 8th of September, and after a second defeat he was captured and put to death. In A.D. 324 Constantine was sole emperor, and the way was open to him to befriend the new religion. Until his final conflict with Licinius the work of Constantine had been chiefly in Gaul and Italy. Afterwards he is chiefly in the East. From the time of the Council of Arles, he visited Gaul twice. During the year 316[3] he spent a considerable time at Trier, Vienne, and Arles, and at Arles the empress Fausta gave birth to the prince, who in time became Constantius II. Again and for the last time he visited Gaul in A.D. 328.[4]

Decrees in favour of the Christians.

The circumstances which brought victory to the emperor at the Milvian Bridge had certainly cut him off from the heathenism of his ancestors. He not only granted the Christians liberty, but showed by his rescripts that heathenism was doomed. As far as he was able he would not only help his subjects to become Christians, but would also take from their midst all that might tempt them to return. In A.D. 313,[5] immediately after the edict, he exempted the Catholic priest from the onerous duty of acting as a Decurio in the municipalities. This edict was reissued in A.D. 320, and since men were said to have sought ordination in order to escape the performance of these civil duties, he ordered[6] that no one who had the

[1] Euseb. *H.E.* x. 9; *Vita Const.* i. 51, ii. 1.
[2] Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 6; Zosimus, ii. 22; Euseb. *Vita Const.* ii. 26.
[3] *Codex. Theod.* i. 10. 1.
[4] *Ibid.* i. 16. 4.
[5] Euseb. x. 7; *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2. 1.
[6] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2. 3, reissued in A.D. 320 and 326.

means and the position which qualified him to act as a Decurio was to be ordained. The clergy should all be poor men and one with wealth was not to be ordained.

In the following year he omitted the performance of the secular games[1] because they were always opened with heathen rites, and to the indignation of the people of Rome, he refused to take any part in the usual religious ceremonies in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus.

In A.D. 315[2] he granted to the lands of ecclesiastics and to the corporate lands of the Church communities exemption from the ordinary public taxes, and the fact that this law was repealed on financial grounds soon afterwards, showed the extent to which the Christians had increased in numbers and their possessions had grown. Probably[3] at this time crucifixion, as a form of the death penalty, was abolished.

Hitherto if a man gave his slave his liberty it must be done in the presence of the magistrate[4] but now it was lawful if done openly in the church.

In A.D. 319[5] private sacrifice and divination, and the resort to soothsayers, with their secret incantations, were forbidden, though public sacrifice might still go on, and it was further enacted that the clergy[6] were no longer to be harassed by being compelled to hold public offices to which certain heathen practices were usually attached.

Two years later, in 321,[7] the practice of magic was forbidden, Sunday labour[8] was restricted, certain laws and taxes[9] on bachelors and unmarried men were repealed on account of the custom of a celibate clergy coming into vogue, and the Church in its corporate capacity was now allowed to receive the legacies and

[1] Zosimus, ii. 29.
[2] *Cod. Theod.* xi. 1. 1. Haenel gives the date as A.D. 313.
[3] Aurelius Victor, § 41 "eo pius ut etiam vetus veterrimumque supplicium patibulorum et cruribus suffringendis primus removerit."
[4] *Cod. Theod.* iv. 7. 1.
[5] *Cod. Theod.* ix. 16. 12.
[6] Const. et Licin., Oct. 31, 319.
[7] *Cod. Theod.* ix. 16. 9.
[8] *Codex Just.* iii. 12. 3.
[9] *Cod. Theod.* viii. 16. 1, and xvi. 2. 4.

gifts of the faithful. Yet, at the same time, this year saw an edict ordering that if any public building[1] was struck by lightning the haruspices were to be consulted according to ancient custom, and their report was to be sent to the emperor.

In the year in which Constantine overthrew Licinius we find three or four new laws which certainly helped the propagation of Christianity. To put a stop to idolatry, the erection[2] of images was forbidden and the emperor refused to have his own statue erected anywhere. Official public sacrifices[3] and state sacrifices were forbidden, and all provincial governors were forbidden to sacrifice, and should any one compel a Christian to take part in a heathen ceremony he was to be scourged[4] and severely punished.

It was natural, therefore, after ten years of liberty and favour towards the Christians and of continued efforts to overthrow the ancient religion of the Empire, that the demand for Christian churches increased, and that many of the heathen temples ceased to be used. Some of these temples Constantine turned into churches,[5] and some that they might not again be used for the old religion, he was content to unroof, and leave as a sign of a faith that had passed away. In the erection of new churches he ordered that they should be built of such a size that they could take in the whole population, and such was his zeal and his generosity that the heathen chronicler Zosimus[6] lamented the impoverishment of the treasury for the building of these places of Christian worship, and looked upon these new churches—*οἰκοδομίαι πλεῖσται*—as *ἀνωφελεῖς*. It was no wonder then that those who desired to win his favour should be active in pulling down the temples, for he spoke openly with all against the old heathen religion,

[1] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 10. 1.
[2] Euseb. *Vita Const.* ii. 45.
[3] *Ibid.* i. 44, 45.
[4] Edict of Const., 8 Kal. June A.D. 323.
[5] Euseb. *Vita Const.* iii. 54-58; cf. Prosper, *Chron.*, A.D. 332, "edicto Constantini Gentilium templa subversa sunt."
[6] Zosimus, *H.E.* ii. 32.

and announced without any hesitation that he desired all his subjects to become Christians.

Constantine certainly had realised, and that soon after he had granted liberty to the Christians, that he himself could not remain neutral. He must take a definite step. As a Christian he must range himself against heathenism. The story of his conversion, however, is not clear, nor, indeed, can it be said on a survey of his whole life, that there were any indications of a serious conversion to Christianity. Zosimus, the heathen historian,[1] relates how that an Egyptian who had lived in Spain went to Rome and there gained the favour of the ladies of the Court. Through them he gained access to the emperor and won for himself his favour by assuring him that there was no sin which the Christian religion could not wipe out. The story seems to be, however, only a garbled version of the narrative of the relation of Hosius, the bishop of Corduba, with Constantine. It was Hosius who presided at the Council of Nicaea, and his influence with the emperor, while he lived, was paramount and his friendship most intimate. Eusebius,[2] his private chaplain, and Lactantius,[3] the tutor of his son, both enjoyed the Emperor's society, and they were impressed by the way in which the vision of the Labarum, whatever that may really have been, had fixed itself on his mind. Yet he was not baptized. He deferred that sacrament until the year before his death. He could not, therefore, have entered into the real feelings of the devout Christians of the time, and it is clear that the superficial way in which he dealt with the sacred affairs of the Church had its influence on his own private life and on his own character. It filled his court first of all with men like himself. Worldly-minded bishops, who spoke about the mysteries of the faith, if not in an irreverent manner, yet certainly

[1] Zosimus, *H.E.* ii. 29; cf. Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, iv. p. 129.
[2] Euseb. *Vita Const.* i. 28-29. [3] Lactantius, *De mort. persecut.* § 44.

without that restraint which their sacredness demanded, were always in attendance, and from them he judged of the Church in general. The puritan principle which was at the bottom of the Donatist opposition, was to him unintelligible. He was naturally exasperated at the way the Donatists refused obedience. The Council of Nicaea was an event of high political importance. Ecclesiastics discussed the words of the Catholic creed, but the emperor saw in that assembly, in its relation to himself, the acknowledgment of a supremacy such as the priests of the ancient imperial faith had been wont to grant to his predecessors. It was the establishment of the Church by the State, and for more than thirty years all who were true to the Faith of the Gospel, the holiest of Christians, and the most devout and learned of the bishops had to mourn and suffer and struggle for the Christian Faith which the bishops in their obsequiousness at Nicaea had endangered. The emperor had been recognised as the bishop of things external. It was for him to place upon that recognition what interpretation he pleased. He took it to mean not only that he should uphold the Catholic Faith, but also take some share in deciding what it was. Then in a very short time Constantine is found swayed by the shallow-minded worldly bishops of his court, and persecuting the great champion of orthodoxy, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.

Gaul and the Arian controversy.

The Council of Nicaea which assembled[1] in the year A.D. 325, the year after Constantine had become sole emperor, only indirectly affects the history of the spread of Christianity in Gaul. Not a single Gallican bishop is known to have attended, but it is hardly likely that among the 318[2] bishops, which included the Spanish bishop of Corduba, some from the capital towns of Gaul were not to be found. We can scarcely doubt that at least Agraecius of Trier, Marinus of Arles, and

[1] Sôzomen, *H.E.* i. 17 and 19; Euseb. *Vita Const.* iii. 6.
[2] Socrates, *H.E.* i. 8.

Reticius of Autun were present. The ecclesiastical cause for which the bishops assembled arose out of the teaching of Arius[1] which had been condemned by Alexander, bishop of Alexandria. Arius had taught that there was an essential difference between God our Heavenly Father, and His Son Jesus Christ. Arianism emphasised the reality of the divine Sonship as against Sabellianism and had no desire to lower the Person of the Lord. But God was One and absolutely isolated from the world of finite beings, alone eternal, unalterable and ingenerate, and therefore the higher view of the Lord's Divine Sonship must be rejected. So the Son was inferior in rank to the Father and was not strictly eternal. There was, though as yet time was not, when the Father was not yet Father, and the Son existed only potentially in His counsel in a sense in which all things are eternal. Hence ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, where the word χρόνος was implied, but, as Athanasius noted, was omitted. The Father alone is God and the Son is so called only in a lower and improper sense. This doctrine was emphatically condemned by the Council, and the clear teaching of Athanasius,[2] who soon after, on the death of Alexander, succeeded him as bishop of Alexandria, found general approval. The controversy, however, broke out again soon after the dispersion of the Council, and raged with almost unintelligible bitterness in the East, and Athanasius, as the most lucid teacher of the Catholic Truth, and the most inflexible upholder of the conciliar decree, became the object of the Arians' bitter hatred. It is unlikely that Constantine ever thoroughly understood the theological controversy, and in his desire to suppress it[3] he was prepared to side with whichever party seemed to promise most a prospect of peace. The Arian party was chiefly in evidence at the court, and its desire to make the dogmas of the Christian Faith appear simple

[1] Euseb. *Vita Const.* iii. 4, and Prof. Gwatkin's *Studies of Arianism*, chap. 2.
[2] Socrates, ut supra. [3] Euseb. *Vita Const.* iii. 12.

and reasonable to the mind of a man of the world won from Constantine his approval and his support. Why should Athanasius insist on this technical point? Men were willing to work with him at Alexandria, and it was unreasonable that he should stir up strife by scrutinising their belief. So in A.D. 330, Constantine[1] wrote to Athanasius to admit to communion at Alexandria all who desired to receive it. Athanasius, in his Easter Letter A.D. 331 to his faithful in the city, showed[2] how impossible it was for him to obey the imperial rescript. Four years afterwards his enemies accused Athanasius[3] to the emperor of a desire to create a famine at Constantinople, by preventing the ships laden with wheat for the capital from sailing from Alexandria. So Athanasius was summoned to appear and answer this charge, and since his enemies the Arians had not been idle, the emperor, on his arrival at Constantinople, refused to hear him, and exiled him at once to Trier. Thus it was that Athanasius became connected with the Gallican Church and arrived at Trier[4] 6th November A.D. 336. There he found in command the youthful Caesar, Constantine II. and he, with Maximin, bishop of Trier, welcomed the great theologian. On the 22nd of May of the following year Constantine died,[5] and in September the three brothers Constantius, Constans, and Constantine met together to arrange for the division of the empire among them. Constantius took the East, Constans Italy and Africa, and Constantine II. the diocese of Gaul, which included Spain and Britain. It is said that at the meeting of the three emperors, they decided to recall Athanasius, and in the spring of A.D. 338 the bishop wrote[6] from Trier to his flock at Alexandria saying, that while he would not be with them bodily they would be spiritually united in the Easter Festival.

[1] Soc. *H.E.* i. 27. [2] Athan. *Apol.* 87.
[3] Athan. *Apol.* 71. [4] Athan. *Hist. Arian.* § 33; Socrates, *H.E.* i. 28.
[5] Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv. 64. [6] Athan. *Fest. epp.* 10.

On the 17th of June, 338, certainly, Constantius wrote to the Alexandrians[1] and told them that Athanasius was now free to return, and on the 23rd of November he reached home again. Constantius, as emperor of the East, was brought most into contact with the violent partizans of Arianism, and as the doctrines they propounded seemed the simplest, he soon came to accept their views, and remained not only an Arian but a bitter persecutor of the orthodox Christians. At a Council at Antioch[2] held in A.D. 339, when a new church there was to be dedicated, various charges were made against Athanasius, and though he was unheard and absent, he was condemned. This decision of the Council was sent[3] to Pope Julian of Rome, and Constantius decided to impose a new bishop on the Alexandrians, and sent one, a bishop named Gregory,[4] to them. Gregory arrived at Alexandria during Lent 340, and immediately after Easter Athanasius withdrew to Rome.[5] That year saw also a great political change in the balance of power in the Empire. Constantine II. ventured to advance into Italy to attack his brother Constans[6] and was killed at Aquileia, and Constans now for ten years was emperor over the Gallican prefecture as well as those of Italy and Africa. The emperor while friendly, was not so interested in Athanasius as his brother had been, and a Council at Rome in the following year, held[7] by Pope Julian for the purpose of considering the grounds for the condemnation of Athanasius by the Council of Antioch, ended in an emphatic[8] acquittal for the bishop of Alexandria, and the result seems to have induced Constans to act with his brother Constantius, and

[1] Athan. *Apol.* § 67. [2] Socrates, ii. 16; Sôzomen, iii. 5; Rufinus, i. 9.
[3] Mansi, *Conc.* ii. 1279; cf. also Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* c. 24.
[4] Athan. *Encycl.* § 2, *Apol.* § 30.
[5] Athanasius wrote a Festal Letter from Rome for Easter to his flock at Alexandria and must have gone to Rome in A.D. 340; cf. Socrates, *H.E.* ii. 11 and 14; Athan. *Apol. ad Const.* § 5.
[6] Orosius, vii. 29; Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 9; Socrates, *H.E.* ii. 5.
[7] Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* 20 and 21.
[8] Julius, *Ep. ad Eusebianos*; and Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* § 34.

summon a Council representative of both East and West to bring the controversy to an end. So in A.D. 343 the Council of Sardica[1] was held. It consisted of one hundred and seventy bishops of whom ninety-four were from the West. The Western bishops acquitted[2] Athanasius, but Constantius was induced to delay action on this decision, and meanwhile moved on to Adrianople. There a wicked plot was devised against Euphrates,[3] bishop of Cöln, but was happily found out, and Constantius, who seems to have been offended at it, and knew that Gregory was now dead, invited[4] Athanasius to return to Alexandria. So Athanasius went to Arles to take leave of Constans[5] and then went back to Alexandria, and Gaul saw him no more. There is extant a list of thirty-four bishops, described as Gallican, who joined in acquitting Athanasius at the Council of Sardica.[6] The names of their sees are not, however, given, but if we may judge from the similarity of the names in the lists of the bishops of the Gallican dioceses, it seems probable that the bishops of Trier, Lyons, Tongres, Orleans, Sens, Metz, Auxerre, Paris, Arles, and Chalons were present at Sardica. The name of Euphrates of Cöln is not on the list, though he is known to have been present, and we can only account for the omission through the fact that he was the victim of the disgraceful plot at Adrianople.

During this whole of the Arian controversy Western Christendom seems to have sided definitely with the party of Athanasius, the party that upheld the Creed of Nicaea. The two emperors Constantine II. and Constans had hitherto not taken an active part, and the Church thus left to itself had clung to the orthodox faith. It is probably due to this fact, and to the efforts made by Christians in Gaul against heathenism, that a serious

[1] Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* § 37 ; Socrates, *H.E.* ii. 20 ; Theodoret, ii. 7.
[2] Athan. as above, § 38. [3] Athan. *Hist. Arian.* § 20.
[4] *Ibid.* § 21 ; *Apol. c. Arian.* § 50. [5] *Ibid.* § 31.
[6] Athan. *Apol. contra Arian.* § 33 ; Mansi, iii. 66.

uprising of the heathen party took place in A.D. 350.[1] Flavius Popilius Magnentius was an Aeduan, and in command of two legions stationed at Autun, and his associate in command was Count Marcellinus. In January 350 Magnentius suddenly appeared at a feast clothed in the imperial purple, and the soldiers welcomed him and proclaimed him emperor. His revolt seemed popular, and Constans fled before him and was murdered at Elva[2] in the Western Pyrenees as he tried to escape into Spain. Magnentius made Marcellinus his *magister officiorum* who, at Rome, put down with ease a similar rebellion of Nepotianus.[3] His enemies in the East charged Athanasius with being friendly to Magnentius,[4] a charge utterly false and also unreasonable, since Magnentius was certainly the leader of the heathen party, and had killed Constans, the sole friend that Athanasius seems still to have had. Magnentius from Autun advanced to Italy and on towards Thrace, and on the 26th of September A.D. 351 was defeated by Constantius at the battle of Mursa.[5] He himself escaped, however, and though his cause was ruined he made another stand at Pavia, and for two years defied the efforts of Constantius in the Julian and Cottian Alps. At last, seeing at Lyons[6] that success was hopeless, he murdered his wife and left for dead his son Desiderius, and then committed suicide. A brother of Magnentius, Decentius,[7] who had risen in revolt on the banks of the Rhine and assumed there the imperial purple, perceiving that in the death of his brother all was lost, hung himself at Sens.

Thus it came about that Constantius the Arian became sole emperor, and from his father he had learnt all that was meant by the phrase "a bishop of things external." He

[1] Orosius, vii. 29; Eutrop. x. 10.
[2] Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* § 41; Eutrop. x. 9.
[3] Aurel. Vict. § 42. [4] *Apol. ad Const.* § 6. [5] Aurel. Vict. § 42. 4.
[6] Aurel. Vict. *Ep.* § 42. 6; Socrates, *H.E.* 25 and 32.
[7] Aurel. Vict. *Ep.* § 42. 8.

was now in Gaul, which hitherto had been conspicuous for its orthodoxy, and had warmly espoused the cause of Athanasius; and soon the emperor was to find in Gaul an opponent to his Arianism as zealous and as courageous as Athanasius in the East.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRIALS OF HILARY OF POITIERS[1]

MAGNENTIUS and his brother were now dead and in September A.D. 353 Constantius reigned supreme over the whole of the Roman Empire. Early in the theological controversies of the age he had shown his wish for compromise and also a strong personal preference for Arianism.[2] His influence now was for the suppression of the orthodox Catholics who adhered to the Creed of Nicaea, and for the advancement of the Arian or Semiarian party. He was, however, no friend of the old religion. His first act as sole emperor was to prohibit all access to the ancient temples,[3] which were now to be permanently closed ; and he further forbade all kinds of heathen sacrifices. To the ancient worship

The Arian party in Gaul.

[1] There is no complete critical edition of the works of Hilary. Migne has collected them in two volumes, ix. and x., of the *Patrolog. Lat.*, and I have used exclusively this edition. The editors of the Vienna *Corpus* have announced an edition by A. Zingerle, but as yet only the Tractates on the Psalms have appeared (1891), vol. xxii of the *Corpus*. The chief authorities concerning him are Sulpicius Severus in his *Chronicle*, Bk. ii., Gregory of Tours, Jerome *Lib. de vir. illust.* No. c., and a metrical life by Venantius Fortunatus which, however, is not of great value. Reinkens published an excellent life of him, at Schaffhausen, *Hilarius von Poitiers*, 1868 ; and the charming but not very critical *Vie de Saint Hilaire* by the Abbé P. Barbier, Tours, 1887, has a good estimate of his religious work and is very readable. Professor Watson, in Parker's Library of Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers, Oxford, 1899, has given us an excellent life and summary of his writings, as well as a valuable essay on the Theology of St. Hilary. I am much indebted to him for many hints, though my lecture was given and written out before I had read his important contribution.

[2] Cf. his action after the Council of Milan towards Liberius of Rome ; and Hilary's letters to Constantius ; Migne, *P.L.* x. 557 ; Theodoret, *H.E.* ii. 15 ; Sôzomen, iv. 9 ; and Socrates, ii. 36 and 37 ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐκ προλήψεως τῇ Ἀρειανῇ δόξῃ προσκείμενος ; Amm. Marc. xxi. 16.

[3] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 10. 4.

of the Empire his "little finger was thicker than his father's loins."[1] The controversies, however, on Christian doctrine which prevailed through his reign he could not, as emperor, ignore. Whether interested in them or not, he desired to suppress the factions in the Church, and his own personal feelings and the advice of his many Arian friends made him regard the Catholics as the heretics—the men who were disturbing the Church and resisting his authority. His entry into Arles took place on October 10, 353,[2] and was of a triumphal nature, and he issued an amnesty[3] so cautious and uncertain that men soon began to distrust his clemency and impartiality. During the winter[4] he kept court at Arles and in the spring of A.D. 354 marched to the Rhine and warded off a threatened incursion of the Alemans into Gaul. The winter of that year he spent at Milan. His two great friends and counsellors on religious matters were Ursacius, bishop of Singidunum (Belgrade) and Valens, bishop of Mursa. Both these men were comparatively young,[5] active, skilled in all the arts of a courtier, and determined Arians. Incessant in their plottings against the Catholics, they were present during the next few years at nearly every Council of the Church, and filled the mind of the emperor with scandalous tales against the orthodox, while they showed extreme subtlety and resourcefulness in those Councils to gain decisions in favour of their party. It is said that Valens secured his position with Constantius at the crisis of Mursa.[6] Having arranged that he should be the first to obtain news of, and to announce to the emperor the result of the conflict, he represented to Constantius the victory which

[1] 1 Kings, xii. 11; cf. Boissier, *La Fin du paganisme*, i. 80 "aussi les voyons-nous dès les premières années de leur règne, écouter les conseils des gens qui les entouraient et partir en guerre contre l'ancien culte," and again p. 82 "aussi fit-il au paganisme une guerre plus vive."

[2] Amm. Marcel. xiv. 5.

[3] *Ibid.* "qui imperii ejus annum tricensimum terminabat, insolentiae pondera gravius librans siquid dubium deferebatur aut falsum" etc.

[4] *Ibid.* xiv. 10. 1.

[5] Socrates, *H.E.* ii. 37; Sôzomen, iv. 11.

[6] Sulp. Sev. ii. 38.

had been gained as largely the result of the prayers he had offered while it was waged. He ventured also to assert that Athanasius was the friend of his defeated opponent Magnentius,[1] and certainly much of the dislike which the emperor showed to the Catholic party arose from his personal mistrust and dislike of Athanasius,[2] and to this theological questions were at first largely subordinate. For several years Saturninus had been bishop of Arles and his name, without, however, the mention of his see, appears on the list of Gallican bishops who, in A.D. 343-344 adhered to the decree of the Council of Sardica[3] which acquitted St. Athanasius. When Constantius and his court spent the late autumn and winter of A.D. 353-354 at Arles, Saturninus had definitely allied himself with the Arian party,[4] and from this time until his deposition in A.D. 361 he becomes the leader of the Arians and the great disturber of the orthodox bishops of the Gallican Church. Soon after the victory at Mursa was known at Rome, Bishop Liberius had sent[5] to Constantius a request that he would allow a Council to assemble at Aquileia to consider the many changes that were made against Athanasius. Constantius, however, wished to throw his influence in the scale against the bishop of Alexandria, and so decided that the Council should meet where he was himself and thus, probably in the month of November 353, the bishops of the Empire were summoned to the Council of Arles. Liberius of Rome did not attend, but sent as his representative Vincentius[6] the aged bishop of Capua, and there at Arles Vincentius found himself in conflict with Saturninus, Valens, and Ursacius. Peace was proposed by the court party on the basis of a general repudiation

Arian Council of Arles 353.

[1] Athan. *Apol. ad Const.* 6. He writes of Magnentius as τὸν διάβολον Μαγνέντιον.
[2] Cf. Gwatkin's *Studies in Arianism*, p. 157 note, Watson's *Introd.* p. x.
[3] Mansi, *Concil.* iii. 130.
[4] Sulp. Sev. ii. 40 and 45 "Saturninus . . . . vir sane pessimus . . . . multis atque infandis criminibus convictus ecclesia ejectus est."
[5] Mansi, iii. 200; Hilary, *Fragment* ii. no. 4 in Migne, *P.L.* x. p. 686.
[6] Hil. *contra Const. Imp.* § 2, *ibid.* p. 579.

of Athanasius without any discussion on doctrinal questions, and to this proposal Vincentius in his innocence agreed. Paulinus, bishop of Trier, on the contrary, who must have known Athanasius when as an exile he spent two years in that city, perceived that the condemnation of Athanasius would be regarded as a condemnation of the Catholic doctrine for which he so valiantly struggled, and therefore refused to agree to this course. But the proposal was carried and Athanasius was condemned, and at the instigation of Saturninus, Paulinus was sent into exile[1] and so with him as its first victim the storm of persecution fell upon the orthodox bishops of Gaul.

When Vincentius returned to Rome great was the sorrow of Liberius. In his representative he had been committed to a course of which he utterly disapproved, and writing to Hosius[2] bishop of Cordova he said that he had hoped much from Vincentius but instead of a gain he had himself been led into error. So during the year 354 Liberius summoned to his counsel Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, and Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, and it was decided[3] to ask the emperor to permit the assembly of yet another Council, and with the consent of Constantius in May 355 a Council was held at Milan.[4] The emperor himself was in the city,[5] and his influence was against any impartial enquiry into the case of Athanasius. At the opening of the Council Eusebius of Vercelli was not present. He was, however, sent for[6] and came, saying that he would do his duty. On his arrival he was kept for ten days,[7] waiting outside the church where the Council was in session. The Arian party was anxious to repeat at Milan the tactics which had been so successful at Arles, and anticipate and so obviate

Council of Milan 355.

[1] Hil. *Ep.* ii. *ad Const.* § 8, p. 562.
[2] Mansi, iii. 200; and Hilary, *Frag.* vi.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 204.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 204; Theodoret, *H.E.* ii. p. 15.
[5] Amm. Marcel. xv. 4. 13.
[6] Mansi, iii. 207.
[7] Hil. *Ep. ad Const.* i. § 8.

the necessity for any theological discussion by a general agreement to condemn Athanasius which at the same time should avoid the statement of any special charge against him. Eusebius on the contrary proposed that all should act together,[1] and subscribe first of all the Nicene Confession of Faith, and then proceed to consider the condemnation of Athanasius. This suggestion seems to have been acceptable to many, but while Dionysius, bishop of Milan, who had advanced to sign the Confession, was standing at the table Valens rushed forward and snatched the pen and the parchment from his hand, and his followers created such an uproar that the session came to an end. When the emperor heard of this he intervened,[2] and through Valens and his friends sent word to the bishops that he desired a condemnation of Athanasius without reference to specific charges. The emperor, said the Arian bishops who acted as his intermediaries, was desirous of peace and all should wish, not only for peace, but to do as the emperor desired. Meanwhile the emperor seems to have come to the Council, and was annoyed at the freedom with which, in his presence, Lucifer, the bishop of Cagliari, spoke, and when the Catholic bishops protested that it was a canon of the Church that no one should be condemned in his absence, Constantius uttered the memorable remark,[3] "My will shall be to you a canon." Then he took the matter up himself, and by threats of exile and other terrors coerced most of the bishops into signing the condemnation of Athanasius and accepting the communion of the Arians. It is even said that Constantius drew his sword[4] before the bishops the better to enforce his will. Dionysius of Milan was exiled to Cappadocia, Eusebius to Scythopolis,

[1] Hil. *Ep. ad Const.* i. § 8.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 39 "epistolam sub imperatoris nomine emittunt."

[3] Athan. *Hist. Arian. ad monachos*, c. 33 ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐγὼ βούλομαι, τοῦτο κανὼν νομιζέσθω.

[4] *Ibid.* c. 34.

and Lucifer to Germanicia.[1] Rufinianus, another bishop, died from the cruel treatment he had received from an Arian bishop, Patrophilus was bruised and wounded by being dragged many times down stone steps, and Liberius of Rome was summoned to sign the document of condemnation. On his arrival he boldly withstood the emperor, and spoke so plainly to Constantius of his injustice that he was exiled to Beraea in Thrace.[2] The emperor and his friends had got their way, and the Catholic party in the Church seemed definitely suppressed.

Hilary of Poitiers.

It was in the same year, in the autumn of 355, that Constantius learnt that a champion of the orthodox party had arisen in Gaul. He had received a letter from Hilary,[3] bishop of Poitiers, and from this year the bishop of Poitiers becomes the leader of the Gallican bishops, and the strong bulwark of orthodoxy in the West.

Hilary is very reticent about his early life. Full of strong common sense, and intensely conscious of the need for firm resistance to the worldly Arianism that prevailed in the Church, he saw no cause to tell us much of the days of his youth. He was of noble rank and a native of Aquitaine, born probably in the first decade of the fourth century, and of heathen parents. His biographer Fortunatus[4] says that he sucked in Christian doctrine and true religion with his mother's milk, but this does not agree with what Hilary himself tells us of his early life.[5] St. Augustine seems to refer[6] to the sacrifice he made when he became, if not a Christian, yet a priest of the Catholic Church. His own account of his con-

[1] Athan. as above and *Apol. de fuga*, § 4; *Apol. ad Const.* § 27.

[2] Theodoret, ii. 16; Sôzomen, iv. 11.

[3] Hil. *Liber* i. *ad Const. Aug.*, Migne, *P.L.* x. p. 557.

[4] Fortunatus, i. 3 "cujus a cunabulis tanta sapientia primitiva lactabatur infantia ut jam tunc potuisset intelligi Christum in suis causis pro obtinenda victoria necessarium sibi jussisse militem propagari."

[5] Hil. *De Trinitate*, i. 2 "ac mihi plerique mortalium . . . ." (the whole section).

[6] Aug. *De doct. Christiana*, ii. 40 "nonne respicimus quanto auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus exierit de Aegypto . . . Hilarius?"

version is that as a young man a sudden disquiet fell on him in the midst of his wealth and leisured ease, and the problem rose up and demanded from him an answer—why was I placed here below and what is the purpose of my life?[1] He is said to have studied in Rome and in Greece, but this is certainly doubtful.[2] The schools in Bordeaux were in their most flourishing state[3] and a wealthy student would have been as able to learn Greek in Aquitaine[4] as in Rome. He was a man of action rather than of words, and yet he shows a clearness of thought and a power of rugged expression which places him among the foremost theologians of the West. Of his early life very little is known though it is probable that he had been married.[5] His consecration must have been about A.D. 350 for he tells us us that it took place a few years before his exile.[6] Of his conversion to Christianity and of his ordination as priest we know nothing. He seems to have been the first bishop of Poitiers, and may have chosen his see from the place where his estates had been, though another account records that he succeeded, as bishop, Maxentius the brother of St. Maximin, bishop of Trier.[7] At Périgueux there was a contemporary bishop Paternus[8] who as an Arian often strove to thwart him. His

[1] Hil. *De Trin.* i. 1 "circumspicienti mihi proprium humanae vitae ac religiosum officium."

[2] Fortunatus gives us no information as to any journey to Greece or Rome, and Hilary in no way refers to it. Jerome, *Ep. ad Rust.* i. 4, takes it as natural that the student in Gaul would complete his education in Rome—"ac post studia Galliarum . . . misit Roman . . . ut ubertatem Gallici nitoremque sermonis gravitas Romana condiret."

[3] Jerome, *Pref. in Galat.* ii., refers to Hilary as "Latinae eloquentiae Rhodanus" and *Ep. ad Rust.* i. 4 "studia Galliarum quae vel florentissima sunt."

[4] Cf. Watson's *Introd. Hil.* p. ii. "Greek was taught habitually as well as Latin. In fact never since the days of Hadrian had educated society throughout the Empire been so nearly bilingual." But see for another view Zingerle in *Comment. Wölfflin.* p. 218.

[5] Cf. *Vie de S. Hilaire*, by l'Abbé Barbier.

[6] Hil. *De synodis* § 91 "et in episcopatu aliquantisper manens . . . exsulaturus."

[7] Cf. *Vita S. Maximini* by Lupus of Ferrara (*Mon. script. rer. Meroving.* iii. p. 74), who tells us that Maximin and Maxentius were brothers, the sons of rich and noble parents of Poitiers, but this authority for the existence of the see of Poitiers before Hilary is of no value. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* ii. 77, places Maxentius as fifth after Hilary.

[8] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 45 "Paternus . . . . a Petrocoriis."

extraordinary influence over the Gallican Church in the later years of his life seemed to have been based not merely on his bold act in writing to Constantine but also on his work in Aquitaine, where he is said to have laboured diligently in preaching and in expounding the Scriptures to the people.[1] Hilary, however, was not trained as a theologian. He seems to have been largely self-taught. His style is his own, and while a student of and greatly influenced by the writings of Origen[2] his independence and self-confidence is very conspicuous.

In a work of his written in 358, the *De synodis*, he said that though he had been baptized and consecrated as bishop it was not until he had gone into exile[3] to the East that he first heard the Nicene Creed, and that it was a careful study of the Gospels[4] and the Apostles which had taught him the meaning of and the distinction between the terms Homoousios and Homoiousios. Of his stand for the Catholic Faith which he made in Gaul during the early years of his episcopate we know unfortunately nothing. Toulouse was full of Arians,[5] and it is a proof of his great influence that he was able to preserve in the orthodox faith Rhodanius the bishop of Toulouse, a man naturally weak and inclined to lean on others, and the influence of Hilary gave him courage to accept exile rather than be disloyal to the faith. It was apparently after the Council of Arles, in November 353, under the patronage of Constantius and the active influence of Saturninus that Arianism spread like a

[1] His Tractates on the Psalms were addresses, delivered to the people assembled in the church, by way of comments on a psalm which had been read; cf. Comment on Ps. xiv. ". . . psalmus qui lectus est" Paulinus of Périgueux, lib. 1, Carm. *de vit. S. Martini*, refers to his influence as a teacher:

"dum Pictavorum doctor floreret in oris
indomitis tradens populis praecepta salutis."

[2] Jer. *De viris inl.* c. ". . . in psalmos commentarios . . . in quo opere imitatus Origenem nonnulla . . ." and again "commentarii in Matthaeum quos de Graeco Origenis ad sensum transtulit."

[3] Hil. *Lib. de synodis*, § 91.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 39 "Rhodanium quoque Tolosanum antistitem qui natura lenior non tam suis viribus quam Hilarii societate non cesserat Arianis."

flood over[1] Gaul. The West was no match for the East in theological subtleties, and Hilary stood almost alone the one champion of Gaul for that which was the true faith as declared by the Council of Nicaea. It is hardly conceivable that Hilary was present at the Council of Milan,[2] for a man of such determined courage and zeal for orthodoxy would surely, if present, have been found by the side of Dionysius, Lucifer and Eusebius. But the news of the condemnation of Athanasius would have soon reached him in Gaul, and he was not such as could keep silence on hearing of the persecution and exile of the orthodox bishops. His duty was to him quite clear. Whatever the consequence to himself he would lift up his voice against this injustice and from far-off Aquitaine he wrote his first letter[3] to Constantius. In the introduction he shows all reverence for authority, and a dignified respect for the character of the emperor. "Your kindly nature, most blessed lord Augustus, agrees with your kind disposition for the Church, and since from the source of your paternal piety mercy largely flows forth we are confident that what we ask you can and will readily grant to us." Then he plunges at once into the troubles that pressed upon him. "Not only by our letters but also by our tears we implore thee[4] that the Catholic Churches may no longer be tormented by these gravest of injuries and have to endure unbearable persecutions and dishonours, and what is also an additional evil, to bear them at the hands of our brethren. May your clemency provide and arrange that all the judges to whom the ordering of the provinces has been entrusted, and to whom alone the care and anxiety for public order ought to belong, may refrain from interfering[5] in religious matters, and that henceforth they may

Appeal to Constantius.

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 39 "ab hoc initio illecti principis extulere animos Ariani."
[2] Cf. Watson's *Introd.* ut supra, p. xii.
[3] Migne, *Pat. Lat.* x. p. 558.
[4] *Ibid.* "etiam lacrymis deprecamur ne diutius Catholicae Ecclesiae gravissimis injuriis afficiantur."
[5] "A religiosa se observantia abstineant."

neither presume nor take to themselves, nor think that to them appertains the cognisance of the affairs of the clergy nor by their threats harass innocent men under pain of various persecutions and violent punishments. Let it be your task, therefore, to rule the republic by wise and wholesome counsels. The voice of him who cries to you for help should be, 'I am a Catholic,[1] and do not wish to be a heretic, I am a Christian and not an Arian.' Those who fear God should not be defiled with wicked blasphemies but be allowed to follow and obey those bishops who keep the unbroken rule of charity and desire to promote perpetual and sincere peace. The promoters of Arianism are busy in their desire to injure the orthodox rule of the Apostles. This we implore of your clemency that those well-known and prominent bishops and priests who are still in exile in lonely desert places thou wouldst allow to return to their own sees, that everywhere there may be pleasing liberty and abounding joy.[2] Arianism is a novel heresy and these theological phrases have been invented by the two Eusebii,[3] Narcissus from Cilicia, Stephen from Antioch, Theodore, Acacius, Menophantes, and the two inexperienced and wicked young men Ursacius and Valens.[4] I come now to what has happened just lately. Eusebius of Vercelli is a man who serves God with all his power. After the Synod of Arles, where Paulinus exposed their innocuous plotting, Eusebius was summoned to come to Milan. By the synagogue of malignants[5] assembled there he was forbidden to approach the church for some ten days after his arrival. He presented himself accompanied by the Roman clergy and Lucifer of Sardinia. He was called

[1] "Catholicus sum, nolo esse haereticus, Christianus sum, non Arianus."

[2] "Ut ubique grata libertas sit et jucunda laetitia."

[3] Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, and Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Menophantus, Arian bishop of Ephesus, Acacius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine.

[4] Hil. *Lib. i. ad C.* "et imperitis atque improbis duobus adolescentibus Ursacio et Valente."

[5] ". . . malignantium synagoga."

upon to subscribe forthwith to the condemnation of Athanasius."

Then Hilary relates the demand of Eusebius that the Creed of Nicaea should be subscribed by all before they passed on to condemn Athanasius, and how the action of Valens was followed by disturbance and uproar, and then he ends the letter, if indeed, which does not seem to be the case, we possess the end of it, somewhat abruptly relating how the Arian faction, fearing to be worsted in the Council, passed over to the Palace.

This letter of Hilary, which in no detail betrays the hand of an eyewitness, must have been written soon after he had heard the various phases of the work of the Arian faction at the Council, and Constantius must have received it in the autumn of the year 355. The emperor at the time was engaged on serious matters of state. He had as yet chosen no colleague to share with him the burden of empire, or named a successor for the imperial throne. He had looked for some time with envy and suspicion on his two nephews, Gallus and Julian, whom by force of circumstances he had at last been compelled to adopt.[1] In 354 he had sent for Gallus from the East,[2] and as he approached Milan ordered his execution at Pola, and with a reluctance that he could not conceal had in 355 made Julian[3] Caesar, and on 6th November formally invested him with the purple of that rank. On December 1[4] of that same year Julian, glad to escape the personal danger at Milan, set out for Gaul to take over the Western prefecture, and early in January 356 entered Vienne with a welcome from the people which could not but have embittered the jealous mind of the emperor.[5] The state of Gaul was at that juncture most gloomy. Like the Church, it was rent asunder

[1] Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 12.
[2] Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* xlii. 9; Amm. Marcel. xiv. 11.
[3] *Ibid.* § 12; Amm. Marcel xv. 8.
[4] Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 14.
[5] Amm. Marcel. xv. 8. 21, and xvi. 1.

by internal dangers. To accomplish the defeat of Magnentius and his brother Constantius, in order that he might keep the legions he could rely on safe in Italy, had enrolled large forces of barbarians[1] into the army, and when the civil war was over and he retired to Milan, he left behind bands of Franks, Alemans, and Burgundians practically masters of the country. It was the difficult task assigned to Julian to suppress these foreign troops and to bring peace to Gaul. Cöln,[2] Mainz, Worms, Strasburg, Brumath, Saverne, Seltz, and Besançon were in the hands of these marauding soldiers, and the Roman army lay between the Saône and the Marne, and Julian, though nominally in command of the situation, had faint hopes[3] of effecting any great change. He began the year, however, with a vigorous siege of Autun[4] and speedily captured it. Then he hurried to Rheims, and crossing afterwards the range of the Vosges, recaptured one by one the Roman settlements on the left bank of the Rhine.[5]

It is probable that when in January 356 Julian entered Vienne he brought with him instructions from Constantius in reference to Hilary. It was certain that the Arian party in Gaul would endeavour to stimulate him to action, and whatever may have been his own personal inclination he could not but carry out the instructions of the emperor.

Council of Beziers.

Certainly in the summer of 356[6] a Council was held at Beziers, a town near the sea-coast and not far from Narbonne, to consider the conduct and action of the bishop of Poitiers. The enquiry seems to have been solely in reference to the conduct of Hilary and not in reference to theological questions. Saturninus of Arles was the most active of the Arian bishops, and seems to have presided at the Council. Perhaps

[1] Amm. Marcel. xvi. 2 and 3. [2] *Ibid.* xvi. 2. 12.
[3] *Ibid.* xvi. 1. 2 "colligere provinciae fragmenta jam parans si adfuisset flatu tandem secundo."
[4] *Ibid.* xvi. 2. [5] *Ibid.* xvi. 3; Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 14.
[6] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 39; Hil. *Lib. ii. ad Const. Aug.*

he did so as bishop of Arles, which as a town of importance had long cast Narbonne into the background. As yet, however, Arles had no metropolitical power,[1] and Narbonne had the higher civil dignity. Nor is it clear why Beziers should have been chosen as the place for the commission of enquiry to meet except for its beauty,[2] and because it was on the way from Arles to the west and from Toulouse and Aquitaine to the south-east. To Beziers, however, Hilary and Rhodanius were summoned,[3] and after their condemnation Saturninus was not long before he had obtained from Julian confirmation of this decision and an order for their exile. So in September 356 these two orthodox bishops started off for far distant Phrygia, Rhodanius to die in exile, and Hilary to suffer, to struggle, and to return, and in less than ten years to witness in Gaul the final triumph of the orthodox faith. About Rhodanius we know little except that his orthodoxy was largely due to the help[4] which Hilary had afforded him.

Exile of Hilary.

At Poitiers Hilary had been the life of the religious community, as, perhaps, in earlier days he had been the centre of the local society. He had been very rich, and perhaps had even then a wife and one child, a daughter, and his departure must have been alike heart-rending to himself and to the community, on account of the church order which was interrupted, and on account of the home life which was now broken up.

The exile of Hilary might have been much worse. He had not been deprived of the bishopric of Poitiers, nor had he been refused permission to communicate with the clergy of his diocese. He was regarded officially as a bishop, and within certain limits he

[1] Cf. Babut's *Le Concile de Turin* p. 56, and Gundlach's exhaustive *Der Streit der Bisthümer Arles und Vienne*, 1890.

[2] Cf. the popular boast "si vellet Deus in terris habitare, Biterris." One thinks also of the siege of Bezier, 1209, and the terrible slaughter of the Albigensians, and the legate Arnold's words: "Slay them all, God will know His own."—Vaissetti's *Hist. de Languedoc* iii. 163.

[3] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 39. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*

seems to have had liberty to visit his friends in Asia Minor. In his exile he learnt to understand the complicated threads of Eastern theological controversy, a knowledge which was of the greatest advantage to the West, and which he could not have gained had he not been condemned to an enforced and prolonged sojourn in the East.

But the Gallican church, as the events of the following year clearly showed, was not entirely bereft of this champion of orthodoxy. The Arian party had endeavoured to capture the whole of the West. Saturninus of Arles put pressure[1] on the Gallican bishops, and a similar influence was exerted in Spain. Hosius of Cordova was violently ill-treated and was practically imprisoned for a whole year. Then in the summer of 357 the time seems to have arrived for a formal assertion of Arianism by the Western episcopate. Valens and Ursacius were at Sirmium,[2] and with the permission of the emperor, who was apparently also there, the Western bishops were summoned to attend. Hosius was brought to the assembly and with him Potamius, bishop of Lisbon. The latter is said to have been bribed by the gift of an estate, and his name, with that of Ursacius and Valens, is attached to a Manifesto which denounces the two terms, *ὁμοούσιον* and *ὁμοιούσιον* as unscriptural and unintelligible, and asserts that the Father is greater than the Son, a statement which in the language of Hilary was known in the West as "the blasphemy of Sirmium." Certainly both Hosius, the venerable president at Nicaea, and hitherto the leader of the Catholics in Spain, and Potamius of Lisbon, of whom we have no previous information, signed this Manifesto, and orthodoxy in the West was in the direst peril. What must have been the feelings of Hilary when he heard of the fall of Hosius, and the general acceptance of this

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 40. 4.
[2] *Liber de synodis*, § 3, Migne, x. p. 482.

document by the Western bishops! That messages and enquiries were made as frequently as his position allowed we may be sure, and in the late autumn of 357 he received information which filled his heart with joy. The Manifesto of Sirmium had not found anything like universal acceptance in Gaul. His former neighbour, the Aquitanian bishop Phoebadius[1] of Agen, during his exile had come forward as the champion of the orthodox faith. He had written a short treatise against the Arians, the outcome of his sermons to the faithful of Agen,[2] and had exposed the errors of the men who were blinded with worldly ambitions. The treatise is interesting as showing the purely Western aspect of the Arians. He revolts at their subtlety and duplicity. The confession of faith of men like Ursacius, Valens, and Potamius is a fraudulent use of orthodox terms.[3] There is nothing simple in their profession. It is an attempt to capture the incautious, credulous, and unskilled with empty blandishments. At one and the same time they urge upon the orthodox the honey of catholic doctrine and the poison of heresy.[4] In some ways the treatise is more definite than that of Hilary "On the Faith," of which we will speak presently. There is no trace of any Semi-Arianism. It is very logical and dialectic. He has reached his impregnable orthodox position by a very careful study of Holy Scripture and a close adherence to logic. He notices the use which the Arians are making of the subscription of Hosius, and Phoebadius will not accept him as an authority. He has either made a mistake now, or he has always before lived in error.[5] If for ninety years he has

Phoebadius of Agen.

[1] Phoebadius' Treatise is in the *Bibliotheca vet. Pat.*, A.D. 1644, iv. pt. i. p. 169; and Migne, *Pat. Lat.* vol. xx.

[2] The treatise is addressed to his clergy as the result of some debate: "super his quae nuper ad nos scripta venerunt sermonem haberem, fratres charissimi."

[3] ". . . sed respiciendum ad Ursatium et Valentem et Potamium quia saepenumero iisdem verbis unum Deum subdola fraude confessi sunt."

[4] ". . . pari modo quo veneni poculum mella commendant."

[5] ". . . non potest ejus authoritate praescribi quia aut nunc errat aut semper

cherished a false faith, he will not now accept him as a reliable guide. His method is evidently that which a preacher would choose in his delivery of doctrinal homilies. He exposes the subtleties and arguments of the Arians that his hearers may be on their guard and not easily led away by specious arguments. Towards the end he appeals to the bishops[1] who were at the Council of Nicaea and explains "substantia"[2] as that which God is, simple, onefold, pure without any mixture, limpid, good, perfect, blessed, complete, and entirely holy, in other words the term denotes that which God alone is.

Looking back on this critical period and writing nearly fifty years afterwards it is clear from Sulpicius that the church in Gaul had not been captured by the party of Saturninus. Many there were who remembered with reverence the confessors in their exile, and the efforts also of two at least who still in Gaul did what they could for the Nicene cause. Two of these Sulpicius mentions by name, Phoebadius, "our Phoebadius"[3] is his phrase, and Servatio of Tongres,[4] whose name appears in the list of the Western bishops who were present at Sardica. The defence also of the orthodox faith seems to have been the united effort of a considerable body of Gallican bishops. Apparently the shock of the Sirmium Manifesto had brought them together for counsel, and the assembled bishops, towards the end of A.D. 357,[5] sent formal messages of friendship and devotion to the faith, to gladden therewith the heart

erravit . . . nam si nonaginta fere annis male credidit post nonaginta illum recte sentire non credam."

[1] ". . . quid egistis, o beatae memoriae viri qui ex omnibus orbis partibus Nicaeam congregati?"

[2] ". . . nihil ergo in hoc vocabulo novum, nihil extraneum dicimus, nihil incongruens divinitati . . ." and "quae est enim substantia Dei? Ipsum quod Deus est, simplex, singulare, purum, nulla concretione permixtum, limpidum, bonum, perfectum, beatum, integrum, sanctum-totum."

[3] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 44 "noster Foegadius" or Phoebadius.

[4] *Ibid.* "Servatio Tungrorum episcopus"; cf. Hefele, *Conc.* i. § 64.

[5] We gather this from the introductory remarks of Hilary, *De synodis.*

of Hilary in his exile. The enforced leisure which he now possessed gave him meanwhile an opportunity to take in hand an Exposition of the Faith. He gave his book the title *De fide*,[1] but at a later time and not from Hilary the work received the title of *De Trinitate*. It was a remarkable effort and one which was greatly influenced by passing events as he proceeded to carry it out. He had speedily perceived the pressing need especially in the West of some clear exposition of the Nicene Creed. A keen worker, a bold and clear thinker, and deeply versed in Holy Scripture, his work on the Faith comes to us now in twelve books. Purely theological and apologetic, this effort of Hilary anticipates much that St. Augustine wrote about sixty years afterwards. It is the earliest attempt after Tertullian, Cyprian, and Novatian to discuss Christian doctrine in the Latin tongue, and is as much in advance of his predecessors as it is surpassed by the later work of St. Augustine. It is evident, however, that the project had been simmering in his mind, and that the work before us is of a composite character. The earliest portion[2] which forms the original nucleus of the book, comprises the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh books. The method is negative and is designed as an answer to Arian arguments. The second and third books stand by themselves, and in them he discusses and points out the errors of various heresies without entering into a controversial style. The eighth to the twelfth books were undertaken as a completion of those which had already been written, while the first book, which was clearly written last, gives us a survey of the accomplished task, and seems also to offer us an account of the writer's own spiritual birth and development.

Writings of Hilary.

[1] Migne, *Pat. Lat.* ix. p. 26.

[2] The *anteriores libelli* of which he speaks in the first section of book iv. cannot refer to books i.-iii. as they now stand. Dr. Watson writes: "In these four books, the fourth to the seventh, we may see the nucleus of the *De Trinitate*." *Introd.* p. xxxii.

Hilary's *De synodis* to the Gallican Bishops.

This account of Hilary's work, *De Trinitate*, is necessary in order that we may understand the purport of his short treatise *De synodis*. It has been regarded as forming the thirteenth of the books of the work *De Trinitate*, and if we consider the method of treatment and the phases in the development of the larger work there is every reason to regard it as such. It offers us the purely historical narrative which acts as the complement of the theological argument. Its immediate object, however, was the answer Hilary desired to send to the orthodox bishops of Gaul. The East was very suspicious of the West, and regarded the Western theologians as deeply tainted with Sabellianism. The West found it difficult to comprehend the subtle arguments of the East. Hilary, therefore, a Western bishop, now an exile in the East, endeavoured to break down this suspicion and to explain to the Gallican bishops[1] the labyrinth of controversy which had torn the Eastern church asunder, and at the same time to show to the Eastern bishops the sound catholicity of the West. It is not the work of an irreconcilable, but the effort of a man who would have dealt kindly with the Semi-Arians in order that he might through an alliance with them bring about the triumph of the Nicene Confession. The tract *De synodis* is therefore tinged[2] with Semi-Arianism though the writer is one whose theological learning and unwavering orthodoxy gave him courage to ignore the catchwords of the theological fray, and draw near to any party that seemed to promise the advancement of Catholic Truth. For the bishops in Gaul it must have been simply impossible to follow the thread of the controversy that was raging, and it

[1] *Lib. de synodis*; Migne, x. p. 479.

[2] Cf. Gwatkin's *Studies of Arianism*, "the Semi-Arian influence so visible in the *De synodis* of Hilary." But Hilary's orthodoxy is evident from his *De Trinitate* and other writings. The *De synodis* was written for a purpose, that he might if possible bring about an understanding between East and West, and he hoped that the Semi-Arians were approaching the orthodoxy of the West. We must remember also that Semi-Arian was a party epithet which was meant to irritate and which Hilary would have resented, as much as to-day we would shrink from giving it to him.

is hard to say whether we admire most the simple confidence of Hilary as he took upon himself this great and difficult task, or the generous and loving effort of the exile for the sake of his comrades in far distant Gaul. Hilary was fully conscious of the responsibility. On him lay all the care of the Gallican church, for it he must pray, and for it he must write; and the *De Trinitate* and the *De synodis* are the fruit of this deep conviction.

In the *De synodis* Hilary endeavours to explain what was taking place in the East, the Councils that were being held, the Creeds that were proposed at those Councils, and the extent to which these Creeds were either positively erroneous or only defective of Catholic Truth. It is addressed to the most beloved and blessed brethren and fellow bishops of the Provinces of Germania i. and ii., Belgica i. and ii., Lugdunensis i. and ii., Aquitania, Novempopulania, and in Narbonensis to the clergy and laity of Toulouse, together with the bishops of the Province of Britain. He would fain, he says, keep silence, but he is anxious concerning the faith of the bishops of Gaul, and so he must do all he can to warn and help them.[1] He rejoices and congratulates them that they have denied communion to Saturninus[2] and condemned his Creed, and have not yielded to his threatenings but have remained up to now with Hilary faithful in Christ. The report of their calm and unshaken faith has had its effects in the East, and has moved certain bishops[3] to a sense of shame for the heresy which they had cherished, and when they heard of the wicked things done at Sirmium they opposed that effort by certain manifestoes of their own, and begin now to avoid the communion of those who by their blasphemies had brought about the exile

[1] "Necessarium mihi ac religiosum intellexi ut nunc quasi episcopus episcopis mecum in Christo communicantibus salutaris ac fidelis sermonis colloquia transmitterem."

[2] § 3 "non cedendo Saturnini minis, potestatibus, bellis," and section 4.

[3] *i.e.* Bishops George of Laodicea, Basil of Ancyra, Macedonius of Constantinople, and Eugenius of Nicaea.—Sôzom. iv. 13.

of so many bishops. "And while in all you have done and do, you witness to the constant freedom and liberty of your faith you show also the warmth of your fervent spirit, in that some of you whose letters have succeeded in reaching me, desired my humble opinion to be sent by letter as to what the Eastern Christians were doing and had done, adding from a feeling of love, this burden on my lack of skill and my unlearnedness that my opinion on all that was said and done I should indicate and would explain carefully the meaning of my words since often by a few sentences an explanation may enable others to describe what has been told to them."

"So," proceeds Hilary, "I obey, and all the various summaries of faith which have been put forth at various times and places since the Synod of Nicaea I have put down, adding the opinions and even the very words that were used, and if any are offended by what I say they must remember that I am only the messenger of what others have said and not the originator of the words myself."[1]

The Manifesto at Sirmium had not only offended the bishops of Gaul, but had also caused alarm among the Semi-Arians of the East; and at a small Synod of bishops which met at Ancyra[2] in the spring of 358 at the summons of George of Laodicea and Basil of Ancyra not only was the opinion of the East stated in a synodal letter in reference to the Arianism of Sirmium, but a desire was expressed and forwarded to Constantius that another Council should be summoned to give a definite peace to the Church. The emperor was at Sirmium, where Valens and Ursacius, conscious of the shock which the Manifesto of the previous year had created, had also gone to encourage Constantius in his desire to enforce compromise and simplicity

[1] "Ego tamen, quae gesta sunt, fideliter transmisi; vos an catholica an heretica sint fidei vestrae judicio comprobate."

[2] Sôz. iv. 13; Hefele, *Conc.* i. § 80.

on the Church through a creed which should be distinctly Arian. The request from Ancyra was sanctioned, and after a few months it was decided by the emperor to hold two Councils, one in the East and the other in the West, Seleucia and Ariminum being the places ultimately chosen. Hilary, as a bishop living in the East, was summoned to Seleucia ; and the expenses of the bishops on their way were ordered to be defrayed by the prefects. In the *De synodis* Hilary alludes to their possible summons to a Council, and he urges the Gallican bishops, if they come to it, to keep themselves firm and constant in the Catholic Faith, and when they are out of Gaul to avoid strangers as much as possible.[1] It is incumbent, he says, on the episcopal office in such a fury of heresy to offer to you through a letter some words of counsel concerning our pious faith. Though in the body he was in exile yet the Word of God could not be bound or restrained, and when I found that Synods were to be gathered at Ancyra and Ariminum,[2] and that from each province of Gaul one or two representatives were to be summoned, then it seemed that I should explain to you those matters which now create suspicion between us and the Eastern bishops, so that, having condemned the blasphemy of Sirmium as anathema, when you come to meet the Eastern bishops in future synods there may be no coldness but that you may all join in one united and sincere expression of loyalty to the Catholic "Faith."

He then tells them of the informal gathering[3] at Ancyra of the Eastern bishops against the heresy of Sirmium, and, translating from Greek into Latin, explains the Manifesto. The Father is One and Alone God of all. The Son is denied to be God. The terms homoousios and homoiousios are ignored, and it was decreed that the Son was born out of nothing, as

[1] *De synodis*, § 8 ". . . a caeteris extra Gallias abstinerent."
[2] *Ibid.* "cum comperissem synodos in Ancyra atque Arimino congregandas."
[3] *De synodis*, § 12.

a creature, nor out of other essence than that of the creatures whom God afterwards made and not out of God the Father. This error he explains carefully and illustrates from Holy Scripture, and then discusses the terms *essentia* and *substantia* and mentions what the Semi-Arian Synod at Ancyra had declared that year. He is favourable to this movement not because it is sufficient but because he seems to see in it a basis of agreement which might lead on to something better. Some, he says, of the Eastern bishops went to an opposite extreme, and said that the Son is like unto the Father not merely in power but in essence also. He then runs through all the chief definitions of the Faith put forth by the Easterns, the Dedication Creed at Antioch 341,[1] the Creed of Sardica 343,[2] the Creed at Sirmium against Photinus 351,[3] explaining the heresy of Photinus and the errors in the various creeds. They must not, he says, be surprised that the Faith is so often explained. The storm of heresy has made it necessary. He only tells them what he actually knows, and then he makes this serious statement—that with the exception of Eleusius[4] and a few with him the greater part of the "inhabitants of the ten provinces of Asia among whom I dwell are ignorant of the true God."

Then he proceeds to explain to the Gallican bishops his own faith; and since his faith, which is also theirs, though they are far removed from each other, is not endangered, yet in the East it is held by but few bishops, and he would state in detail this faith by which he would be judged. He holds strongly to the term homoousios. Like Phoebadius he is impressed by, and must speak of the deceitfulness of the bishops, some of whom deceive the emperor himself, and drive into exile those who contradicted them. The authors of the

[1] Sôzomen, *H.E.* iii. 5; Socrates, ii. 8; Ath. *De synod.* § 25.
[2] Sôz. iii. 12.
[3] Sôz. iv. 6; Soc. ii. 29; Ath. *De synod.* 27; Mansi, iii. 257.
[4] Socrates, *H.E.* ii. 40; *De synod.* § 63.

Sirmium Creed were always deceitful, and the subscription of Valens and Ursacius he regards as very insincere.

At last he comes to the Nicene Creed and repeats it, and says that it alone must be upheld. True, eighty bishops opposed it but the Creed was adopted by 318 bishops.[1] He is conscious, however, of an objection. What of those who voted for the term homoousios like Hosius, and are now silent about it? Why is Hosius silent?[2] It is because of his age and his desire for peace before he dies, and no one else is silent.

He earnestly, therefore, appeals to them to put away all suspicion, and to exclude from their midst all occasion of strife.[3] They might, perhaps, accept the term homoiousios as far as it will go, but not to the exclusion of the stronger and orthodox term. He would have them think of the many holy priests who have accepted it, and how God will judge them if by their acts they anathematise them. But for himself he cannot accept the term homoiousios because he does not know what it means.[4] He holds to the orthodox faith but words fail him to explain it. He would not have them cling to catchwords, which may have different meanings to different minds, but rather cultivate a catholic heart, and then he adds the remarkable statement that he had been baptized[5] and a bishop for some time and had not heard the Nicene Creed until he went into exile, but the Gospels and Apostles had taught him the meaning of the truth involved in the term homoousios as compared with the term homoiousios.

"Do not," he continues, "let us condemn our fathers in God. Do not let us rouse the heretics to anger lest while we charge others with heresy we ourselves en-

[1] Hil. *De synod.* § 84.

[2] . . . § 87 "oro vos, ne quisquam alius ex his praeter senem Osium et ipsum illum nimium sepulchri sui amantem reperiatur, qui tacendum esse existimet de utroque."

[3] § 91 "oro vos, fratres, adimite suspicionem, excludite occasionem."

[4] *Ibid.* "homoiousion nescio nec intelligo nisi tantum ab similis essentiae confessione."

[5] "Regeneratus quidem et in episcopatu aliquantisper manens fidem Nicaenam nunquam nisi exsulaturus audivi."

courage it. Your part," he says, "is clear, to act in common, and to take counsel together so that as hitherto you have remained firm in the faith you may preserve it with a good conscience and that you may ever keep that to which you now hold. Remember me in my exile in your holy prayers. I know not whether[1] it shall be my joy to return to you, or whether I am destined to die here. My wish is, dearest brethren, that God and our Lord would keep you safe and unstained unto the day of His appearing."

His great work on the Faith of which we have already spoken, and on which he was now engaged, and this separate treatise "on the Synods" were not the only works which Hilary produced. His influence at last over his diocese had been won through his constant preaching and teaching. His commentary on the psalms[2] of which the greater part have come down to us, consists of comments given in church in a simple and concise way to the people assembled, and after the reading of some psalm. His commentary on St. Matthew[3] consists of thirty-three chapters on selected passages from the Gospel. It is probably the result of the earlier years of his episcopate and is of a more literary character. It is valuable not merely as affording us revelations of his mind but also because of the indication it gives of the conditions under which he lived, and of the extracts he offers us of the *vetus Itala* text of the Bible, the text in general use in the West before Jerome's *editio vulgata* had appeared.

Letter to Abra.

It was while in exile that the mind and heart of Hilary were disturbed by another anxiety, and this of a domestic character.[4] It is not improbable that he had

[1] § 92. There is some uncertainty as to his meaning.

[2] The Tractates or Sermons on the Psalms comprise Psalms i., ii., li.-lxii., cxviii.-cl. and also xiii., xiv., lxiii.-lxix. The Homilies on Psalms ix. and xci. are probably spurious. Cf. Zingerle's edition, Vienna *Corpus*, Preface, p. xiv. The notation of the psalms is that of the old Latin.

[3] Migne, *Pat. Lat.* vol. ix. p. 918.

[4] Migne gives us the letter to Abra in *P.L.* vol. x. p. 49. Fechtrup, in Wetzer-welte's *Encyclopaedia*, has rejected this letter, and refuses to accept the existence of this

been married, and when he went forth from Gaul he is said to have left behind his only child, a daughter whose opening womanhood demanded a father's care and advice. Whether he left behind also a wife or whether she was dead before his exile is uncertain. The existence of Abra[1] his daughter seems to rest on evidence too strong to be rejected.

While he was in Phrygia he had received a letter from his daughter telling him of an affair of love, and how that the young suitor for her hand was good and rich and well able to provide for her. His reply is one of the most touching pieces of early Christian literature, so natural and so possible that one cannot reject it. He could not reprove his child. There was no ground for condemning the union. And yet he had in his exile formed other thoughts concerning her future, and one feels as one reads the letter that he cannot but have formed these plans concerning his child and talked of them with her when in earlier years there was no thought of marriage. Now in reply to her letter he must tell her once more about them, and of the dream he had dreamed concerning her. He tells her how in his dream he had been told of a young man who possessed a pearl of great price and a robe of inestimable value, which, if any should be worthy of it, would make them sound and safe in life and endow them with

daughter Abra. The letter, however, seems to me to be so characteristic of Hilary that I cannot put it aside. If Hilary had been ordained after middle age there is every probability of his marriage, and his complete devotion to the Nicene cause in later life accounts for his silence on his private life. Cf. l'Abbé Barbier's *Vie de St Hilaire* and compare it with the beautiful mediaeval poem "The Pearl," edited by Gollancz, 1891. The mystic garment and the pearl appear a good deal in Gnostic literature. Cf. the "Hymn of the Soul" in the *Acta Judas Thomas*. A. A. Bevan, *Texts and Studies*.

[1] Venantius Fortunatus who, two centuries afterwards, was the successor of Hilary in the See of Poitiers, and who wrote a life of his predecessor, the earliest we possess, mentions her not only in reference to this letter but also in reference to her dedication as a religious by her father on his return home. Cf. §§ 6 and 13; Mai (*Nova Bibl. Patrum*, i. p. 475) writes the name Apra. Erasmus was the first to reject it, A.D. 1523, but obviously the style in which a man would write to his daughter would differ somewhat to that in which he expressed himself in theological treatises. Gregory of Tours mentions a certain *Apra quaedam religiosa* whom St. Martin cured of a fever. Greg. Tours, *De miraculis S. Martini*, ii. § 31.

riches beyond all ken. When then he heard of him he determined in his dream to go and see him, and after a long and dangerous journey at last he reached his home, and when he saw him he fell on his face in awe and reverence. He was indeed fairest of the fair and in his sight none could stand. "And as," he continues, "I knelt before him he asked me what I wanted and what petition I desired to make. I told him I had heard of the pearl he possessed and of his robe of special kind, and I would have him grant them to me. I had indeed a daughter whom I dearly loved, and it was for her that I desired the pearl and mystic garment. Then after a time he replied and said: 'I know you desire this robe and pearl for your child and I will show you what are the properties of them. Whoever possesses this pearl is never ill, or grows old, or dies, and the robe never wears out, and the moth does not injure it nor dirt soil it but it ever is such as it is.' So I begged these gifts from him, and he promised to give me them, but he said: 'Whosoever wears this robe can wear no other, and the pearl which I will give you is such that none can wear it who wears any other jewel.' And then before he gave them to me he asked if my child would accept these conditions, and so I write to you, my child, and would ask you to keep yourself for this robe and jewel, and should any offer you other garments and ornaments[1] you should say: 'I am waiting for another garment on account of which my father stays so long in exile for he is seeking for it and I cannot have that if I have ought else.'"

Hilary as a Hymn Writer.

So meanwhile he sends to his child Abra a morning and an evening hymn, perhaps the earliest in the Latin tongue, but the hymns have not survived, and what have been substituted for them are clearly of a later date.[2]

[1] How characteristic this is of Hilary's contempt for jewels! Cf. *Comment. Psalm. cxviii.* Ain § 16.

[2] It is impossible, as Dr. Watson has shown, pp. xlvi, xlvii, to accept the two hymns printed by Migne, "Lucis largitor splendide" and "Ad coeli clara non sum

Each age has indeed its own ideals, but human affections link all generations in one common experience, and the self-sacrifice of the converted wealthy Aquitanian is conspicuous through all his life.

We have already stated how Basil of Ancyra and his fellow Semi-Arians had drawn up a confession of faith in protest against the "blasphemy of Sirmium," and had presented it to the emperor. The Creed would probably have been accepted by Constantius, and perhaps would have been proposed for general acceptance had not later intrigues prevailed. The proposal was first of all met by the suggestion of one general council for the whole empire, and that was to have been held at Nicomedia. An earthquake, however, on August 24, 358,[1] nearly destroyed the town, and it was no longer capable of receiving so large a number of bishops. Then the emperor accepted the suggestion of two simultaneous councils, the one in the East and the other in the West, and the two places mentioned were Ancyra and Ariminum.[2] The Council

dignus sidera," as composed by Hilary. His love of hymns is shown in his Tractates on the Psalms lxiv. 12 and lxv. 1 and 4 "progressus ecclesiae in matutinorum et vespertinorum hymnorum delectationes maximum misericordiae Dei signum est—canticum enim vocis officium est." Jerome in preface ii. to *Com. on Ep. to Galat.* refers to Hilary's efforts: "Hilarius in hymnorum carmine Gallos indociles vocat"; and Isidore of Seville (*De off. Eccl.* i. 6) refers to Hilary as the first of Latin hymn-writers: "carmine floruit primus." In his *Liber de viris inlustribus*, c., Jerome also mentions a *Liber hymnorum* as among Hilary's works. In Spain his hymns were wont to be sung in church in the seventh century (cf. *Conc. Tolet.* iv., Mans, ix. 622), and in the eighth century hymns ascribed to him were known and used in Ireland. The Bangor Antiphonary (*H.B.S.* 1893, Part 1), fol. 3, gives us a "Hymnum Sancti Hilari de Christo—hymnum dicat turba fratrum," and this also is found in the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* (*H.B.S.* 1898) and attached to it a preface which contains some traditional matter not altogether to be rejected. Beda mentions the hymn, "Hymnum dicat," but not the author. Kayser, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung der ältesten Kirchenhymnen*, regards this hymn as that to Christ as God sung before daybreak by the early Christians of Bithynia. In 1884 Signor Gamurini discovered at Arezzo in an eleventh-century MS. a portion of the lost treatise of Hilary *De mysteriis*, and at the end of these fragments some further portions of these hymns under the title "Incipiunt hymni ejusdem." Cf. Gamurini, *S. Hilarii tractatus de mysteriis et hymnis*, Rome, 1887. A critical edition of these three with some valuable emendations of the text has been given us by Dr. A. J. Mason (*J.T.S.* vol. v. p. 413), and he is disposed, and I think on very good grounds, to accept them as genuine. Dr. Bernard also in his edition of the *L.H.* (*H.B.S.* vol. xiv.) accepts the hymn "Hymnum dicat" as Hilary's. Cf. also Dr. Walpole's article, *J.T.S.* vi. 599.

[1] Sôz. iv. 16. [2] Athan. *De syn.* i. 7; Philostorg. iv. 10.

of Ariminum met in May 359,[1] and there were four hundred and fifty bishops present. Rome was not represented, and Restitutus, bishop of Carthage, is generally supposed to have presided. The praetorian prefect Taurus was placed by the emperor in authority with instructions to pay all the expenses of the bishops,[2] and to prevent their dispersal until they had come to a satisfactory decision on the Christian Faith. There had been a conference between the emperor and the Semi-Arians at Sirmium, and a creed was produced, supposed to be the work of Mark of Arethusa, which was Acacian rather than Semi-Arian,[3] and it was agreed to present this to the Council for adoption. It is known as the third or Dated Creed of Sirmium, and was so called because the names of the consuls for the year are placed at the head of it. Valens and Ursacius then presented this Creed and tried to force its acceptance. The bishops were uncertain whether to discuss Christian doctrine or Church grievances, and it soon appeared that the majority were on the side of orthodoxy, and prepared to accept the Nicene Creed. This third Sirmium or Dated Creed omitted the word "Essence," and declared that the Son was like to the Father in all things as the Holy Scriptures say and teach.[4] When some reluctance was shown towards its acceptance, Valens endeavoured to gain the confidence of the orthodox Western bishops by agreeing to a condemnation of various points of Arianism.[5] Since, however, no agreement among the bishops was reached, in accordance with instructions from the emperor, ten delegates from the Council were to go to Sirmium to inform him of the result of the deliberation, and with them went ten of the Arian and Acacian party also.

[1] Ath. *De synod.* 8; Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 67; Sôzomen, iv. 1. 7; Mansi, iii. 294-326.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 41 "quibus omnibus annonas et cellaria dari imperator praeceperat . . . idque Tauro praefecto imperat ut collectos in unum non ante dimitteret quam in unam fidem consentirent."

[3] Athan. *De synod.* § 2; Hilarii *Frag. hist.* vii.; Migne, *P.L.* x. 295.

[4] Theodoret, ii. 18.

[5] Hil. *Frag. hist.* xi.-xiv.; Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 43.

The other bishops were kept at Ariminum to await the pleasure of Constantius. The emperor was about to start[1] for the Persian War when the delegates reached Sirmium,[2] and Constantius did not hide from them his displeasure at the result of the Council. He bade the delegates remain at Nice in Thrace until he should return. Against them, as against their comrades at Ariminum, there at once arose a persecution in order to compel them to accept the Dated Creed. The winter was coming on, and the bishops were anxious to return to their dioceses, and Taurus was instructed to use his influence to compel acceptance, until only fifteen should remain obdurate. When the number of irreconcilables was reduced to that figure, they were all to be sent into exile.[3] Two Gallican bishops, Phoebadius of Agen and Servatio of Tongres,[4] were among the most strenuous of those who resisted. Yet why should they not sign it? Were they not making an idol[5] of the term Homoousios? Everything was done to make them doubt their own judgment, and at last in despair they signed the third or Dated Creed of Sirmium, accepting for themselves as a mere approximation to the truth that which others regarded as a full declaration of it. Well might St. Jerome say,[6] "The world groaned and was astonished to find itself Arian," and Sulpicius Severus,[7] in his *Chronicle*, records the foul ending of a synod which began so bright with promise —"concilium bono initio foedo exitu consummatum."

In this same year, but rather later, the Eastern Council which was to have assembled at Ancyra came together at Seleucia.[8] Among the bishops was the exiled Hilary of Poitiers. Many among the Easterns

[1] Amm. Marcel. xix. 2. 17.

[2] Socrates, ii. 41; Sôzom. iv. 9.

[3] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 44.

[4] *Ibid.* "constantissimus inter eos habebatur noster Foegadius et Servatius Tungrorum episcopus."

[5] Rufinus, i. (x.) 21.

[6] Jerome's *Orthodoxi et Luciferiani dialogus* "ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est."

[7] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 44 "bono initio foedo exitu consummatum."

[8] Cf. Hil. *Contra Const.*; Socrates, ii. 39; Sôz. iv. 22.

had imagined that the Western bishops were Arian, and Saturninus of Arles had done his best to make them think so. Hilary[1] now was able to show the real state of affairs, and what he said produced a great effect. As at Ariminum, an attempt was made to obtain general acceptance for some creed which fell short of the Confession of Nicaea. The Creed which was proposed at Seleucia was that known as the Dedication Creed of Antioch of A.D. 341,[2] a creed which had the appearance of orthodoxy, but fell far short of that of Nicaea. The majority of the bishops signed it, and it was evident that the Semi-Arians, the party which Hilary regarded as hopeful and as on the road to orthodoxy, were in the ascendant. But the Acacians perceived this, and induced the praetor Leonas, who had acted as the imperial commissioner, to dissolve the Council. Then they sent off delegates to Constantius as did the Semi-Arians, but the Acacians had got the emperor's ear, and the Semi-Arians found him by no means friendly.[3] Meanwhile at Nice the persecution had gone on, and on October 10, 359,[4] the delegates were informed of what had occurred at Ariminum, and at last, watched and isolated from all who could give them advice, the delegates at Nice accepted the Dated Creed of Sirmium even with the words "in all things" left out.[5]

In January of the next year, 360, Constantius, who was now at Constantinople, had a conference with the Acacians, and agreed to depose Aetius,[6] the patriarch of Constantinople; and he ordered that the Creed of Ariminum should be imposed on all, and severe treatment should be dealt out to any who would not accept it.

It has been necessary to state in brief the events of

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 42 "et primum quaesitum ab eo quae esset Galliarum fides."
[2] Hil. *De synod.* § 3; Sôz. *H.E.* iii. 5.
[3] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 45. [4] Sôz. iv. 33.
[5] *Ibid.*; and S. Basil, *Ep.* 244; and Hil. *Contra Const.* § 12.
[6] Theodoret, ii. 27; Sôz. iv. 24.

the last two years, in order that we may the better understand the action of Hilary.

After he had been asked at Seleucia the views of the bishops of Gaul we lose sight of him, and not a word is said as to his signature of the Creed of Ariminum or of that generally accepted at Seleucia. We cannot imagine his name as lost among the many bishops who were induced to sign it. Probably as a spectator, and not having a see in the East, he was not called upon to sign. It would appear, however, that he was present at the Conference at Constantinople in January[1] 360, and that he was given the opportunity of presenting to Constantius his second appeal for the kinder treatment of the orthodox bishops. He even applied for permission to discuss theological matters with the emperor, and this, to his sorrow, was not allowed. There are two letters of Hilary to the emperor which belong to the year 360; the one, *Ad Constantium Augustum*, belongs to the very beginning of the year, and the other, *Contra Constantium imperatorem*, to the very end. The first is an earnest appeal, the second is a violent invective. In the first he writes as one who hopes that good may come from this appeal; in the second he writes as one in despair, and who is prepared to give his life for the cause he has at heart. It would seem, then, that the two letters belong to the time before and after the Conference: that the appeal was written after the Council at Seleucia was dissolved, and before the Conference had taken place; and that the latter, the Invective, was composed when he learned of the condemnation of the Semi-Arians through the intrigues of the Acacians at Constantinople. After the Conference there was to Hilary no hope except through violent measures. He may have perceived that the Caesar Julian[2] was already a power capable of checking the action of Constantius, but it is not certain that the Invective was ever

Hilary Appeal ii. to Constantius.

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 45; Hil. *Contra Const.* [2] Cf. Dr. Watson's *Introd.* p. xxi.

delivered to the emperor.[1] The future may have made it impossible to present it. But early in 360 events occurred which allowed of Hilary's return. The sentence of exile was not repealed but kept in abeyance. We do not know the actual terms of the permission, nor as events turned out is it likely that they were carefully considered. Hilary's exile[2] was over, and now he could return to his beloved Poitiers.

The former of these two letters,[3] his appeal to Constantius, began with that evidence of sincerity which took away the appearance of flattery: "I am aware, O most pious emperor, that the things which by many concerning certain affairs are brought before the bar of the public conscience are wont to be regarded either as weighty or trivial, according to the authority of those who discuss them, and in these matters, such opinion, the despising or the magnifying of the man, arouses an uncertain feeling towards the intelligent study of the matter. But as I am to speak to you concerning things divine, there is no fear with me, such as generally prevails, for I know that you are good and religious, and since God has given me this opportunity of appearing before you, my duty and my conscience does not so move me that I should say before you that which would be undignified. I am a bishop, and in full communion with the bishops of Gaul although I am in exile, and I have to administer my diocese by means of my priests. I am an exile, not because I have committed any crime, but because I am the victim of a faction, and I was removed by wicked men who sent lying messages from the Synod to you, pious Emperor, and not because I had been convicted of any crime. Nor have I an unimportant witness of my complaint in my lord Caesar, thy Julian.[4]

[1] Jerome in his *Cat. scrip. eccl.*, writing of Hilary, says of the Invective,—"quem post mortem ejus scripsit." Hilary, however, was not a man to have written thus after he had heard of the emperor's death.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 45. [3] Migne, *Pat. Lat.* x. p. 563.

[4] *Ep. ii. ad Const.* "nec levem habeo querelae meae testem, dominum meum religiosum Caesarem tuum Julianum."

It is no unknown fact that all the charges by which they procured my banishment were false. He, the author of all these deeds, Saturninus, is now in the city.[1] Trusting to you, O deluded Augustus and deceived Caesar, I open my conscience to you, that if anything be unworthy of the sanctity of a bishop, or if it is shown to me that I have done anything against the uprightness of a layman, I will not ask pardon for my sacerdotal rank, but retirement, and as a layman I will grow old[2] in penitence. We decide a form of faith concerning God yearly[3] or even monthly, we regret the decrees we drew up, we defend those we regret, we anathematise those who defend them, either in our own forms we condemn others, or in others we condemn our own.

"The Faith of the Gospel," he continues, "is corrupted. It is surely best and safest for us to go back to that first and only evangelic faith confessed at our baptism." He then asks the emperor to listen to him and he will speak to him the words of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose exile and priest he is. "You seek the faith, O Emperor. Hear it then, not from new documents but from the books of God. Heretics tear these scriptures to pieces. Realise that this is not a question of philosophy but the very teaching of the Gospel.

"Listen, I beg of you, to the things which are written concerning Christ lest by the heretics there should be preached to you things which are not written. Hearken to those truths of which from those books I will tell you. Put your trust in God. I am about to tell you, with a due respect for your realm and your faith, the things which promote peace in the East and the West, openly and in public, in face of a Council which may dissent from what I say, and notwithstanding a controversy which is now notorious."

But Constantius would not hear him, however careful

[1] *Ep. ii. ad Const.* "iste Saturninus . . . intra hanc urbem est."
[2] "Sed intra penitentiam laici consenescam."
[3] "Annuas atque menstruas de Deo fides decernimus."

he was to explain beforehand the lines of his argument, and the appeal ends somewhat abruptly. The idea had filled him with zeal but something had probably shown him the fruitless character of his quest.[1] So he concludes: "those things I in the Holy Spirit so believed that I cannot be taught anything beyond this faith concerning Jesus Christ. I do not wish for a moment to show any disrespect to the faith of the other bishops but I must cling to my baptismal creed and my knowledge of evangelic truth in that and so far disagree with them."

Hilary against Constantius.

The final letter to Constantius is written in a very different style. In the earlier of these two letters the bishop was pleading for the peace of the Church to the conscience of the emperor. Now the officer of the Church falls back upon his spiritual authority and denounces in no uncertain terms. Then he tried to stand by the emperor and realise his difficulties. Now he steps aside. It is no longer an appeal to Augustus. He writes now against the man whose very title of emperor was a claim of sovereign power. It is Hilary[2] against Constantius the emperor. "It is now," he begins, "time to speak. The time for keeping silence has passed by.[3] Christ is expected because Antichrist prevails. The people cry for their shepherds because their hirelings have fled. Let us offer our lives for the flock for robbers have entered in and a raging lion wanders about. By these summonses let us go to martyrdom because the angel of evil has changed himself into an angel of light.[4] Let us enter by the Door for no one goeth to the Father except through the Son. Let us stand before the judges and powers of this world in the Name of Christ for blessed is he who

[1] All through Hilary's writings he reveals himself as a man constantly writing and making use of what he has written for the time being. The letter was the inspiration of the moment, and later events had made him despair.

[2] Migne, *P.L.* x. p. 577.

[3] "Jam praeteriit tempus tacendi. Christus exspectatur quia obtinuit antichristus."

[4] "Angelus satanae transfiguravit se in angelum lucis."

shall endure unto the end. All who hear me or have personally known me are my witnesses that long ago, foreseeing how great the danger for the Faith was, after those excellent men Paulinus,[1] Eusebius, Lucifer and Dionysius were sent into exile, I with the bishops of Gaul separated ourselves from communion with Saturninus, Ursacius, and Valens.

"Nor will I speak now rashly or inconsiderately though I have for so long kept silence. Would that the Almighty God and Creator of all and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ would grant to my age and leisure that I might by this declaration of my faith fulfil the ministry He has conferred on me, He and His only begotten Son, in these Neronian and Decian times.[2] We might fight then openly and with confidence against those who deny our doctrines, who torture us, and would cut our throats.

"What then is the character of the persecution of Constantius? We fight against a persecutor who tries to receive us, against a foe who ever offers us blandishments, against Constantius[3] the Antichrist. He does not proscribe us that we should be deprived of our lives but he endows us that we may gain spiritual death. He does not crush out our life by imprisonment and so give us liberty, but he gives us posts of honour in the palace which bring us into bondage. He does not flagellate our backs but he compresses our heart. He does not behead us with a sword but he kills our souls with gold. He does not threaten us publicly with the stake and fire but he sets alight privately for us the furnace of Gehenna.

"Perhaps," he proceeds, "some may think him rash for thus calling Constantius Antichrist. Whoever will regard that as mere petulance and not the duty imposed by faith let him read the words which John said to

[1] Paulinus, bishop of Trier, Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Dionysius of Milan.

[2] "Tuum ministerium Neronianis Decianisque temporibus explessem."

[3] "Contra hostem blandientem, contra Constantium antichristum."

Herod: 'It is not lawful for thee to do this,' and 'Thou, miscreant, dost release us out of this present life but the King of the world shall raise us up.'

"I say to thee, Constantius, what I would have said to Nero, what Decius and Maximianus would have heard from me.[1] It is against God you fight, against his Church you rage, you persecute His saints, you hate those who preach Christ, you take away true religion."

Then he goes on to notice what the Churches of Alexandria, Trier, Rome, and Toulouse have suffered in the loss of their bishops and the wicked transference of prefects, the election of officers, the corruption of the people, and the moving of the soldiers so that Christ should not be preached by Athanasius or any others.

"Then," he continues, "you turned your arms against the Faith of the Church in the West.[2] In the time of Nero it would have been allowed to one to flee. With blandishments you removed Paulinus of blessed passion, and you spoiled the Church of Trier of such a bishop. You silenced him and wearied him by exile even unto death. At Milan you disturbed by your terrors that most religious flock. Your officers entered their very church and dragged the bishops from the altar. The clergy were killed with blows and the deacons wounded with leaden thongs. Then concerning the Synod of Seleucia 27th September 359. I found there such blasphemies as pleased you,"—and he goes on to refer to the Homoiousion and Anomoean heresies.

"This only I ask. Why do you condemn those proposals which are your own? So it comes to this. All that was formerly approved you order to be condemned, and what has ever been regarded as wicked that you now call on all to approve."

The epilogue ends as follows: "Hear the sacred meaning of the words of Scripture, hear the unshaken constitution of the Church, hear the faith professed by

[1] "Quod ex me Decius et Maximianus audirent."
[2] "Postquam omnia contulisti arma adversum fidem occidentis."

your father, hear the general feeling which condemns heresy, and realise that you are the enemy of divine religion, the enemy of the memory of the saints, and the rebellious heir of your paternal piety."[1]

Gaul during Hilary's exile.

We must turn now to Gaul and see what it was that had justified Hilary in this his so strong invective, a denunciation which would have brought immense harm on the Catholics had it not served to indicate to the Caesar Julian the feelings with which he must soon reckon. Shame and repentance had possessed the Gallican bishops who in the late autumn of 359 had been forced to sign the Dated Creed at Ariminum, and in the summer of 360 they assembled at Paris[2] and formally acknowledged their errors and repudiated their action. They may or may not have received Hilary's Tractate *De synodis*, but as the authors of all the trouble they excommunicate Auxentius the bishop of Milan, Ursacius, Valens, Gaius,[3] Megasius, and Justinus. They denounce as apostates those who occupied the sees of the exiled bishops, and they execrate and depose Saturninus[4] of Arles. Hilary's invective against Constantius, which was probably circulated in the West in the winter of 360-361, may have been a move on his part to procure from Julian[5] his sanction for these resolutions of the Paris Synod.

Political events of great moment were also occurring in Gaul. Julian by his fair and effective government had won the respect of all. Paris had been his head-quarters, and it is probable that he was in Paris at the time of this assembly of bishops, and gave his sanction to all that was done at it. In April 360[6] he received

[1] "Et intellige te divinae religionis hostem et inimicum memoriis sanctorum et paternae pietatis haeredem rebellem."

[2] Hil. *Hist. Frag.* xi., Migne, *P.L.* x. p. 970; Mansi, iii. 358.

[3] These were the legates from Ariminum; cf. *Frag.* x. p. 705.

[4] "Saturninum . . . excommunicatum ab omnibus Gallicanis episcopis charitas vestra cognoscat," *Frag.* xi. ut supra.

[5] Cf. Dr. Watson's *Introd.* pp. xxxix. xl.

[6] Zosimus, iii. 8.

orders from Constantius to send to him for his Eastern War certain picked legions that were with him in Gaul. The thought of such a campaign was, however, too much for the soldiers. They surrounded his palace at Paris and proclaimed Julian as Augustus.[1]

The object of his deep suspicion, Julian, whom he had so cruelly and unjustly treated, was now the open rival of Constantius. He sent his uncle word of what had occurred, and as the year passed he moved southward on his way to Italy and the decisive struggle. The winter of A.D. 360-361 [2] he spent at Vienne, and as a Christian observed there the festival of the Epiphany. Gaul has henceforth nothing to do with Julian or his apostacy. She knew him as an honest administrator, a man of well-disciplined life and of philosophic mind, and one who had scrupulously avoided any interference in the internal affairs of the Church.[3] During the five years of his rule [4] the frontier was protected, peace and safety were promoted in the country, and Gaul had enjoyed the prosperity to which she had for long been a stranger. As the rival forces drew near there was no time for Constantius to trouble himself concerning the bitter words of Hilary. If he ever heard them read he had not now the power to avenge them. The great bishop of Poitiers had passed out of his dominions, and during the autumn and winter of A.D. 360-361 Hilary was passing through Italy on his journey to his beloved Aquitaine.[5] On his road he fell in with Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli,[6] who was also returning from exile, and it is recorded that their journey seemed as a triumphal procession, so successful were they in

[1] Amm. Marcel. xx. 4. 14 ; Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 15. 1.

[2] *Ibid.* xx. 6 and 10. 3.

[3] For a good estimate of Julian cf. Boissier, *La Fin du paganisme*, i. p. 85. The heathen Ammianus was devoted to him. See also the *Gratiarum actio* of Claudius Mamertinus, § 4, p. 247 ; Baehrens, *xii. Panegyrici* ; Orosius, vii. 29.

[4] Aurel. Victor, § 42 ; Eutropius, x. 14, 15.

[5] "Cum de exsilio regressus intravit Pictavis, summo favore plaudebant omnes per iter," Fort. *Vit. Hil.* § ii. Prosper, *Chron.*, A.D. 361, "Hilarius episcopus . . . ad Gallias rediit."

[6] Rufinus, *Eccl. hist.* i. 30, 31 ; Sôz. v. 13.

Illyricum and Italy in re-establishing the Faith of Nicaea. At Rome, for there seems evidence that Hilary went there, he must have met with the inglorious but penitent Liberius. It is said also, that during their journey through Italy, Hilary made public his work *De fide*, or as it was afterwards called *De Trinitate*.[1]

Return of Hilary.

The Church of Gaul would welcome home its great confessor of the Faith. At Poitiers, perhaps, there was a wife as certainly there was a daughter to greet him. Phoebadius of Agen, and Servatio of Tongres, would rejoice at his return, for he had come back to help them in their great struggle. Rhodanius of Toulouse had died in exile, but the Church there would be glad that their neighbours in Aquitaine could support them in their bereavement. Saturninus had ceased to be feared, and in the next year had ceased to be bishop of Arles. Strangely enough, in Aquitaine itself Saturninus had the support of Paternus of Perigueux, who was likewise deposed in 362.[2] It is probable that Hilary reached Poitiers in the summer of 361. There was naturally much to be done, and the work of teaching the orthodox faith and the re-establishment of the lapsed dioceses had to be undertaken. Hilary's name stood for Gaul. He was the guide and leader of the Church there for nigh another decade. It was the boast of Sulpicius[3] that Hilary had cleansed Gaul from the defilement of heresy.

Hilary, however, soon felt that he must go to the assistance of the Church in Northern Italy. Auxentius, the Arian, had been placed over the See of Milan by Constantius when Dionysius was sent into exile, and the feverish zeal of Hilary longed for the deposition of this advocate of Arianism. It is probably in the autumn of 363[4] that he left Poitiers and came to

[1] Rufinus connects the issue of the *De Trinitate* with this work of reconciliation in Italy.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 45. 7.

[3] *Ibid.* "illud apud omnes constitit unius Hilarii beneficio Gallias nostras piaculo haeresis liberatas."

[4] *Liber contra Auxentium.* Hilary in his letter against Auxentius tells us

Italy, and his opposition to Auxentius became dangerous to the peace of the city. In the early summer of 364 Valentinian had been proclaimed emperor[1] on the death of Jovian, and it is said that when Valentinian went to Milan in the summer of that year, Auxentius assured him of his orthodoxy.[2] It was obviously impolitic for Valentinian to allow at such a time a theological controversy to disturb the peace of Milan. Thus, in the autumn of A.D. 364, Hilary was by order of the emperor sent back to Aquitaine,[3] and the re-establishment of the orthodox in Milan was left to slower and less heroic measures than those congenial to the enthusiastic bishop of Poitiers. He was no longer allowed to take part in the expulsion of Auxentius, but he was still able to write, and perhaps before he left, or perhaps soon after his return to Gaul, he wrote a letter "Against the Arians and against Auxentius of Milan." In this he refers to the "grievous edict"[4] of the emperor which ordered his deportation to Gaul, and relates the efforts he had made to drive out Auxentius from Milan, the story of his appeal to Valentinian, his audience with the quaestor and the bishops who advised him, and of his ultimate failure. The story was probably well known, but he would have his efforts understood by all, so that they might recognise and beware of the blasphemies of Auxentius.

So Hilary returned to Poitiers, and for seven years laboured on, the Apostle of Aquitaine, the teacher and guide of St. Martin and the great bulwark of the orthodox Faith in the West. Of those years we have no record. They were doubtless spent in quiet work in Gaul, where order and organisation were especially needed.

nearly all we know of his movements this year. His letter is addressed to "dilectissimis fratribus in fide paterna manentibus."

[1] Philostorgius, viii. 9; Amm. Mar. xxvi. 1. 4.

[2] *Lib. contra Aux.* § 9.

[3] *Ibid.* "jubeor de Mediolano proficisci, cum consistendi mihi in ea invito rege nulla est libertas."

[4] "Cum edicto gravi."

We cannot overestimate his work for Gaul and for the orthodox faith. He saved the West from Arianism as Athanasius had saved the East. As a writer he was a forerunner of Augustine, and the first book of his work entitled *De Trinitate* proves his skill as a writer and his clearness as a thinker. The brilliancy of Augustine as a theologian and religious writer drew away the attention of mediaeval Christendom from the splendid work of the first of Western theologians, though as a hymn-writer he seems to have been remembered for several centuries. Gaul was fated to pass through the trials of barbaric invasion, and the long period of Visigothic Arianism accounts for the absence of those traditions at Poitiers which would have told of his private life and his personal influence. Yet Sulpicius Severus, who in his youth may have seen him, and who must often have heard of him from the lips of St. Martin, could say with deliberate judgment in his Chronicle that it had been by the help of Hilary alone that Gaul was freed from the stain of heresy.[1] He died on the 13th of January A.D. 368,[2] and his death was indeed a loss to the Church in the West. The ancient office of the diocese of Poitiers faithfully described the feeling of Gaul when it records that at the death of Hilary "Gaul shed tears."[3]

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 45. 7.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 45 "Hilarius sexto anno postquam redierat in patria obiit." But Prosper, *Chron.* gives it "Lupicio et Jovino coss. (i.e. 369) Hilarius episcopus moritur."

[3] *Brev. Pictav. ad laudes*, January 13, "Gallia lachrymas fundat." In the Besançon Missal of the seventh century, St. Hilary is linked with St. Martin in the clause "Communicantes" of the Canon, Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* i. p. 207. Our own *Sarum Breviary*, *Temporale*, p. cccIv. in Bradshaw and Wordsworth's edition for the 6th Lectio at Matins, January 13, says, "ubi saepius factis synodis mundum jam paene totum errore confusum per eum ad viam veritatis fuisse adductum, confitetur lingua multorum." Fortunatus, in his life of Hilary, tells us of a heathen maiden Florentia who was converted by Hilary in Seleucia, and who, following him to Poitiers, lived and died there. The story rests on the authority of Fortunatus alone, and is extremely unlikely, though Hilary is very reticent concerning his private affairs. From Fortunatus the story got into the *Breviary*, Lectio vi. *ut supra*, "Florentia puella gentilis, servum Dei advenisse vociferando testabatur, etc."

CHAPTER VII

ST. MARTIN OF TOURS[1]

Martin of Sabaria.

In the spring or early summer of A.D. 356 there arrived at Poitiers a young religious enthusiast whose fame in after years was to rival and even to surpass that of St. Hilary. Serious-minded, and burning in his zeal for the cause of Christ, he had with some difficulty obtained his discharge from the army of the Caesar Julian, and from the borders of the Rhine had crossed Gaul to place himself in the hands of the great bulwark of orthodoxy of the Western Church. He was Martin

[1] The chief authority for the life and labours of St. Martin is Sulpicius Severus, who was a devoted disciple, often going about with him on his missionary journeys. He must have written very soon after the saint's death and perhaps in 404. The best edition of his works is that of Halm in the Vienna *Corpus*. In addition to his *Vita S. Martini* he wrote also three epistles on monasticism and three dialogues comparing eastern and western monasticism, and in all St. Martin, his labours and his miracles, is the chief topic. Fifty years later Paulinus of Périgueux wrote a metrical life of St. Martin and dedicated it to Bishop Perpetuus of Tours (461). It consists of six books and is almost entirely a versification of Sulpicius' life. Towards the end of the sixth century Fortunatus, who became Bishop of Poitiers 599, wrote a metrical life in four books and dedicated it to Gregory of Tours 575–595. He adds very little to our knowledge, and by his time every addition only went to prove the extravagance of the cult. Gregory of Tours not only gives us a work in four books, *De miraculis S. Martini*, but gives us numerous incidental notices in his *Historia Francorum*, and yet further statements in the lives of his predecessors at Tours. Sulpicius and Gregory are the two really important sources of our knowledge of the saint.

The student should also consult Tillemont's *Mémoires pour servir*, vol. x., and also a very useful though uncritical work *La Vie de S. Martin* by Prior Nicholas Gervaise of Tours (1699). The *Vie de S. Martin* by the thirteenth-century poet Peau Gatineau has been edited by Bourassé (1860), and is of interest though not of value. A very useful work by Bulliot and Thiollier (1892), *La Mission et le culte de S. Martin d'après les légendes et les monuments populaires dans le pays éduen*, gives us much information as to St. Martin's work between the Loire and the Saône, and is of distinct value. Reinken's *Martin von Tours* (1866) is thorough and useful, and Lecoy de la Marche's *S. Martin* (1881) is interesting and helpful though uncritical. Adolphe Regnier's *S. Martin* (1907) is a useful popular narrative.

the Pannonian, in time to become one of the most popular saints of France. He was born in Sabaria[1] (Sárvár), a town of upper Pannonia, and now in the kingdom of Hungary, and was the son of a private soldier who had attained the rank of a military tribune. His parents were pagans, and it was not till they had been removed to Pavia that he seems to have come into contact with Christians and had become[2] a catechumen. Sulpicius tells us[3] that when he was twelve years of age his zeal for religion was so great that he desired to retire into a desert, *i.e.* to go off to some country district and there live a life of strict asceticism. Some one had probably been telling him the story of St. Antony of Egypt, who was still alive, and whose strange life-story (when told him) was destined to produce a similar desire in St. Augustine. It can hardly be said, however, that the monastic movement, which was only now beginning in Egypt, and had still to gain the proportions and the influence which it acquired half a century later, had as yet produced any effect in Western Europe. St. Athanasius had remained in exile in Trier (336-338) and had possibly told there of this work of St. Antony, but the times were not such as would allow of the story being easily and rapidly spread. His parents, being pagans, were averse to this desire to become a Christian, and it was against their will and probably without their knowledge that he fled to a church in Pavia and was accepted as a postulant under instruction for baptism. Looking back over his active life of more than fifty years of work in Gaul, and with the profound reverence of an admiring and loving disciple, Sulpicius says that[4] his mind was ever occupied with the thought of churches

[1] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Mart.* ii. 1 "Sabaria Pannoniarum oppido oriundus fuit."

[2] *Ibid.* "cum esset annorum decem . . . ad ecclesiam confugit seque catechumenum fieri postulavit."

[3] *Ibid.* "mirum in modum totus in Dei opere conversus, cum esset annorum duodecim eremum concupivit."

[4] *Ibid.* "animus tamen aut circa monasteria aut circa ecclesiam semper intentus."

and monasteries, a statement which is hard to reconcile with the fact that he postponed his baptism until he was eighteen years of age. But,[1] in obedience to the law, as the son of a veteran he had to be enrolled in the army, and his father gladly brought him forward for that purpose when he was fifteen years old. He entered, therefore, a cohort[2] of the guards and served as a soldier under Constantius and Julian. Now[3]

[1] Cf. *Codex Theod.* vii. Tit. xxii. "De filiis veteranorum," a law of Constantine, 319. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, cap. xvi. and xvii. vol. ii. Henry's edition. The grant of lands to the father seems to have been made with the condition that his son, if he had one, should join the army. Cf. the case of the veteran Victor and his martyred son Maximilianus.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *ut supra* "inter scolares alas sub rege Constantio deinde sub Juliano Caesare militavit."

[3] The chronology of the life of St. Martin seems to depend on one statement of Sulpicius, which, if accepted, not only contradicts his other dates but has also produced confusion in the chronological statements of Gregory of Tours. We will first of all give the statements of the two historians and reserve our comment and conclusion to the end.

Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* cap. 2 "sub rege Constantio deinde sub Juliano Caesare militavit"; cap. 3 "cum esset annorum duoviginti ad baptismum convolavit . . . qua Martinus expectatione suspensus per biennium fere posteaquam est baptismum consecutus solo licet nomine militavit."

Dial. ii. 7 "quia Martino semel tantum in vita jam septuagenario non vidua libera, non virgo lasciviens, sed sub viro vivens regina servivit et ministravit edenti non cum epulante discubuit."

Greg. Tours, *Hist. Franc.* i. 36 "hujus imperii anno undecimo cum post excessum Diocletiani pax reddita fuisset ecclesiis, beatissimus praesul Martinus apud Sabaria Pannonia civitatem nascitur."

Ibid. i. 48 "Arcadi vero et Honori secundo imperii anno sanctus Martinus Turonorum episcopus . . . octagesimo et primo aetatis suae episcopatus autem vicesimo sexto . . . migravit ad Christum . . . Attico Caesario consulibus."

Ibid. ii. 43 "a transitu ergo sancti Martini usque ad transitum Chlodovechi regis . . . supputantur anni 112."

Ibid. v. 37 "hoc tempore et beatus Martinus Galliciensis episcopus obiit . . . in quo sacerdotio impletis annis plus unum triginta miris plenus virtutibus migravit ad Dominum."

Ibid. x. 30 "tertius Sanctus Martinus anno octavo Valentis et Valentiniani episcopus ordinatus . . . obiit apud Condatensem vicum urbis suae anno octagesimo primo aetatis."

Our first date is that which Sulpicius gives us concerning Martin's military career—under Constantius and the Caesar Julian. Now Constantius was not in Italy and Gaul until 353 and Julian was raised to the rank of Caesar in 355. Moreover, Martin, who has a difficulty in leaving the army, as soon as he obtains permission goes to Poitiers and finds St. Hilary there. But the Bishop of Poitiers was sent an exile to Phrygia in the autumn of 356. Therefore Martin's military service in Gaul must have been during the years 353–356. Sulpicius tells us he was twenty years old when he got his discharge (*exauctoratus*), and therefore he must have been born between 333 and 336.

Now all the confusion arises from the remark of Sulpicius that Martin was a septuagenarian when he was entertained at supper by the wife of Maximus, i.e. 386. Clearly Sulpicius desired to screen Martin from any suspicion of impropriety. The monastic spirit was stronger in the disciple than in the master, and he shrank

Constantius did not go to Gaul before the summer of

from the idea of a man under fifty supping alone with a woman. He knew Martin was apparently old, and perhaps he was older in appearance than in years. If, however, we drop out this idea that in 386 he was seventy years of age all our difficulties disappear.

When we turn to Gregory we find that he makes this his starting-point. Martin was seventy in 386, and therefore he was born in 316. The Edict of Galerius was in 310, but peace had come to Gaul in 305 when Constantius Chlorus became Augustus, and Gregory's eleven years bring us to 316. The date of his death he gives us as the second year of Arcadius and Honorius when Caesarius and Atticus were consuls, i.e. the year 399. His second calculation is that Martin died 112 years before Chlodowig. The Merwing king died in 511 and therefore this date 399 is confirmed. The next date is an approximate one, he was consecrated in 372 and thirty years more or less would give us approximately 399, especially as Gregory seems rather to be reckoning from the death of Litorius to the accession of St. Bricius.

Now if Martin was born in 316 and was enrolled in the army at fifteen his military life must have begun in A.D. 331 and in A.D. 356 he had been serving for twenty-five years. But the service in the cavalry and the guards varied from ten to sixteen years, and Martin could have claimed his discharge legally; cf. *Cod. Theod.* vii. Tit. xx. 4 and Tit. xxii. on the enrolment of the sons of veterans. Martin was already *emeritus*, and as he did not wish for any *commoda militiae* he could easily have retired; cf. Lucan, i. 344. The difficulty he found arose from his youth and his short service. He had only served half his time, and it was the favour of Julian and no just claim of Martin's which made it possible for him to go off to Poitiers in 356; cf. Gibbon, *Dec. and Fall*, Bury's ed. vol. ii. p. 180, and also the attempt of Augustus to keep veterans nominally under the colours as *vexillarii*, Tacit. *Ann.* i. 17.

Gregory had two reliable dates, i.e. of Martin's consecration 372 and his death 399, and all his other calculations are wrong because they are all based on the idea that he was seventy in the year 386. Even this does not fall in with the idea that he was eighty-one at his death in 399. We must consider then once more the statements of Sulpicius. That Martin had served under the clement Caesar Julian was a fact which he must have learnt from Martin himself, and about which it seems to me no doubt can be entertained. That Martin was seventy years old in 386 is an opinion of Sulpicius about which great doubt exists. He was most anxious to screen Martin from all scandal. For a man like his hero, who had lived a very hard and strenuous life, his appearance probably suggested an age greater than his own. Of this very time and of a contemporary of St. Martin, and perhaps even a colleague in military service in Gaul, the historian Ammianus Marcellinus who calls himself "adolescens," Mr. Glover, in *Life and Letters in the Fourteenth Century*, p. 21, says: "Men vary so much in their ideas of what is young and what is old that it would be hard to guess his exact age in 357." If then he was twenty years old in 356 he was thirty-six when he became Bishop of Tours, was fifty when he met the empress at Trier, and died in his sixty-fourth year. His dates then according to this calculation are as follows: birth 336, consecration 372, and death 399. Sulpicius' statement, *Dialogue*, iii. 13. 6, that Martin lived sixteen years after the consecration of Felix and his communion with Ithacius would give us 402 as the date of his death, which contradicts Gregory's doubly vouched 399, and hardly allows time for Sulpicius' retirement to his retreat near Narbonne when in 404 he wrote his *Dialogues*.

Gregory had before him definite historic documents belonging to the See of Tours, and though he goes wrong when he follows Sulpicius as to Martin's age he seems very definite as to his consecration and death. The party of Bricius must soon have made it impossible for Sulpicius to remain at Tours or Marmoutier, and at Narbonne he had only to rely on his devotion and his memory of a master he dearly loved.

353, and he was succeeded in the command of the Roman forces by his nephew Julian, whom he had made Caesar in the late autumn of 355. As a recruit Martin was conspicuous among his fellow-soldiers for his simplicity of life, his patience, humility and frugality.[1] He had one slave as his companion servant and he seemed to his comrades to be more like a monk than a soldier. The first years[2] of his career were probably spent at Milan and then at Lyons, being moved northward into Belgica and towards the Rhine as he developed in physical strength and increased in military experience. In the pages of his biography we meet with him first of all at Amiens[3] in garrison and in the depth of winter. He had been a soldier for three years. His possessions consisted of his arms and the clothes he wore. One day he noticed at the entrance of the town a poor ill-clad beggar who pleaded for help and pity from those who passed by. So intense was, however, the cold and the consequent suffering that, absorbed as they were in the thought of their own comfort, no one had taken any notice of the man. Martin felt that as no one acted as he should towards the beggar God had perhaps reserved the duty for him to perform, and yet he knew not how he could help him. The man needed clothes, and he had only his military cloak. But he did not hesitate. Drawing his sword[4] he cut his cloak in two and shared it with the beggar and returned to the camp with only half his outer garment.

Amiens.

[1] Sulp. Sev. *ibid.* § 2 "multa illius circa commilitones benignitas, mira caritas, patientia vero atque humilitas ultra humanum modum."

[2] For the movements of Constantius and Julian 354–356 cf. Ammian. Marcell. bks. xv. and xvi.

[3] Sulp. Sev. *ibid.* iii. 1 "obvium habet in porta Ambianensium civitatis pauperem nudum"; cf. also Venant. Fort. i. 56:

> "occurrenti igitur portae Ambianensis egeno
> qui sibi restiterat chlamydis partitur amictum
> et fervente fide membris algentibus offert."

[4] Cf. Paulinus Petricord, *De vit. Mart.* i. 85:

> "stringitur invictus sine crimine vulneris ensis
> et mediam resecat miseratio prodiga partem,
> pejorem sibi credo legens."

Sulpicius says the same in simpler prose.

When his comrades saw him some were inclined to laugh, but others had recognised Martin's sincerity and secretly approved of his conduct. That night as he slept Martin dreamt, and it seemed as if Christ came to him clad in the half of the cloak which he had given to the beggar, and to the company of angels which stood by he heard Him say:[1] "Martin, still a catechumen, covered me with this robe." "Truly," remarks Sulpicius, "was the Lord mindful of His own words which He before had said 'In that ye did this to one of the least of them ye did it unto Me.'" The occurrence and the dream impressed themselves on Martin's mind as evidence of the goodness of God, and they caused him to decide without delay to prepare himself for that baptism which he had for so long put off. So at the age of eighteen he was baptized,[2] and then it was he determined to leave the army. For two years he served at the earnest entreaty of his tribune, whose mess-fellow he was, and because the tribune promised that when his tribuneship was over he, too, would forsake the world, but his service during this period was only nominal. It was not, however, easy for him to retire from the army and especially at this time. Julian had just taken up the command and an irruption from Germany was considered imminent. In the spring of 356 Julian[3] had gathered together all his available forces in the territory of the Vangiones near their town of Worms, and as he was expecting an attack from the Alemanni he proceeded, as was customary on the eve of an engagement, to distribute doles of money to the soldiers. So one by one they were summoned into the presence of the commander, and at last Martin was called to come and receive his donation. Martin, however, told[4] the commander that he was the soldier

[1] Sulp. Sev. *ibid.* iii. 3 "Martinus adhuc catechumenus hac me veste contexit."

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 5 "cum esset annorum duodeviginti ad baptismum convolavit."

[3] *Ibid.* iv. 1 "Julianus Caesar coacto in unum exercitu apud Vangionum civitatem." This campaign is probably referred to in Ammian. Marcell. xvi. § 3. 3.

[4] "Hactenus, inquit ad Caesarem, militavi tibi: patere ut nunc militem Deo: donativum tuum pugnaturus accipiat, Xti ego miles sum: pugnare mihi non licet."

of Christ and must fight in His battles, and he could not therefore accept a gift which pledged him to fight in the conflict then imminent. Naturally Julian was angry at this refusal and taunted him on his cowardice, saying that it was out of fear of the coming battle that he wished to escape the performance of his duty. Thereupon Martin, to give proof of his courage and to show that he was influenced by other motives than those of which Julian had thought, offered to march next day unarmed[1] at the head of the troops, and he said he would make a path for himself by the sign of the cross, penetrating through its influence the ranks of the enemy. His offer was immediately accepted by the commander, whose sense of duty was not affected by this pretence of bravery, and so Martin had to prepare himself for the test he had himself suggested. On the morrow, however, ere an opportunity to carry out his offer had arrived, the enemy sued for peace and the battle did not take place. Then Martin got his discharge, and at the age of twenty left the army of Julian to begin his great warfare as a soldier of Jesus Christ.

Martin at Poitiers.

When Martin reached Poitiers he found Hilary engaged in that great controversy for the faith to which he had devoted his life. The letter to Constantius in protest at the persecution which took place at and after the Council of Milan had been written, and probably Hilary had already received his summons to attend at the Council of Beziers. So at present Hilary could do little for Martin, and who could say what might happen to the courageous bishop of Poitiers? Perhaps it was the circumstances of the time that induced Hilary to desire[2] to confer the diaconate on his new disciple. He would fain leave behind him to minister in his church and in the town one so earnest

[1] "Crastina die ante aciem inermis adstabo et in nomine Domini Jesu, signo crucis, non clipeo protectus aut galea, hostium cuneos penetrabo securus."

[2] "Temptavit autem idem Hilarius imposito diaconatus officio sibi eum artius implicare et ministerio vincire divino."

and single-hearted. But the humility of Martin prevailed, and he was merely admitted into the ranks of the exorcists.

The two men could not have spent more than three or four months together when Martin was seized with a desire to visit and if possible to bring about the conversion of his parents. Perhaps Hilary had already received the notice of his exile, and the thought of his journey eastward had suggested to Martin to accompany him at least as far as Pannonia. But Martin was the first to start off, and he told Hilary that in a dream[1] he had received a call to go off to Sabaria and preach the Christian Faith to his pagan relatives. Fifty years afterwards Sulpicius writes of this proposal of Martin as giving grief to Hilary, and says that in tears[2] Hilary pledged him to return, and warned him of the dangers and trials that lay before him. But if Martin was the first to leave Poitiers he certainly did not return until the exile of Hilary was over. So in the late autumn of 356 Martin set forth to cross the Alps and almost immediately his troubles began. On the road he fell among thieves, and while one would have killed him with a swordstroke the other stayed his comrade's hands, and having tied Martin's hands behind his back took him aside,[3] and having robbed him of all he had, proceeded to enquire who he was. The conversation seems as if it was genuine, and probably had been told to his younger brethren by Martin himself. The prisoner, while bound and helpless, preached Christ to his captor, and with such power as to convince the man of the truth, and so the robber

[1] "Nec multo post admonitus per soporem ut patriam parentesque quos adhuc gentilitas detinebat religiosa sollicitudine visitaret ex voluntate sancti Hilarii profectus est."

[2] "Multis ab eo obstrictus precibus et lacrimis ut rediret."

[3] "Qui cum eum ad remotiora duxisset percontari ab eo coepit, quisnam esset"; Cf. Fortunat. *Vita Mart.* i. 81:

"credit latro Deum dum praedicat iste colendum."

and Paulinus, i. 21:

"sed tamen ambo viam scite docuere sequendam
aggeris hic monstravit iter didicitque salutis."

soon released him with a request that he would remember him in his prayers.

From the passes of the Alps Martin made his way to Milan, and there the devil[1] met him and enquired whither he was going and on what quest, and told him that whatever he did and wherever he went he, the devil, would be present to hinder him. So St. Martin exclaimed, "The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do unto me," and then the devil vanished, and Martin had learnt a lesson which he never forgot, and which made him see in all his warfare for Christ the real author of all the opposition he had to overcome. Illyricum and Pannonia, the country of Ursacius and Valens, were centres of Arianism, and there was some danger to Martin should he be found there, orthodox and active and one who had come from Poitiers. But while his father remained and died uninfluenced by the preaching of his son, his mother was brought to confess Christ,[2] and others, too, he brought round to Christianity and to Catholicism. His labours, however, were soon bruited abroad and he was shortly after driven from Illyricum, and on his return westward took refuge in Milan. But Auxentius was now the bishop of Milan, a pronounced Arian, and when he heard that Martin from Poitiers had set up a monastery in the suburbs[3] he drove him promptly away, and so he retired and formed in the islet of Gallinaria[4] near Alassio a refuge such as he desired.

Martin a recluse.

For two years Martin the exorcist lived a hermit's life in this little and lonely island, and here he acquired those monastic habits which in their austerity gave him that remarkable influence which he afterwards exerted.

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* 6 "progressus cum Mediolanum praeteriisset, diabolus in itinere . . . se ei obvium tulit."

[2] *Ibid.* vi. 3 "matrem a gentilitatis absolvit errore, patre in malis perseverante."

[3] *Ibid.* "Mediolani sibi monasterium statuit, ibi quoque eum Auxentius . . . gravissime insectatus est."

[4] *Ibid.* ". . . Cedendum itaque tempori arbitratus ad insulam cui Gallinaria nomen est, secessit comite quodam presbytero magnarum virtutum viro."

What then was this monasticism[1] of which in Gaul Martin was regarded as the founder? It was of a very elementary character, the beginnings of asceticism and of a disciplined life, but there is no mention of a code of rules, and St. Martin's code, as far as he had one, seems not merely to have been of his own creation but also for himself only. It is very doubtful whether he ever put in writing any set of rules for daily observance, his work was too varied and his life too active for any guidance but that of simple Christian principles. Sulpicius, his disciple and biographer, was a great admirer of Egyptian monasticism, and in his *Dialogues* it is clear that he and his two companions wished to find in St. Martin in the West a greater wonder-worker than any of those in the Thebaid. The real Martin must therefore be sought for as it were between the lines of his admirer's record. The lack of chronological order and the absence of sufficient indication of place and time make it impossible, for the most part, to say whether an event occurred before or after he had been made a bishop. Ascetic he certainly was, but he was also a great missionary,[2] and as a bishop he did not confine himself even to the territory of Tours, and as an abbot he seems to have moved about on missionary effort in Aquitaine. It was the stern simplicity of his life, the austerity as compared with the prevailing gluttony[3] and drunkenness, which impressed itself on the people and, with his personal courage and commanding character, gave him his wonderful influence over all with whom he came in contact. (Among Christians, and specially among the clergy, the sense of a need of greater strictness of life was growing.) This austerity had not yet been recognised

[1] Cf. Bright's *Age of the Fathers*, vol. i. p. 131.

[2] "Martin ne borna pas la croisade contre l'idolatrie au territoire de Tours, il passa dans les diocèses voisins et de proche en proche arriva dans l'est à Autun, dans le nord jusqu'à Chartres et Paris."—Amédée Thierry, *Hist. de la Gaule*, 1847, iii. 463.

[3] Cf. Salvian, *De gubernatione Dei*, vi. § 73 "lugubre est referre quae vidimus . . . decrepitos Xtianos . . . gulae ac lasciviae servientes."

as commendable. Men admired his holiness, sincerity, and zeal, without knowing exactly what it was that produced this moral influence. The spirit of asceticism, as necessary for the age, we see in its early development in the last half of the fourth century, and in the first half of the century that followed we find it permanently rooted in the minds of Western Christendom. In a subsequent chapter it will be necessary to consider this subject at greater length. Martin was a pioneer, but Martin was not like Honoratus or John Cassian; he certainly was not the organiser like Benedict of Monte Cassino.

The sojourn at Gallinaria is but an episode in the life of Martin. We know nothing about it. That the three years' spiritual conflict ended in self-conquest his after-story sufficiently assures us. He had one companion, a priest of most virtuous life, and their food consisted almost entirely of roots and vegetables.[1] Having taken some hellebore, his life was saved by prayer and moral courage. Yet Martin knew what was going on in the outside world, and when he heard that Constantius had given permission to Hilary to return to Gaul, and that already he was on his way to Italy and would pass through Rome, he left Gallinaria, hoping[2] to meet Hilary in Rome. It was probably the late autumn of the year 360. Hilary, however, had already been at Rome and had gone on towards Poitiers when Martin reached the capital. So Martin the exorcist, the ascetic, the incipient monk, disappointed of his hope, followed his bishop to Poitiers, and must have joined Hilary there very early in the year 361.

Martin at Ligugé.

The meeting of the two friends after all their experiences during these critical years was one of great joy, and Hilary seems soon to have recognised the

[1] "Hic aliquamdiu radicibus vixit herbarum." For a description of the two islets opposite Cannes and three miles distant cf. Lenthéric, *The Riviera*, Eng. ed. of Dr. West, pp. 352-368, and Alliez, *Histoire du monastère du Lérins*, 1862.

[2] Sulp. Sev. § 6 "Romae ei temptavit occurrere, profectusque ad urbem est, cum jam Hilarius praeteriisset; ita eum est vestigiis prosecutus."

change those years had produced on Martin. He was still of great use to him for the evangelising of Aquitaine, but not as yet along the lines of the incipient diocesan organisation. For him, if he was to stay and help him, some home must be found, not in busy Poitiers, but in some more secluded retreat. Not far from the city Hilary seems to have had a small farm, about six miles to the south-west of Poitiers, and this he gave to Martin as his new home and as a site for his monastery.[1] Sulpicius gives the place no name, but Gregory of Tours and the versifier Fortunatus show us that it had already received a descriptive place-name, Locociacum or Locotegiacum, afterwards known as Ligugé, the place of the little cells, a name which clearly draws its origin from the beehive cells of the monks. It was the first monastery in Gaul, the pattern, probably, of many later groups of little cells, a place which St. Patrick must have seen, the forerunner of Bangor, Clonmacnois, Iona, Inysvitryn, and Lindisfarne.

Here then at Ligugé, with the necessary solitude[2] and yet in touch with Hilary, Martin settled down to develop for Gaul that monasticism to which it owes so much. Among his companions, of which the number is not told us but which was probably small, was a catechumen filled with an earnest desire to adapt himself to the discipline of his master. Soon the young man fell ill, and as it happened Martin was away. For three days they thought he was dead, and the return of the saint and his earnest attention to the apparently lifeless patient, who subsequently recovered from the fever, was

[1] Sulp. Sev. § 7 "haut longe sibi ab oppido monasterium conlocavit." Sulpicius tells us very little about Ligugé, and clearly it had not a name when Martin settled there. Cf. Paulinus of Périgueux i. 296 :

"construit hic cellam fessis solacia membris,
nam mens plena deo caelesti in sede manebat."

Venant. Fort. seems to suggest that Hilary had founded the monastery before Martin arrived to occupy it, i. 161.

[2] Cf. Venant. Fort. i. 165 :

"concipiensque fidem cella omnes jussit abire
exclusitque foris foribus, sine teste relictus."

soon related as if St. Martin had raised the catechumen from the dead.[1] It was the beginning of the miracles ascribed to him, and for two hundred years the list of them increased during an age of credulity and among people extraordinarily superstitious. The life of Martin henceforth divides itself into two unequal parts. There is the ten or eleven years of the monastic home when he was chiefly at Ligugé, and then followed a quarter of a century or more during which as bishop of Tours he persevered in his marvellous evangelistic efforts, repeating at Marmoutier the chief features of his life at Ligugé. His biographer tells us singularly little of the details of his life, the places where he went, and the order in which he visited them. To Sulpicius the most important duty seemed to have been that of recording his miracles in order to prove his great sanctity. We are told of Amboise, Chartres, Paris, Trier, and Condes, but as a rule he is content to describe the occurrence as *in vico quodam*, *in pago Aeduorum*, or when he was on a journey. In his *Epistles* and his *Dialogues*, three each in number, he adds to our knowledge of the miracles which were ascribed to him and incidentally to the personal character of St. Martin himself, but he rarely gives us a clear indication of time and place. While he was at Ligugé another miracle of restoring a dead person to life was ascribed to him. As he was passing through the lands of a certain nobleman Lupicinus[2] he hears a great wail and is told that a servant of the nobleman had hung himself and that his body lay in a certain cell. Thither, therefore, St. Martin went, and was with the man for some time alone and finally brought him out alive and well to his astonished comrades. We must, however, defer the consideration

[1] Sulp. Sev. § 7 "... videt defunctum paulatim membris omnibus commoveri et laxatis in usum videndi palpitare luminibus .... mirum spectaculum, quod videbant vivere quem mortuum reliquissent."

[2] Sulp. Sev. § 8 "dum agrum Lupicini cujusdam honorati secundum saeculum viri praeteriret."

of his labours as an evangelist, and treat of them together, since it is impossible to assign them all to their right place in his life's history.

Martin, Bishop of Tours.

His fame was certainly not confined to Ligugé or to Poitiers. In 371 the city of Tours lost its second bishop.[1] Litorius or Ledorius, according to Gregory, had been bishop there for thirty-three years, and his work as an evangelist had resulted not only in a large increase of converts but also, through the generosity of "a certain senator," who gave his house for that purpose, in the erection within the city of the first Christian church. Evidently during his episcopate the Cross seems to have been permanently established in Tours, and the hostility of the heathen, which at first had kept St. Gatian out of the town, was now restrained by the increasing influence and numbers of Christian citizens. A successor, therefore, had to be found, and in time the neighbouring bishops assembled at Tours to assist with the Christians in the city in the election of a new bishop. The people had one wish and that was to secure St. Martin. The abbot of Ligugé had doubtless often been seen in their streets, and the fame of his sanctity was well known to them. But how could they induce him to come to Tours? Their invitations and their entreaties were in vain.[2] He would not leave his monastery. Then they had resort to stratagem, as years afterwards Hugh of Chester did in order to bring Anselm from Bec to England. The wife of a certain Rusticius[3] feigned to be ill, and Rusticius in his alarm went to Ligugé, and on his knees besought St. Martin to come to her assistance. So they brought him on the road from Poitiers to Tours, and as he drew near to the city the crowds increased, and it seemed as if he was being brought as

[1] Greg. Tours, *Hist. Franc.* x. 31. 2 and 3 and 48; Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* 9.

[2] Sulp. Sev. § 9 "erui monasterio suo non facile posset."

[3] *Ibid.* "Rusticius quidam . . . uxoris languore simulato ad genua illius provolutus ut egrederetur obtinuit." Cf. Freeman's *William Rufus*, vol. i. cap. iv. p. 383.

a prisoner to the tribunal. Martin was the worthiest they knew of to be their bishop and the city would be happy under such an episcopate. A few, and they apparently some of the bishops who had assembled for the election, were not quite satisfied. They remarked on his undignified person, his mean garments, and his unkempt hair; and the multitude in their enthusiasm regarded these bishops as impious in their criticism. Among the chief opponents of this popular choice was Defensor,[1] bishop of Angers, and the minds of the people were troubled with the thought of the objections which he voiced. Then they gathered in the little church for the solemn act of election, and for the service which would naturally precede it. But the crowds were so great that the appointed lector was unable to gain admission, and as they waited inside, ignorant of the cause of the lector's absence, one of them took up the psalter and opened it at random. The verse on which his eyes first fell seemed prophetic:[2] "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger" —*ut destruas inimicum et defensorem*, as the older Latin version has it. Could anything be more convincing? It was the wish of the Almighty. Defensor of Angers was certainly put to silence, and Martin was chosen as the new bishop. So the exorcist of Poitiers, the abbot of Ligugé, became bishop of Tours and was consecrated on the 3rd of July 372. Sulpicius, writing the biography thirty years after this event, recognised how great the change in the conditions of his life must have been; and tells us that St. Martin[3] re-

[1] Defensor, bishop of Angers, appears as the first bishop of the see on all the lists of bishops but nothing more of him is known than what Sulpicius here tells us.

[2] Psalm viii. 2 "ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos ut destruas inimicum et defensorem." The Vulgate reads "ultorem" instead of "defensorem," a reading of the *Vet. Ital.* version; cf. *Commentary* of S. Bruno the Carthusian on meaning of the word Defensor.

[3] Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* x. "idem enim constantissime perseverabat qui prius fuerat; eadem in corde ejus humilitas, eadem in vestitu ejus vilitas erat: atque ita plenus

mained unaltered in character, the same in humility, in constancy, and in zeal, and that he filled the office of a bishop with dignity while he did not forsake his calling as a monk.

Marmoutier.

On the right bank of the Loire about two miles north-east of Tours the land rises somewhat precipitously from the valley which the river has worn for itself. The rock is a soft yellow sandstone and in many places it has been pierced and hollowed into dwelling places by the prehistoric cave-dwellers of the region. Lying back from the river bank about half a mile these caves must have afforded a retreat from the dangers which from time to time beset the inhabitants of a later period, and the tradition which regards these caves as the refuge of St. Gatian, the first missionary bishop of the district, is of too early a date to allow of any doubt. Here it was that St. Martin founded the second monastery in Gaul.[1] Marmoutier, *magnum monasterium*, rapidly rose into celebrity and vied with its later neighbour St. Martin's in Tours for the protection and devotions of the Gallo-Romans and the Franks. In later times the monastery stretched out toward the river,[2] but for St. Martin it probably consisted of the caves on the slope of the hills and a few beehive huts at their foot. Here also we seem to notice for the first time the beginnings of a monastic system. At some time during St. Martin's episcopate he had eighty monks living with him, men who seldom left the monastery, whose occupation was prayer and the copying of Holy Scripture,[3] who were content with one meal a day and, in contrast to the drunkenness of the age, abstained entirely from wine, and whose clothing

auctoritatis et gratiae, implebat episcopi dignitatem, ut non tamen propositum monachi virtutemque desereret."

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* § x.; Greg. Tours, *Hist. Franc.* x. 31. 3; cf. Chevallier, *Les Origines de l'église de Tours*, 1871; Longnon, *Géographie de la Gaule*, p. 276.

[2] With the exception of a mediaeval gateway and the rock-hewn caves, the entire monastery of Marmoutier was destroyed by the Revolutionists at the end of the xviiith century.

[3] Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* x. "ars ibi exceptis scriptoribus nulla habebatur, cui tamen operi minor aetas deputabatur: majores orationi vacabant."

is described as of camel hair. Among the community were not a few of noble birth, and far and wide men were drawn to surrender themselves to this saintly humility and patience, and Sulpicius is careful to tell us, writing some thirty years after the monastery had been founded, that many of the monks ultimately became bishops, and hardly a canton existed which did not desire to have a priest or a bishop from Marmoutier.[1]

As bishop of Tours St. Martin seems to have taken a prominent part in demanding from the emperor that the principles of the Christian faith should be recognised in the affairs of state. Four times he made his way from the Loire to the Mosel to demand from the emperor while he was staying at Trier some clemency which otherwise would not have been displayed. Within a year of his consecration 372-373, he travelled to the Court there, to demand from Valentinian[2] some favour, the life perhaps of an officer whom his cruelty had mercilessly condemned, or the freedom of some who had been unjustly imprisoned.

Martin goes to Trier.

Whatever the object of his mission, his arrival at Trier was unwelcome news to Valentinian. The story is told by Sulpicius in his second *Dialogue*. Valentinian had married Justina, the widow of the usurper Magnentius, and she was a bitter Arian,[3] and her influence on Valentinian was a matter of alarm to the orthodox bishops of Gaul. On arrival at the palace Martin found the gates closed to him, and though he demanded an entry he was refused admission. In his anxiety the bishop took himself to prayer and for seven days implored the help of God for the mission he had undertaken. Then an angel bids him go again, and he now finds the gates open and that permission was given him to see the emperor. He pleaded then with him

[1] *Vita Mart.* x. "pluresque ex eis postea episcopos vidimus, quae enim esset civitas aut ecclesia, quae non sibi de Martini monasterio cuperet sacerdotem?"

[2] *Dialogue*, ii. 5.

[3] "Une femme arienne Justine qui lui inspirait de mauvais sentiments et qui en particulier travaillait à entretenir son aversion pour Martin."—Regnier, *S. Martin*, p. 148.

for protection and for greater care of the Church, and suddenly, while the emperor was sitting in sullen disregard, his chair caught fire, and the prayer and courage of St. Martin alone preserved Valentinian from a serious accident.

Two years afterwards we find St. Martin going once more to Trier. It was in the year 375[1] when Valentinian was gathering his troops for that advance into Illyria against the Sarmatae where he met with so sudden and unexpected a death. It is probable that his stay at Trier was connected also with the accession of the youthful Gratian, whose interests Martin had very much at heart and whose death eight years afterwards he so deeply deplored. Two miracles are ascribed to him during his sojourn at Trier and probably on this occasion. A poor paralytic girl was on the point of death. Her friends and relations were awaiting her departure when the approach of Martin was announced. The father then ran out and induced the bishop to come to his aid. St. Martin had just entered the church and at first was unwilling, but yielded to the entreaty of others and went to the scarcely animate child, and having blessed some oil, poured a portion into her mouth. Soon the child began to speak again, her limbs recovered their natural powers, and she was restored to complete health. Apparently also at the same time Taetradius,[2] of proconsular rank, had a slave possessed of an evil spirit by which he was cruelly tortured. When St. Martin was asked to help he bade them bring the patient to him, but with terrible gnashings the frenzied servant refused to leave his chamber, and threatened all who came near him. So Taetradius implored St. Martin to go to his house and see the patient in these paroxysms of rage. But the master was still a pagan and the bishop refused to go into the house of one who was still defiled with heathen

[1] *Vita Mart.* xvi.

[2] *Vita Mart.* xvii. "semperque Martinum salutis suae auctorem miro coluit affectu"; cf. George Fox at Mansfield-Woodhouse, 1649.

practices. Then Taetradius promised to become a Christian, and so St. Martin went to his house and his influence on the slave resulted in a complete cure. As for the master, he kept his promise, became a catechumen, and was soon afterwards baptized, and ever afterwards he recognised in St. Martin the author of his soul's welfare. A second miracle[1] of a similar kind, wrought "at the same time in the same town," a miracle over the powers of evil that held possession of the heathen mind, tends to show the extraordinary moral influence which St. Martin possessed, and which he did not refuse to make use of to the moral and spiritual welfare of the people. That St. Martin should venture to put his fingers into the open mouth of a raging lunatic and dare him, if he had power, to bite them is a proof of an influence not often given to men, and at a time when such influence could greatly advance the pure and wholesome doctrine of the Christian faith.

The third visit of the bishop to Trier occurred ten years afterwards and under circumstances of some danger. The rebellion of Maximus in 383 was followed by the murder of Gratian at Lyons on the 25th of August of the same year.[2] St. Martin was known as a friend of the youthful emperor who had fallen, and while the usurping emperor might be desirous to gain his allegiance, the inflexible character of the bishop might make demands which would endanger his life. But a serious crisis had arisen, and St. Martin felt that all must be ventured to prevent, if possible, the affair ending in a tragedy. He had to plead for forbearance and he had to denounce injustice. The story of Priscillian, his followers and his religious views, will form the subject of the next chapter. At present we can only consider the action of St. Martin in reference to it. The controversy had arisen in

Martin pleads for Priscillian.

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* xvii. 5-7.

[2] *Ibid.* xx. "qui imperatores unum regno alterum vita expulisset"; cf. Sôzomen, *Eccl. hist.* vii. 13; and Richter, *Das weströmischer Reich besonders unter den Kaisern Gratian, Valentinian II. und Maximus*, 1865.

Spain, and Maximus had taken up the case which had dropped from the dead hands of Gratian. In 385 Priscillian had been sent under imperial escort to Trier on a double charge of heresy and immorality, and the wealth he possessed created an interest in his execution. The man, however, had never as yet received a fair trial, and St. Martin felt that this was the case, and was also strongly opposed to any prosecution for heresy. The chief opponent of Priscillian was a Spanish bishop, Ithacius, who had received some encouragement from Gratian and hoped to win to his views the emperor Maximus. Ithacius was a vain and bitter fanatic, and when St. Martin urged him strongly to desist from that unchristian persecution he did not hesitate to denounce him as also a partisan of Priscillian.[1] With Maximus, however, Martin had some success. The emperor admired his courage and his consistency, though to us it would seem as if his conduct was really an instance of bad manners. Maximus was anxious to gain his moral support. He could claim in his favour that there had been no proscription, and if any had fallen as the result of his usurpation they had fallen in open battle. Would the bishop of Tours show his friendship by partaking of a meal with him? The day was settled and Maximus invited his brother, his uncle, the consul Evodius, and all the highest nobles of the court. At last St. Martin consented to be present and took with him as his companion one of his attendant priests. In due time the wine was offered as usual to the emperor, and he without tasting it handed the goblet to St. Martin who was sitting by his side. St. Martin drank, and should have returned it to the king, but instead he gave it first of all to his priest and then handed it back to Maximus.[2] Courage, if not good manners, such conduct undoubtedly showed and the

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 50 "ausus etiam miser est ea tempestate Martino episcopo, viro plane Apostolis conferendo, palam objectare haeresis infamiam."

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* xx. "sed Martinus ubi ebibit pateram presbytero suo tradidit."

emperor allowed the rudeness to pass. He had gained at least the outward friendship of the great bishop of Tours. But Martin had come to plead for Priscillian, and after persistent pleading he obtained from the emperor a promise[1] that whatever the issue of the trial no blood should be shed. So St. Martin gained his end and went back to Tours only to learn that the emperor had very soon after broken his promise, and that Priscillian and some of his disciples had been executed in their prison.

The grief of St. Martin could not, however, hinder him in the furtherance of his duty. The lives of two of Gratian's officers, Counts Narses and Leucadius,[2] were threatened, and rumour told at Tours that a commission was about to be sent to Spain to suppress by the sword all the faction of Priscillian. The bishop must go once more to Trier and see what could be done to stop yet further cruelty and injustice, and in 386 St. Martin was again in the capital of Gaul. And now he found Maximus sullen and almost unfriendly. He was surrounded by Ithacius and the persecutors of Priscillian, who all were morally guilty of their brother's death. With them at least St. Martin could not hold communion. Yet that gathering of bishops could not disperse until they had given to Trier a bishop in succession to Brito who had died in that or the previous year. Certainly also St. Martin could not be excluded from that gathering, and yet would he even consent to take part in a solemn act of consecration with bishops who had so seriously offended Christian charity? Maximus was inclined at first to exclude him from Trier and the guilty bishops desired that he would. But the empress was on the side of St. Martin and prevailed on the emperor to allow his admission into

Martin joins the bishops in the consecration of Felix.

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 50 "et mox discessurus egregia auctoritate a Maximo elicuit sponsionem."

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Dialogue*, iii. 11. 8 "pro Narsete comite et Leucadio praeside quorum ambo Gratiani partium fuerant." For the whole of the incidents of this visit cf. *Dial.* iii. § 11, 12, and 13.

Trier, and seems to have had many interviews with him and to have listened with joy to all that the great and saintly bishop told her. But the questions of communion with the guilty bishops and the consecration of a bishop for Trier were pressing, and how was it possible to induce St. Martin to join with his brethren in so solemn an act? Many of the bishops ceased not to declare that he was the avenger of Priscillian and should be classed with him. Maximus, while not friendly, was yet conscious of St. Martin's integrity, and would allow no attack on him, and meanwhile, through the empress, a way was found for the emperor to be reconciled to the saint. She induced Maximus to invite St. Martin to the palace, that alone she might serve him at a meal and talk with him in private. The fate of the two Counts and the commission to Spain was in the balance. St. Martin must do all he could to stop further evil, and through the empress he saw his way to gain the emperor. He went to this private meal and the empress waited on him as his servant, and Maximus consented to stop the commission, only he, St. Martin, must consent to join in communion with the bishops who were then so hostile to him. To yield to this condition was certainly not wrong though it was most painful. How could the soul of the righteous bishop enter into their counsel?[1] So St. Martin gave his promise to Maximus, and Maximus pledged himself to St. Martin, and then St. Martin went forth to seek the followers of Ithacius. A priest named Felix had been chosen for the vacant bishopric and preparations were being made for the solemn function of consecration. St. Martin's admission to Trier had already been conditioned that he came in peace with his brethren, and he had answered that he came with the peace of Christ.[2] And now he showed it towards them, though

[1] Cf. Gen. xlix. 6 "in consilium eorum non veniat anima mea et in coëtu illorum non sit gloria mea."

[2] *Dial.* iii. 11 "nisi se cum pace episcoporum ibi consistentium adfore fateretur, quos ille callide frustratus profitetur se cum pace Christi esse venturum."

they never showed it towards him. He took part in the consecration, he joined in a solemn act of communion with them, he had gained the promise of the emperor, and his work at Trier was accomplished. Weighed down with grief and uncertainty as to whether he had wrongly yielded to their demands he made his way back to Tours. Yet he had made no compact with them. It was indeed an act of Christian charity, and not before him, for he was not their judge, but before Him Whom he served they would stand or fall. Yet sorrow greater than ever filled his heart as alone and wrapt in thought he went on his journey with his attendants following some little distance behind. They were approaching the forests on the northern slopes of the Côte d'Or and the high plateau of Langres,[1] and separated from his companions by some trees he sat down to meditate on the events which had occurred. As he turned over in his mind his own actions, to lay them before the tribunal of his conscience, he realised that an angel was by his side, and he heard him say, "You rightly blame yourself,[2] O Martin, but unless you had done so you would not have been allowed to depart. Regain your uprightness, recover your constancy, and henceforth do not in any way mix yourself up with the party of Ithacius." With tears he told his followers afterwards all the motives which had influenced him, and the reasons why he had yielded to the emperor's demands. As for himself he decided to abstain from all gatherings, and for the nearly thirteen[3] years that remained of his episcopate he refused to attend any councils of the Church in Gaul. Eight years afterwards, when in 394 the synod of Nîmes sat

[1] Sulpicius, *Dial.* iii. 11, calls the place Andethanna, but the readings vary very much and it seems likely that the place was Andemantunum = Langres, on the high road from Trier to Autun; and so he would cross the Loire to Tours near Nevers, having passed once more through the Aeduan country which so abounds in relics of St. Martin.

[2] *Ibid.* "merito, inquit, Martine conpungeris sed aliter exire nequisti; repara virtutem, resume constantiam."

[3] *Ibid.* "sedecim postea vixit annos: nullam synodum adiit, ab omnibus conventibus se removit."

to decide much concerning the two parties of Felicians and Anti-Felicians which had arisen out of the consecration at Trier, he was anxious to know what had occurred, and yet he had refused to attend the Council. It happened that Sulpicius was with him in a boat on the Loire[1] in the work of some missionary journey. St. Martin sat silent and apart in the boat. Afterwards when they enquired he told them all that had occurred at the Synod, and so surprised were they at his knowledge that they were convinced an angel had come and visited him.

The story of a remarkable vision belongs perhaps to this later period of his life. He was often tempted of the devil, and perhaps more since he had stood and prevailed before emperors. He was in his little chamber at Tours or Marmoutier, and he realised the presence before him of one robed in royal garments,[2] with a gemmed and golden diadem on his head, and with golden sandals on his feet. At first there was silence and then the visitor said, "Recognise whom you look upon, O Martin. I am Christ and I have come down to earth to reveal myself to you." But Martin kept silence, and again the visitor said, "Why do you hesitate to believe what you see? I am Christ." Then Martin replied, "The Lord Jesus did not say he would come clad in purple and with a golden diadem on his head. I will not believe that Christ has come unless he shows me that garb and form in which he suffered, and displays before me all the marks of his passion." Then the devil left him, and St. Martin realised that of a truth not the Lord but the devil himself had been to tempt him. And this his biographer had heard from his own lips.

For some years before his death St. Martin seems to have had premonitions of his approaching end, and had

[1] Sulpicius, *Dial.* ii. 13. 8.

[2] *Id.*, *Vita Mart.* xxiv. "hoc ita gestum ut supra rettuli, ex ipsius Martini ore cognovi."

told his companions about it. At the juncture of the Vienne with the Loire was the town of Condate, or Condes, which seems to have been a centre for missionary effort in the neighbourhood and which Sulpicius calls a diocese.[1] There had been some discord among the clergy in the neighbourhood, and St. Martin, though ill at the time, determined to go and make peace among them. The grief of the brethren when he informed them that he was not only ill, but that he felt his end was approaching, was very great. Their appeal to him is incorporated in the responds for the Office for the day: November 11—then said the disciples to the blessed Martin, "Why dost thou leave us, O father, and to whom wilt thou hand us over in our desolation. For grievous wolves will attack thy flock." His colloquy with his Master as he lay a-dying is probably correctly recorded by Sulpicius. It has every sign of being genuine. The short sentences uttered slowly by the dying man could be easily written down: "Thy will, O Lord, is good to me, and as for those for whom I fear thou wilt guard them." And so the hours of the night passed away and he and they were instant in prayers and watchings. They asked him to allow them to place some clothes under him, for he lay in ashes on the floor. "It is not becoming for a Christian to die except on ashes," he replied, "if I left to you any other example it would be a sin." With hands and eyes gazing heavenward he continued to pray, and then the clergy who had gathered to him wished to turn him a little on his side and he said, "Allow me, brothers, allow me to look heavenwards rather than towards the earth, since I am about to go to the Lord." Suddenly it seemed as if he saw once more the devil[2] standing near him, for he cried out, "Why standest thou

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Ep.* iii. 6 "interea causa exstitit, qua Condacensem diocesim visitant"; cf. Longnon, *Géog.* p. 270. Gregory writes of the *vicus* and of the *cellula* of St. Martin. The whole of this Epistle tells us of the death of the saint.

[2] These conflicts with the devil which St. Martin often had form the grounds for the black angel being known as *Estafier de St Martin.*

here, oh cruel beast, thou wilt find no stain in me. Abraham's bosom receives me."

These were his last words, and as he breathed his last they who stood by thought that of a truth his face was the face of an angel.

The grief of Sulpicius probably accounts for his silence as to the burial of St. Martin, and Gregory[1] supplies those incidents which Sulpicius had left unrecorded. The Christians of Poitiers assembled at Condes and claimed his body for Ligugé. He was our monk, they said. He was our abbot. Let it suffice you that during his life he was your bishop. The Christians of Tours argued that his miracles at Poitiers were greater than any he had as yet wrought at Tours, and that he should be buried at Tours so that at his sepulchre he might fill up for the one city the measure he had given to the other. So from Condes they brought him,[2] borne on the waters of the Loire, to the city of Tours and buried him close to where his predecessors, St. Gatianus and Litorius, had been laid. When Gregory was bishop of Tours, one hundred and eighty years afterwards, they had already built in his honour a basilica in the city of Tours, and the monks of Marmoutier were to be met with the clergy of the cathedral church united in their desire to proclaim his sanctity and his power. The death of St. Martin was indeed a great epoch in the history of the ancient city of Caesarodunum, and Gregory rightly includes in the first book of his history the world's records until the death of the great evangelist. From his time the Turonici were mostly Christian, and the records of the town were the doings of Christian citizens. In his desire for precision as to his death Gregory gives us

[1] Greg. Tours, *Hist. Franc.* i. 43 "Pictavi populi ad ejus transitum sicut Turonici convenerunt . . . dicebant Pictavi: Noster est monachus, nobis abba exstitit; nos requirimus commendatum."

[2] *Ibid.* "positum in navi cum omni populo per Vingennam fluvium descendunt. Ingressique Ligeris alveum ad urbem Turonicam cum magnis laudibus psallentioque dirigunt copioso." Condes was at the junction of the Vienne with the Loire.

a date which neither agrees with what he has said elsewhere, nor in any way corresponds to the statements of Sulpicius. His episcopate lasted for nearly twenty-seven years and it seems most in agreement with the various statements of the two historians to record the death of St. Martin as an event of the year 399.

Martin's missionary labours.

The wonderful influence which St. Martin[1] acquired and his widespread fame seem to have been due to his marvellous courage and his ceaseless activity. From Saintes to Trier and from Paris to Brioude the whole central district of Gaul was the scene of his labours as an evangelist. It was probably as abbot of Ligugé that he evangelised the future dioceses of Angoulême and Saintes. It was certainly when he was a bishop that he preached the gospel over the districts which afterwards became the dioceses, of Blois, Orleans, Maçon, Çhalon-sur-Saône and in the dioceses then without their bishops of Langres and Autun. There is no evidence of his invading another bishop's diocese, though at Chartres and at Paris he did not refrain from giving his assistance when an appeal was made for his help as he passed on from Trier to Tours in 375. Gregory[2] records that he built churches at Langeais near Tours, Sonnay also near Tours, Amboise, Tournon, Candes, and Ciran la Latte ; and mentions also traces of his activity or of his cult at Martigny[3] near Tours, Amboise, Bourges, Brives-la-Gaillarde in Corrèze, Brévat, Bordeaux, Cavaillon, Marsas in Gironde, Néris in Allier, Paris, Trois Châteaux, Casignan in Deux Sèvres, and Mareuil on the Cher. Nor does this list complete the number of places where even to-day there are traces in sacred stones or fountains of the journeys he made and the

[1] Cf. Boissier, *Le Fin du paganisme*, ii. p. 56.

[2] *Hist. Franc.* x. 31 "in vicis quoque, id est Alingariensi, Solonacensi, Ambaciensi, Cisomagensi, Tornomagensi, Condatensi, destructis delubris, baptizatisque gentilibus, ecclesias edificavit." Longuon, *Géographie de la Gaule*, p. 269.

[3] Cf. *seriatim* in Gregory's *History*, *Lives* and books *De gloria confess.* and *De mirac. S. M.*

victories of the faith he accomplished. There are numerous monuments in Burgundy, Nivernais, not yet formed into a bishopric, and Forez. The weird and densely-wooded districts[1] between the ranges of the Morvan and the Côte d'Or, between Avallon and Dijon, Dijon and Beaune as far as Autun and westward also to the Loire, claim to be the scene of his labours, and, while we can base no argument on a wayside stone, yet it is significant that traces such as are found in Burgundy are not to be met with in other districts of France. Unfortunately the labours and wonderful deeds of St. Martin are not recorded by Sulpicius in any chronological order. We must select from his history in order to give examples of his power and courage. On one occasion Avitian,[2] the imperial governor of Tours, had returned from an expedition, bringing with him various prisoners for execution. As usual St. Martin was desirous to save them, and going to the castle found the doors shut. He knocks but no one opened, for all were asleep. Avitian, however, in his sleep dreamt that some one was knocking, and an angel tells him that God's servant stood without. He roused the servants, who went and looked and seeing no one came and told the governor. Again the angel came to Avitian and this time he went himself to the door and found St. Martin there and agreed to his request to spare the lives of his captives.

Amboise[3] was near to Tours and often visited by St. Martin and his clergy. Here was an ancient column and idolatrous trophy held in great repute by the local people, and though St. Martin had ordered Marcellus, the priest he had stationed there, to destroy it, fear of the

[1] Cf. a very useful work by Bulliot et Thiollier, *La Mission et le culte de S. Martin d'après les légendes et les monuments populaires dans le pays éduen*, 1892.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* iii. 4 "post discessum autem sancti advocat officiales suos, jubet omnes custodias relaxari et mox ipse proficiscitur."

[3] Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* iii. 8 "in vico Ambatiensi, id est castello veteri quod nunc frequens habitatur a fratribus" etc. The readers will see in the Museum at Mainz the wonderful Jupitersäule which stood in heathen Moguntiacum, a specimen of the idolatrous monuments which hindered the early missionaries in their evangelistic work.

people and the anger it would rouse in them had hitherto prevented him. So St. Martin went to Amboise and spent the night in prayer, and ere the morning dawned a tempest rose and threw down the column.

At Chartres,[1] on one occasion, which was then entirely pagan, although perhaps missionary work had already begun and a bishop was at work, St. Martin preached, perhaps as being an outlying district of Vendomois, or perhaps when on his way back from Trier through Paris and by the old road over La Beauce, and a huge crowd surrounded the small group of evangelists. Very soon a woman approached bringing with her the dead body of her son and accosted St. Martin: "We know that thou art a friend of God," she cried. "Give me then back my son, for he was my only child." All the crowd urged him to grant what the woman had pleaded for and St. Martin was unable to refuse. So at last and reluctantly St. Martin took the corpse, if such it was, in his arms and engaged in prayer, and soon restored to the woman the boy now brought back to life. Then the crowd agreed to forsake their idols and become Christians, and the work of the evangelists began in earnest.

Once when he was on a diocesan tour he met on the road a party of huntsmen with dogs in chase of a hare.[2] St. Martin had pity on the poor animal and commanded the dogs to stop their pursuit, and the dogs seemed as if they were bound with chains so obedient were they to his command. When the hare had escaped then he released them from the spell.

Outside Paris,[3] as he was approaching the gates with a great crowd around him, he met a poor leper and did not hesitate to kiss him and bless him, and the kiss of the saint healed the flesh of the poor victim.

In the country of the Aedui,[4] probably in the northern

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* ii. 4 "fuerat causa nescio qua Carnotum oppidum petebamus."
[2] *Dial.* ii. 9 "quodam tempore, cum dioeceses circuiret."
[3] Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* § 18.
[4] Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* § 15 "in pago Aeduorum gestum sit." Are the remains of

part of the kingdom of Burgundy, he was engaged in the destruction of a temple, and there gathered around him a furious crowd of angry countrymen. One bolder than his neighbours drew a sword and went towards him, and St. Martin without any hesitation bared his neck for the sword stroke. The man raised his right hand for the blow but fell back prostrate, and in penitence and alarm besought the pardon of the saint. There were other miracles of this kind, but Sulpicius tells us that at times when the people gathered to prevent the destruction of the idols or temples he often preached to them with such power and influence that they at once pulled down and destroyed that which they had desired to spare.

In a certain village[1] he set fire to a very ancient and celebrated heathen shrine and the flames because of the wind began to catch hold of the adjacent houses. Then St. Martin ascended on to the roof of the house and placed himself in the path of the fire, and slowly the fire sank down and the conflagration was averted.

In a village called Leprosum[2] there was a heathen temple very richly endowed and the people refused him permission to destroy it. So for three days in sackcloth and ashes St. Martin sat close by and fasted and prayed that since human influence could not avail for its destruction God would undertake the task. Then two angels appeared before him with spears and shields, and said they had been sent to put the rustics to flight and to protect St. Martin. So the bishop was able to complete his work, and when the people saw their

what looks like a temple south of Autun and near the ruined Roman sepulchre known as La pierre de Conhard, those of this temple? The remains of Bibracte on Mount Beuvray were doubtless then very complete and the local pagans would gather in the deserted temples there. It is certainly interesting to think of St. Martin preaching the gospel in the ancient citadel of Gallic patriotism. Cf. work of Simplicius against worship of Cybele as told by Gregory of Tours, *Lib. de glor. confess.* 76, 77. We meet with worship of Berecynthian idol in *Acts of Martyrdom of S. Symphorian.* Cf. Lecoy de la Marche, *St Martin*, p. 289.

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Vita Mart.* § 14.

[2] *Ibid.* § 14 "in vico autem cui Leprosum nomen est." Longnon gives us no help in locating this village.

temple and sacred shrines and idols destroyed they recognised the divine power which had enabled St. Martin to accomplish it, and were converted to the Christian faith, because it was evident to them that the God of St. Martin was to be worshipped and their idols to be forsaken. In Burgundy[1] in a certain village there was a very ancient temple and a sacred tree close by it. The villagers had allowed the bishop to destroy the temple, but when he began to attack the tree they stopped him saying the tree was dedicated to a devil. Then one of the bolder of the country people came and said, "If you have any confidence in your God whom you say you worship, let us cut down the tree ourselves and you place yourself to catch it when it would fall. If your God is with you as you say you will surely escape." This proposal was at once accepted by the people and to the alarm of his comrades St. Martin also accepted the proposal. The pagans at once began to cut down the tree and the saint stood exactly where it should fall. At last the tree fell and to the consternation of the people almost on them, while St. Martin remained unhurt. The district was entirely heathen and the coming of St. Martin was the first coming of the Gospel to them, and where he destroyed a temple there he was wont to build[2] either churches or monastic houses for the clergy.

It would be impossible, however, to mention all the miracles which Sulpicius relates. In his *Dialogues* it is clear that he has a purpose, which was to prove that St. Martin in the West is the equal of any saint in the East, and he accepts with unwavering faith and records as so many proofs of saintliness all the miracles he can remember. He is often careful to say that he witnessed

[1] *Vita Mart.* § 13. Sulpicius only says "in vico quodam," but it clearly was in the district of the Upper Yonne, Saône, and Loire. "Si habes, inquit, aliquam de Deo tuo quem dicis te colere fiduciam, nosmet ipsi succidemus hanc arborem, tu ruentem excipe." One should compare with this the boldness of Bonifacius at Geismar. Bishop Browne's *Boniface of Crediton*, p. 63.

[2] "Statim ibi aut ecclesias aut monasteria construebat."

the event, or that he was told of it by the people who were there, or perhaps by the person on whom the miracle was wrought, and while to an incredulous age the whole narrative may seem of no historic value, it is certain that the *Life of St. Martin* by Sulpicius and his three books of the *Dialogues* tell us more of the daily life, the tone of thought, and the religious practices of the Christians in the fourth century than any other literary work of that century. It is indeed our only picture from life, and the contrast between it and the *Letters* of Sidonius Apollinaris fifty years later is so great that we will have in due time to consider the cause that brought that change and contrast about.

The character of St. Martin, as given us by Sulpicius, is too graphic to be passed over. "No one,"[1] his biographer sums up, "ever saw him angry, or annoyed, or mournful, or filled with unseemly laughter. He was always the same, and presented to every one a joy of countenance and manner which seemed to those who noted it to be more than human. Christ was ever on his lips. His heart was always full of devotion, peace, and pity. At times he would weep for the sins of those who opposed him and of those whose venomous aspersions were flung at him in his quiet and retiring life. Some we knew who were envious of his virtuous life, and to whom he was hateful only because they knew they could not imitate him. It was a grievous and a mournful sin that among his opponents and detractors were those who should not have hindered him, and even bishops too; but it is not necessary to mention their names, and if they read what has been written it suffices if they blush for their former conduct. For if they are angry it is an acknowledgment that what has been said is against them, while very probably we were thinking altogether of some one else. But we do not shirk our responsibility. I am confident that all good men will

[1] *Vita Mart.* § 27 "nemo unquam illum vidit iratum, nemo commotum, nemo moerentem" etc.

be grateful for this little book, and I am conscious that my motive for writing was my faith in this work, and my love of Christ, and I have only pointed out things that were manifest, and said things that were true, and as I hope, not he, who has read, but he, who has believed them, will have from God a reward prepared for him."

It is impossible to close this chapter without a remark on the evidence which these dialogues of Sulpicius and his life of St. Martin give us as to the organisation of the Church in Gaul in the second half of the fourth century. Evidently there were gaps in the episcopate and the episcopate in some dioceses was not yet continuous. But it is strange that in the life-work of so great a character we should meet with so few bishops. They are referred to as gathering at Trier, but those who are mentioned are nearly all Spanish bishops. Only once do we hear of his meeting with bishops who are witnesses of one of his miracles. On his way back from Trier he is accompanied[1] by Valentinus of Chartres and Victricius of Rouen, and they are with him at Chartres when he gives speech to the twelve-year-old dumb child in the presence of Evagrius and others. Of course the regard of Sulpicius is entirely focussed on his hero, but his book clearly reveals that as yet the Church in Gaul had not advanced much beyond its primitive missionary organisation. If the country had been mapped out into dioceses, and certainly the councils at Arles, Bordeaux, and Nîmes seem to suggest this, yet the sees were only partially filled up, and the work of the bishops was almost purely evangelistic and missionary.

[1] *Dial.* iii. § 2 "ille cedens episcopis, qui tum forte latus illius ambiebant, Valentino atque Victricio" etc.

Cf. Preface i. from *Mass of St. Martin*: "Aeterne Deus cujus munere beatus Martinus confessor pariter et sacerdos et bonorum operum incrementis excrevit et variis virtutum donis exuberavit et miraculis coruscavit" etc.

It is in the Gregorian and also in the Gothic Missals.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TRAGEDY OF PRISCILLIAN

THE *Chronicle* of Sulpicius Severus[1] ends with the narrative of the execution of the Spanish bishop Priscillian. This narrative was written nearly twenty

[1] The authorities on the life of Priscillian fall naturally into two classes. In the former we must place all who had written concerning him previous to the discovery and publication by G. Schepps in 1889 of the Würzburg MS.; in the latter those who have attempted to reconsider his case in the light of his own lately discovered tractates. Among the earlier writers, omitting Tillemont, Simon von Vries, and Girves, it seems necessary to mention only Lübhert, *De haeresi Priscillianistarum* (Copenhagen, 1840), and Bernay's valuable essay *Über die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus* (Berlin, 1861). In 1886 Dr. Schepps published at Würzburg a short tractate entitled *Priscillian, ein neuaufgefundener lat. Schriftsteller des 4. Jahrhunderts*, in which he gives us a brief account of the contents of the Würzburg MS. and in 1889 published the *XI. Tractates* of Priscillian in the xviiith volume of the Vienna *Corpus*. The appearance of this work at once demanded a reconsideration of Priscillian's guilt. In 1891 Professor F. Paret of Tübingen published at Würzburg his *Priscillianus, ein Reformator des vierten Jahrhunderts*. He acquits him of Manichaeism, and declares him to have been a conscious and natural enemy of that heresy, and he thinks that the writings of Priscillian are definitely anti-Manichaeistic. In the same year appeared Aimé Puech's article in the *Journal des savants*, who takes a middle course and considers Priscillian heterodox but not definitely a Manichaean. In the next year, 1892, E. Hilgenfeld, in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, discusses the guilt of Priscillian and sees in his *Canons from St. Paul's Epistles* and in his other writings a very decided Manichaeism. E. Herzog, in the *Internationale theologische Zeitschrift* (lix.), 1894, writes in favour of "the outlaw's" orthodoxy, and in 1897 Paul Dierich published a preliminary dissertation, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte Priscillians*, as an introduction to his projected work *Priscillian, Bischof von Abila: sein Leben und seine Lehre*, in which he discusses the sources of Sulpicius Severus' narrative. Unfortunately the larger work has not appeared. He regards Priscillian as orthodox, and it is a matter of regret that he has not given us at length the grounds for his decision. Professor Karl Künstle of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, in his *Antipriscilliana*, deals largely with the subsequent Synodal decisions against the Priscillianists. He strongly upholds the decision of Zaragossa and Bordeaux, and sees nothing but subtle error in Priscillian's writings. A work on Priscillian and the Priscillianists is announced by Mons. E. Ch. Babut, our greatest living writer on the Church of Gaul in the fifth century, but I have not yet had the good fortune to read it. For the details of his persecution, the action of St. Martin in his favour, and the account of his execution, our chief authority is, of course, the *Chronicle* of Sulpicius Severus and his life of St. Martin.

years after the event by one who had the fullest opportunity of discovering the details of the tragedy, and was certainly aware of the shock which the execution had given to the moral conscience of Western Christendom. The interval which had intervened does not seem to have diminished in any way the horror which Sulpicius had felt at the execution, or the loathing which he entertained for the two bishops who had taken so prominent a part in the persecution. His impartiality is evident. Not a word can he write but of reprobation for the heresy of which Priscillian was regarded as the leader. He traces carefully the prospect which the brilliant gifts that Priscillian possessed had opened out for him, and the downfall of the Spanish bishop is the more conspicuous because of them. Yet for the two who had brought it all about, for Ithacius and Ydacius, he has not one word of commendation.[1] Their conduct was an indication of their character. Men of no[2] judgment or yet sanctity, given to the delights of the table, bold, talkative, full of outward show, their only zeal was for the persecution of unfortunate heretics.

Sulpicius' narrative.

The charge against Priscillian we will describe in the course of this narrative. Sulpicius tells us of it, and yet as one reads his narrative there is not a word which would indicate that he believed Priscillian

Prosper in his *Chronicle* gives the date of the execution as A.D. 385, the consulship of Arcadius and Bauto. (Since I wrote this Prof. Babut's book *Priscillien et la Priscilliénisme*, 1909, has appeared, and I rejoice to find myself in almost entire agreement with him.)

[1] Dierich, in his *Die Quellen zur Geschichte Priscillians* (1897), contends that Sulpicius was entirely under the influence of Ithacius and Ydacius, and Künstle regards this as inconceivable. Künstle, however, seems to me to brush away Dierich's contention too hastily. There seems strong ground for believing that the two Spanish bishops who persecuted Priscillian provided Sulpicius with this information. It is minute and accurate and must have been provided by those closely connected with the development of the controversy. We cannot with Dierich overthrow Sulpicius' authority, but there seems no reason why the biographer of St. Martin may not have learnt his facts from men he afterwards came to loathe.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 50 "Ithacium nihil pensi, nihil sancti habuisse definio: fuit autem audax, loquax, impudens, sumptuosus, ventri et gulae plurimum impertiens."

to be guilty. His sympathy goes out for the unfortunate bishop, and in our endeavour to ascertain the extent of his guilt we must certainly take into account that attitude of Sulpicius. He is our principal and almost our only first-class authority, and his calm and lucid story must be our chief guide through this painful drama. Was Priscillian guilty of all the foul deeds of which his enemies charged him, or was he sacrificed to the bitter animosity of those Spanish bishops, his colleagues, whom his contemptuous mannerism had offended? The story is most obscure. That he was rejected alike by Pope Damasus and St. Ambrose, condemned as an heresiarch in the writings of St. Augustine,[1] and gave his name to a heresy denounced by many Spanish synods in the century which followed his execution, are facts which make it impossible even to approach a contrary view except with the greatest caution and even diffidence. Posterity has almost unanimously condemned him, nor was it possible to take up an opposite view, for the only writings of Priscillian which were known to students, until less than thirty years ago, were of the most meagre character: a short quotation given by the Spanish chronicler Orosius[2] in his appeal to St. Augustine, and certain canons (a series of doctrinal and ethical statements purporting to give the teaching of St. Paul) with references in proof of them to passages in St. Paul's Epistles. These canons, however, do not come down to us as Priscillian drew them up. We know them only in the version[3] of Bishop Peregrinus, who professedly altered them that they might be in conformity with the Catholic faith.[4]

[1] Augustine, *Liber de haeresibus* lxx. "Priscillianistae quos in Hispania Priscillianus instituit maxime Gnosticorum et Manichaeorum dogmata permixta sectantur." His information seems largely to have been derived from the diatribe of Orosius.

[2] Cf. Schepps' ed. of Priscillian's *Tractates*, p. 153 "sicut ipse Priscillianus in quadam epistula sua dicit . . . Haec prima sapientia," etc.

[3] Cf. *ibid.* p. 107 "Priscilliani in Pauli Apostoli Epistulas Canones a Peregrino episcopo emendati."

[4] For the theory that Priscillian was the author of the Monarchian Prologues of

The discovery of Dr. Schepps in 1885 at the University Library at Würzburg has materially affected the question of Priscillian's guilt. In[1] a fifth- or sixth-century MS. in that library he discovered, hidden in the catalogue under the title of *Incerti authoris opuscula patristica*, a copy of eleven tractates of Priscillian which he had written together with his canons derived from St. Paul's Epistles corrected by Peregrinus. These tractates, some of which are complete, contain his *Apology*, written probably immediately after the Synod of Saragossa, his appeal to Pope Damasus, and an imperfect copy of his *Liber de fide et de apocryphis*.

This valuable discovery, of course, opened the way for a reconsideration of his case, and in Dr. Schepps, who regards Priscillian as an opponent of Manichaeism and an ardent Catholic, and in Dr. Paret, who writes of him as a conscious and natural adversary of Manichaeism and a reformer, Priscillian has found two modern scholars who would reverse the judgment of the Church and declare the Spanish bishop a martyr to local fanaticism. On the other hand, Professor Künstle of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, who is the latest writer on Priscillian, draws our attention to the extraordinary contrarieties in these tractates of Priscillian. They seem to be the writings of a man who by earnest words would draw away our attention from the testimony of morals to sundry other matters, and whose passionate language suggests esoteric meanings which tend to destroy our confidence in him. To Dr. Künstle the judgment of the Church is amply upheld by these tractates which Dr. Schepps discovered.

The Gnostic heresy which troubled the Church in the second century had not even then been rooted out. To the fantastic cosmogonies of these false teachers

the Gospels in the early Latin versions, cf. Dom Chapman *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, Oxford, 1908, p. 238.

[1] Cf. the interesting story in Schepps' Vortrag (Würzburg, 1886), *Priscillian, ein neuaufgefundener lat. Schriftsteller des 4. Jahrhunderts.* I had the pleasure this summer of examining this treasure through the courtesy of Professor Meikle. It is in beautiful condition, a small quarto MS. written in a very clear hand and quite easy to read.

there had been added the false ethical principles of Manes; and that this double influence was destructive of morality is shown by the edict of Diocletian[1] for the suppression of Manichaeism. In the second half of the fourth century these theories, which at first had mainly prevailed in the East, began to spread westward. The asceticism[2] which had been the feature of Eastern Gnosticism had also been adopted by Egyptian monks, and with the spread of monastic ideas there followed the extravagances of Manichaean asceticism and other theories invented to support it. St. Athanasius, when in Trier A.D. 336 and in Rome A.D. 340, must certainly have told of the lives of the Christian hermits and coenobites who inhabited the Egyptian Thebaid. In Rome also monasticism had begun to take root, and in Gaul the influence of St. Martin had given the movement an established position. Monasteries had been created with the sanction of St. Hilary at Ligugé near Poitiers and by St. Martin also at Marmoutier[3] in the neighbourhood of Tours. The *Dialogues* of Sulpicius, written in the neighbourhood of Toulouse not later than the first decade of the fifth century,[4] show that men were already thinking about this asceticism which monasticism would introduce, and were wondering whether the difference in the climates of Egypt and Aquitaine would not allow of some relaxation of those severities which were popular in the Thebaid. Nor was this tendency to impose asceticism as the one and only test of sanctity accepted without hesitation. The isolation in which St. Martin so often seemed when in assembly with his fellow bishops,[5] the lines of division in the Synods

[1] Edict of Diocletian to Julian, proconsul of Africa, Prid. Kal. April. 287; cf. Neander, ii. 195.

[2] Cf. Chapter X.

[3] Sulp. Sev. *Vita Martini*, §§ 7 and 10.

[4] *Id.*, *Dialog.* p. 152.

[5] Cf. *Vita Mart.* § 27, also the language of St. Jerome, *Ep.* xxxix. 5, as to the treatment of monks by the mob in Rome. It is probably exaggerated, but it shows clearly that monasticism was not established without a protest. Siricius also, the successor of Damasus, was not inclined to welcome the ascetics. Cf. *Ep.* i. 6; Migne, *P.L.* xiii. 1137.

of the Gallican Church at the end of this century[1] and in the next, the whole tone of Sulpicius' *Life of St. Martin*, and of his *Dialogues* and *Epistles*, show that monastic principles were not yet generally or without opposition accepted. Those who held them formed as yet a little company by themselves, and the asceticism which these principles involved was regarded by many with doubt if not with disapproval.

The rise of the Priscillian trouble in Spain coincided with the introduction westward of this monastic asceticism, and we must take this fact into consideration as well as the counter charge against Ithacius as *gulosus* and *sumptuosus* when we read the statements made against Priscillian and his followers.

Sulpicius assumes that the heresy of which Priscillian was regarded as the leader was a new one. It was, however, a recrudescence of Gnosticism, and the deadly character of the superstition was shrouded from the outside view by secret rites.[2] It had its origin in the East and in Egypt, though he did not know how it arose It was brought to Spain by one Mark[3] of Memphis in Egypt, who soon won to his opinions Agape, a lady of good position, and also the rhetor Helpidius. Agape and Helpidius formed the link between Mark and Priscillian. In the historical fragments ascribed to St. Hilary there is a reference made to the condemnation by the Arians at Sardica of Hosius of Cordova, and one of the charges brought against him was his action in punishing in his diocese "Mark of most blessed memory."[4] We know nothing about this Mark referred to by St. Hilary, and it is only a conjecture of Gams[5] that he may have

[1] The cleavage at the Synod of Nîmes, of which Sulpicius hints in his second *Dialogue*, seems to have been caused by this movement towards asceticism. St. Martin would not attend the Synod; cf. Sulp. Sev. p. 196; *Dial.* ii. 13.

[2] St. Augustine, *De haeresibus*, lxx., quotes, as one of the maxims of the Priscillianists, the words "Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli."

[3] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 46 "primus eam intra Hispanias Marcus intulit, Aegypto profectus, Memphi ortus."

[4] Hil. *Frag. hist.* vol. ii. p. 674 "sed Ossium propter supradictam causam et propter beatissimae memoriae Marcum cui graves semper injurias inrogavit."

[5] Gams, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, vol. ii. pp. 362-363.

been the leader of this Gnostic sect in Spain, of whom Sulpicius makes mention. That Manichaeism prevailed in Spain in A.D. 379 Philastrius of Brescia[1] clearly shows, and if the Mark who suffered under Hosius was the author of this heresy, then as early as A.D. 343[2] Manichaeism had taken root. Jerome,[3] who refers to it on three occasions, seems to identify Mark with an heresiarch of that name mentioned by Irenaeus, and informs us that having spread Gnosticism in the valley of the Rhone he passed over to Spain, and in Lusitania made many converts among women. The language of Sulpicius, however, suggests that Mark was active in Spain towards the middle of the fourth century, and would not therefore have been one with the false teachers mentioned by Irenaeus.

Priscillian becomes an Ascetic.

Agape and Helpidius, the disciples of Mark,[4] were the means of the conversion to these errors of the gifted Spaniard Priscillian. He is described as of noble family, very rich, keen, restless, eloquent, and learned. Sulpicius[5] says he would have been happy had he not corrupted his good intellect by this depraved study.

[1] Philastrius, *Haereses*, 84. He wrote about A.D. 379 ; cf. Künstle, *Antipriscilliana*, pp. 14-15 "Philastrius . . nennt zwar diesen Namen nicht, aber es ist auch bei den neuesten Autoren kein Zweifel aufgetaucht, dass er die Priscillianisten meint."

[2] Cf. Gams, ut supra, p. 363 "aus obigen Worten erhellt ferner, dass Marcus im J. 343 nicht mehr lebte."

[3] Cf. Jerome, Isaiah lxiv. 4-5 "et per hanc occasionem multaque hujuscemodi Hispaniarum et Lusitaniae deceptae sunt mulierculae oneratae peccatis . . . de quibus . . . Irenaeus scribit multarum origines explicans hereseōn et maxime Gnosticorum qui per Marcum Aegypteum Galliarum primum circa Rhodanum, deinde Hispaniarum nobiles feminas deceperunt miscentes fabulis voluptatem et imperitiae suae nomen scientiae suae vindicantes." In his *De viris inlustribus*, written some time before his Commentary, Jerome writes in less unfavourable terms of Priscillian : "Priscillianus, Abilae episcopus qui factione Hydatii et Ithacii Treviris a Maximo tyranno caesus est, edidit multa opuscula, de quibus ad nos aliqua pervenerunt. Hic usque hodie a nonnullis Gnosticae, id est Basilidis vel Marci, de quibus Irenaeus scripsit, haereseos accusatur, defendentibus aliis non ita eum sensisse ut arguitur." Cf. Richardson's Ed. *De vir. inl.* ; *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xiv. i.

In his letter also to Theodora, the widow of Lucinius of Baetica, *Ep.* xxix. or 75, he writes as if Irenaeus had said that Marcus had come to Gaul and defiled with this doctrine the regions between the Rhone and the Garonne, and then gone on to Spain : "Marcus de Basilidis gnostici stirpe."

So again *Ep. ad Ctesiphontem*, "in Hispania Agape Elpidium mulier virum caecum caeca duxit in foveam, successoremque habuit sui Priscillianum."

[4] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 46 "hujus auditores fuere Agape quaedam non ignobilis mulier et rhetor Helpidius."

[5] *Ibid.* "felix profecto si non pravo studio corrupisset optimum ingenium."

There was much good of mind and body in him, he could do without sleep for long, and was able without injury to suffer hunger and thirst. He was not avaricious, and he spent his money readily but carefully. On the other hand, he was very vain, and more elated with his knowledge of profane literature than was good for him. He was said[1] to have practised in his youth magical arts. When he accepted the theories of Mark he soon gathered converts to his newly adopted views. Women who were eager for change, of uncertain faith, and of ill-balanced intellect, inquisitive of everything, flocked to him in crowds. His persuasive powers and his attractive manner won over many noble men to his views. The appearance of humility in speech and conduct infused others with respect and almost reverence for him, and so gradually, though slowly, many parts of Spain[2] became filled with this perfidy. Even the church was influenced by his teaching, and certain bishops, of whom two only are named, Instantius and Salvianus, not only received Priscillian into their confidence, but linked themselves to him under a bond of fellowship.[3] Then others took offence. Whatever the movement was it had made itself felt, and Bishop Hyginus[4] of Cordova drew the attention of his comrade, Ydacius of Emerita, to the character of this religious guild or society ; and the rash haste and folly of Ydacius, and especially his attack on Instantius, acted as a torch to the slumbering fire, and embittered the minds of the followers of Priscillian rather than induced them to give up their errors.

The steps that follow in the progress of these efforts on behalf of orthodoxy with Priscillian and his party are not easy to trace. After many controversies which Sulpicius regarded as unworthy of record[5] a Council was

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 46 "quin et magicas artes ab adolescentia eum exercuisse creditum est."

[2] *Ibid.* "jamque paulatim perfidiae istius tabes pleraque Hispaniae pervaserat."

[3] *Ibid.* "sub quadam etiam conjuratione susceperant."

[4] ". . . Hyginus episcopus Cordubensis . . . comperta ad Ydacium Emeritae sacerdotem referret."

[5] ". . . nec digna memoratu certamina."

summoned to meet at Zaragossa in Spain, and such was its importance that bishops from Aquitaine were summoned to it and even attended.[1] It seems from the language of Priscillian in his appeal to Pope Damasus that Ydacius had written to the pope, and that the Council was summoned as the result of his advice.[2] The Commonitorium of Ydacius we do not possess. We can only judge of it from the reference made to it by Priscillian. It is clear that the controversies about which Sulpicius wrote were the preliminary steps for the summoning of this council. Ydacius and his friends wished to treat Priscillian as one accused of various wrong doctrines and immoral acts, and since Priscillian was aware of their feelings he and his colleagues refused to attend the Council.[3] The policy of Ydacius was certainly subtle, and so carefully had he described the objects of the Council that Priscillian[4] could say that neither he nor his fellow bishops, Instantius and Salvianus, knew that their doctrines were to be considered at this Council to which they had been summoned. It is probable that we must assign the tractate of Priscillian, *De fide et apocryphis*[5] to this period of negotiation before the Synod or Council of Zaragossa. It is an apology for his use of extra canonical scriptures. He points out that often in the canonical Scriptures references are made and quotations are given from apocryphal books, and if he is wont to quote such scriptures he has, at least, the example and the authority of the inspired writers. The tract, however, vibrates with intense feeling. The hard things[6] that were

Priscillian writers *De fide et apocryphis.*

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 47 ". . . cui tum etiam Aquitani episcopi interfuere."

[2] Cf. *Tractate* ii. ad Damasum p. 41 ". . . de scripturis quibusdam quas Hydatius de armario suo preferens in calumniosas fabulas misit."

[3] *Ibid.* p. 35 "nos autem, etsi absentes ibi fuimus"; and Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 47 "in absentes tamen lata sententia damnatique Instantius et Salvianus episcopi, Helpidius et Priscillianus laici."

[4] *Tractate* ii. p. 35 "nemo a nostris reus factus tenetur, nemo accusatus, nemo convictus."

[5] Cf. *Tractate* iii. p. 44. The first part of the Tractate is missing.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 44. He appropriates to his own case the words of St. Jude ". . . de omnibus duris quae locuti sunt contra eum."

being said, the mendacity, the perfidy that prevailed, had appalled Priscillian. What chance was there of any calm reasoning in a gathering where tumult was certain to prevail? His reasoning is hard to follow, for he evidently writes under a very strong feeling of resentment, and from a lofty conception of the liberty that should be allowed him. In intellect and learning was he a giant among men? There is everywhere a proud reserve and a flinging out of mystic references which seem to suggest that Priscillian knew his superiority and would not condescend to explain himself. Was it after all the defence of one who knew he had no defence, and tried to mystify his accusers? As we proceed in this enquiry we must certainly keep this idea in our mind. The Commonitorium of Ydacius had procured from Damasus[1] a letter of advice in which he was counselled to summon the Council and deliberate on Christian morals. So in the autumn of A.D. 380 the Council assembled at Zaragossa. Phoebadius[2] of Agen seems to have presided, and with him there were present Delphinus of Bordeaux, Audentius of Toledo, Ithacius of Ossonoba, Valerius of Zaragossa, Symphosius of Astorga, and Ydacius of Emerita, and bishops Eutychius, Ampelius, Lucius, Splendonius, and Katherius, whose sees cannot be identified.

Council of Zaragossa.

The subsequent Priscillianist controversy in Spain and the Councils that were summoned in that country in the fifth and sixth centuries for the purpose of suppressing the Manichaeistic or Priscillianistic heresy add importance to this Council of Zaragossa. It was the first of the series, and certainly casts a lurid light on the action of bishops Ydacius and Ithacius in their persecution of Priscillian. Neither the introduction to the

[1] *Tractate* ii., the appeal to Damasus, p. 35, "tua epistula contra improbos praevalente."

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 47, who gives no names. Gams gives us (*Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. p. 369) the list attached to the Acts which are accepted as of Zaragossa. Cf. Mansi, *Conc.* iii. 635.

acts of the Council nor yet the names of the bishops present are strictly historical, but the importance of the Council and the seriousness of the controversy make it likely that the traditional list of bishops present and the time of its assembly would soon have taken definite and probably accurate form.

Internal evidence demands our acceptance also of the canons that were passed. They give weight to the statement of Priscillian, and prove that in Spain at that time Gnostic and Manichaean opinion seriously influenced the lives of Christians. These canons were eight in number :[1]

1. Faithful women are to absent themselves from the assemblies of strange men.

2. No one should fast on a Sunday,[2] nor on Fast days should people keep away from the Services in the Church.

3. They are excommunicate who receive the Eucharist in the Church and do not eat it.

4. No one should withdraw himself from the Services of the Church during the three weeks before Epiphany.

5. Those who are excluded from communion by their own bishops cannot be received back into communion by other bishops.

6. Clerics who, because of the prevailing looseness of morals, desire to become monks are to be excluded from communion.

7. No one, to whom it is not formally allowed, shall assume the title of teacher.

8. Consecrated maidens are not to take the veil before they are forty years of age.

Did these canons then strike at practices which were common among the followers of Priscillian? Priscillian says they did not,[3] and that he did not consider himself or his colleagues either aimed at or condemned by them. To Ydacius and Ithacius it was equally clear that they were directed against the Priscillianists ; and Sulpicius tells us that at the Council of Zaragossa

[1] Gams gives them in ii. 370-371, and Mansi ; cf. Hefele, Eng. ed. vol. ii. 290.

[2] This is stated against Priscillianists in Canon iv. of Council of Braga, 563 ; cf. Künstle, *Antipriscilliana*, p. 36.

[3] *Tractate* ii. 39 "a Caesaraugustana synhodo Hydatius redit, nihil contra nos referens."

bishops Instantius and Salvianus were condemned, and with them the two laymen Helpidius and Priscillian. Sulpicius, however, must include under the term "the Zaragossa synod" negotiations and developments which demand several months of time for their completion, and Ithacius of Ossonoba[1] was commissioned to announce and carry out the decision, whatever it may have been, of the assembled bishops. A further trouble had also arisen, for Hyginus of Cordova,[2] who had first aroused the suspicions of Ydacius, and had apparently subscribed to the canons, was now unable to follow in the persecution which had begun. The extravagances of his comrades drove him to take the part of Priscillian, and so his former colleagues pronounced sentence of excommunication against him. The Church in Spain was certainly face to face with a very serious schism. The number of bishops in that province was not very great, and three of them not only sided with Priscillian but now took a further step and consecrated him bishop of Avila,[3] a small town of the province of Tarragona and on the borders of Gallicia. It is clear that the task which Ydacius and Ithacius of Lusitania had undertaken was one of serious import and probably one greater than they could accomplish. The following of Priscillian increased, and the ecclesiastic authority was insufficient to grapple with it. So recourse was had to the civil authority, doubtless on the strength of the letter of Pope Damasus and under the plea of the Manichaeistic tendency of these ascetic rules of the Priscillianists, and so the emperor Gratian[4] came to the help of Ydacius, and granted a decree which expelled the accused from the towns and for a time seemed to have suppressed the movement.

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 47 "atqui id Ithacio Ossonobensi episcopo negotium datum ut decretum episcoporum in omnium notitiam deferret."

[2] *Ibid.* "Hyginus qui . . depravatus in communionem eos recepisset."

[3] *Ibid.* "Priscillianum . . . ad confirmandas vires suas episcopum in Abilensi oppido constituunt."

[4] *Ibid.* "elicitur a Gratiano tum imperatore rescriptum."

It was probable during the interval before the appeal to Gratian and perhaps immediately after he had been raised to the episcopate that Priscillian wrote his remarkable *Apology*[1] which appears as the first of the tractates of the Würzburg MS.

It is addressed to the *beatissimi sacerdotes*, and is a passionate recoil from heresy and unclean living. Once in it he refers to Ithacius and a suggestion which had clearly been made against him of sacrilegious practices, and he is indignant at the very thought, and expresses an opinion that men guilty of such crimes[2] should be proceeded against with the sword.

The *Apology* of Priscillian.

In attempting to give a summary of this *Apology* one is met again by the singularly erratic style of writing as well as by the temperament of Priscillian. He is deeply versed in Holy Scriptures, and flings out quotations which, while apparently in support of his argument, are also suggestive of much else, and often tend to mystify. He has also read carefully many writings avowedly Gnostic, and introduces names and phrases which are common to such. He refers to similar tractates in defence of their opinions, written by his colleagues Tiberianus and Asarbus,[3] and he asserts that with them he is ready to condemn all things which seem to be against Christ[4] and to approve all things which are for His glory. They had been asked to explain their faith, and because the apostle had said that we should ever be ready to give a reason for our faith and hope to those who demand it of us, he is no longer prepared to remain silent. Yet all he and his friends have done has been done openly, and they

[1] Schepps' edition, *Tractate* i.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 24 " . . . quod qui legit, protulit, credidit, fecit, habuit, induxit non solum anathema maranatha sed etiam gladio persequendus est."

[3] *Ibid.* p. 3 " libello fratrum nostrorum Tiberiani, Asarbi et ceterorum." On Tiberianus cf. Jerome, *De viris. inl.* cap. cxxiii. " T. Baeticus scripsit pro suspicione qua cum Priscilliano accusabatur haereseos Apologeticum tumenti conpositoque sermone."

[4] *Ibid.* " cuncta dogmata quae contra Christum videantur esse damnata sint et probata quae pro Christo."

have never been guilty of the secret things of a hidden life.

His language suggests a position of reserve and indignant silence towards the calumnies that had been spread abroad, and perhaps it was this contemptuous refusal to give information which had exasperated his opponents and created this bitter hostility. We may hope, therefore, that he will be at last explicit, and reply in plain and simple terms. Was it for heretical views that he was prosecuted, or was it for hidden and immoral practices performed at secret assemblies of his followers? It is only with the greatest difficulty that we can gain any definite information, and what we gain is barely enough to convince. Throughout the whole *Apology* there is a tone of confidence which irritates because he will not recognise the situation, and because he is so disdainful of the charges that are made against him. There is clearly no dogmatic foundation for his asceticism, and if he was influenced by Manichaean ideas he does not bring them into prominence nor can they be easily discovered. He is conscious that he is a bishop and has a flock, and though he is careless about himself he must protect his flock. He sees himself in every line of his *Apology* opposite a row of bishops, his *beatissimi sacerdotes*, to whom he is not a stranger. They come from his immediate neighbourhood, and he knows they have authority, and are able to control his life and actions. They have expressed a desire to receive from him a definition of his belief and general view of life, and he perceives that their actions tend to interfere with his free movement, and hints ironically that the bishops had better teach him on matters of faith rather than that they should hear him as to his own belief. He refuses to consider that his faith and theirs in any way differ, and he feels irritated that they should wish him to approve to them that which they approve themselves.

But we will endeavour to place before the reader some of Priscillian's statements under the two heads of Catholic Faith and Christian Morals. It was clearly under one of these two points that he was attacked, and the reader will be anxious to know what he has to say in reply. Did he hold the Catholic Faith? In the *Apology*[1] he says: "Since we are not ignorant that no one unless he is born anew of water and the Spirit shall ascend into the kingdom of heaven, we chasten our souls into obedience of the faith through the Spirit, we renounce the lusts of the former life in which we were ashamed, we received the symbol of the Catholic profession for the way of renewed grace, which we adhere to, in order that, entering the laver, the redemption of our body, and baptized in Christ, and clothed in Christ, and rejecting the vain glory of the age, we daily strive to surrender our life as once in the past we surrendered it to One Who suffered for the remission which He offered us of our sins, as He also offered to our souls salvation and safety."

And again: "For who is there who, reading the Scriptures and believing in One Faith, One Baptism, One God, would not condemn the foolish doctrines of the heretics who, while they wish to compare divine things with human, divide the substances united in the virtue of God, and by the crime of the Binionites divide the venerable greatness of Christ through the triple font of the Church."[2]

He then becomes a little more explicit and continues:[3] "Anathema is he who, believing in the evil of the Patripassian heresy, vexes the Catholic Faith." Next to this folly approaches, he says, the heresy of Novatian,[4] imagining that as sinful acts are ever being

[1] *Tractate* i. p. 4.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 5 "dividant unitam in Dei virtute substantiam et magnitudinem Christi tripertito ecclesiae fonte venerabilem Binionitarum scelere partiuntur."

[3] *Ibid.* p. 6 "qui Patripassianae heresis malum credens Catholicam fidem vexat."

[4] *Ibid.* p. 7 "anathema autem sit doctrina Nicholaitarum et ad quorum stultitiam Novatiana heresis accedit."

repeated by men, so men can be cleansed from them by repeated baptisms.

So far the whole tone seems orthodox, and if what he has said fails to convince, it cannot be assumed that he is in any way heretical. What follows tends to answer the enquiry which the reader cannot but make as to the morality of the Priscillianists, and the extent to which Manichaean principles prevailed amongst them.

Soon after his remark about the heresy of the Novatians he utters anathema against the Nicolaitae: "And against every one who has his part with Sodom and Gomorrah, and sets up and persists in sacrilegious deeds hateful to God. Anathema too is he who, reading of griffins, eagles, elephants, serpents, and useless beasts, led captive by the vanity of unintelligible and misleading ceremonies, constructs as it were out of them a mystery of a divine religion whose works and hateful position are of the nature of devils, and not the truth of divine glories. These are they whose God is their belly, and who glory in those acts of theirs of which they should be ashamed. These are they who overturn men of doubtful minds and bring about disasters which are to their own ruin; and call that an oath which, according to the Scriptures of God, though they seem to be unaware of it, is a mystery of perdition, and going headlong, as the prophet says, they are made as spirits on the wings of things that fly, and are ashamed because of their so-called sacred rites, and become as horses and mules which have no understanding, and are worthy of those to whom the sun is the god."[1]

Once he clearly refers to the charge of Gnostic and Manichaean doctrines, and he proceeds in his usual confusing way to answer it. "But," he says,[2] "*O beatissimi sacerdotes*, there is that charge which is preferred concerning idol forms, Saturn, Venus, Mercury, Jove

[1] *i.e.*, who imitate the rites of Mithra.
[2] *Tractate* i. p. 14.

Mars, and other gods of the Gentiles, which although they are so hateful to God, and founded on no authority from Holy Scriptures, we live in union with and in our daily habits of mundane folly we delight in. Yet if also in these things an expression of our faith is desired, anathema be to it, and may their table become to them a snare and an offence, who should call the sun and the moon, Jove, Mars, Mercury, Venus, and Saturn, and the whole array of heaven their gods, whose cult is to them in the nature of sacred rites, and who, though they are detestable idols worthy of Gehenna, yet worship them."

To this we may add another passage:[1] "But we, having Christ, Who reveals God to our mind, through Whom also if we should think otherwise, even these things would be revealed to us, decided to observe the justice of the Lord unto sanctification."

"Let them," he says, "who love gold imagine for themselves a golden age of Saturn,[2] but for us the divine wisdom is more than all gold and silver and precious stones;" and in detail he condemns the heathen gods which he had mentioned, and adds another anathema against Saclam, Nebrod, Samael, Belzebuth, Nasbodeus, and Belia, and all who venerate them or say that they are to be venerated.

Also he anathematises all who deny that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, and all who will not condemn Manes,[3] his works, his teaching, and his principles, whose especially foul deeds they would suppress even with the sword, and if it were possible would commit to hell those who were guilty of practising them.

Yet here and there in the midst of his protest Priscillian allows that[4] which would seem to prove

[1] *Tractate* i. p. 9.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 16 "fingant autem sibi Saturni aureum saeculum qui diligunt aurum."

[3] *Ibid.* p. 20 "anathema sit qui Manetem et opera ejus, doctrinas atque instituta non damnat."

[4] *Ibid.* p. 26 "si enim scismaticis non facimus scandalum quod nomen Deus in

that he and his followers were united in some secret bond over and above the common link of the Christian faith. He hopes it is not an offence to schismatics that the name God is inscribed on a new stone, Who in every letter, whether Hebrew or Latin or Greek, in all that is seen or said, is king of kings and lord of lords.

But we cannot go further through this inextricable mass of inconsequential declamation. It must suffice to offer two further extracts which help to give some idea of the extraordinary character of this *Apology*.

"All which things,"[1] he says, "*O beatissimi sacerdotes*, searching the Scriptures we know, because for us they are written that he who understands the natures, described in parables, of beasts, rejecting those things which are of the ways of the world, chastens the vices in him, as it is written in the Apocalypse, 'lo! the waters which thou seest and where the whore sits are peoples and crowds of men and nations and tongues.'"

"Lastly,[2] as initiated into Christ, we keep the first rudiment of the faith which we accepted, we know that we have believed as believing God, and have renounced as having renounced the devil, and that [*sc.* the devil] is what is called "the wild beast" (Job xl. 10) but God is what Christ Jesus is (*i.e.* the Priscillianists observe strict continence). What we believe we confess, and, searching the Scriptures and rejecting the appearance of devils, we understand, as it is written, the depth of Satan, knowing, as the apostle says, that no one hath delivered us from the body of this death but the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ." And further on he reiterates his profession of orthodoxy: "And so[3] repeating ever the declaration anathema be to him who denies Jesus Christ to have come in the flesh, because he is Antichrist. Anathema is he who denies Jesus Christ, God, the Son of God, crucified

calculo novo legimus inscriptum qui in omni littera sive Hebrea sive Latina sive Graeca in omni quod videtur aut dicitur rex regum," etc.

[1] P. 12. [2] P. 13. [3] P. 21.

for us, as the prophet says, who bore our sins and knew grief for us; and again St. Paul witnesses that he himself knew no other thing than Jesus Christ and Him crucified. Anathema is he who denies that Christ was fixed to the cross by nails, drank the vinegar and the gall, since He has said to those who are His disciples, 'Place thy hands into the marks of My wounded hands,' and we read it written in the Gospel: 'They took a sponge filled with vinegar and gall and gave Him to drink, and He said, It is finished.' All which things, according to His own institution, the schismatics and heretics inserting into divine discourses writings and meanings of their own wretchedness mix false with true and lies with catholic teaching."

And so he concludes with the hope that this his *Apology* may produce peace and good-will: "And so, *beatissimi sacerdotes*,[1] if you are of opinion that we have condemned these heretical dogmas, and that we have revealed to you clearly our faith and approved ourselves to you and to God, bear witness to the truth and release us from this suspicion of an evil scandal, and, telling your brethren those things which have given trouble by what evil speakers have declared, heal this sad controversy, since the fruit of life is to be tested by those who labour for a true faith, not by those who in the name of religion carry on their own domestic strife."

So Priscillian endeavoured, and apparently quite sincerely, to end the controversy that troubled the Church in Spain. One could wish he had been much more explicit, and his constant use of language and terms which are known to have been current among Gnostics and Manichaeans seems, at least, to have given ground for suspicion that some of his followers were guilty of beliefs and practices regarded as heretical and

[1] P. 33 "et ideo, beatissimi sacerdotes, si satisfactum, damnatis heresibus, . . . dantes testimonium veritati invidia nos malivolae obtrectationis absolvite."

condemned by the Church and the State. The action of Ydacius, however, in his endeavour to suppress Priscillian only aggravated the evil. Priscillian was not a man to be humbled, and by such men as Ydacius and Ithacius. The edict of Gratian had gone forth. The followers of Priscillian fell off, and exile and perhaps imprisonment was imminent for the leader himself. There was only one step for him to take. He must appeal to Damasus, and from him obtain an acknowledgment of his innocence and orthodoxy, and so Instantius,[1] Salvianus, and Priscillian start for Rome. Their journey by land led them through Aquitaine, and they seem to have lingered at Eauze, because the people listened and were attracted by the teaching of Priscillian. From Eauze they endeavoured to enter Bordeaux,[2] but now Delphinus, the bishop, who had been present at Zaragossa, and had joined in their condemnation, and also on the strength of the edict of Gratian, refused them permission, and they found a refuge in the country estate of Euchrotia, a lady of great wealth, and widow of the rhetorician Delphidius. Here they stayed for some time, and made many converts, and Euchrotia[3] and her daughter Procula definitely attached themselves to Priscillian. Scandal said that Procula had been seduced by Priscillian, and the zeal of Ydacius, if it had not invented, certainly kept this scandal in the forefront.

Priscillian could hardly, however, have expected a friendly reception in Rome. The Commonitorium of Ydacius had procured from Pope Damasus the advice which resulted in the Synod of Zaragossa in which

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 48 "ac tum Instantius, Salvianus et Priscillianus Romam profecti ut apud Damasum . . . objecta purgarent."

[2] *Ibid.* "a Burdigala per Delfinum repulsi."

[3] *Ibid.* "in quis erat Euchrotia ac filia ejus Procula." Euchrotia was the widow of the rhetor Delphidius of Bordeaux of whom Ausonius writes, *Ode* v. on the professors of Bordeaux, p. 54. 37 :

"errore quod non deviantis filiae
poenaque laesus conjugis."

I cannot accept Monsignor Duchesne's note concerning Sulpicius' *Hist. ancienne de l'Église*, ii. 536. Sulpicius is not only our chief authority, but compels our acceptance by his evident desire for truth.

Priscillian inferentially had been condemned. There was certainly ground for anxiety because of the progress of Gnostic and Manichaean opinions, and the real facts of the case were more likely to be known in Lusitania than in Rome, and the Spanish bishops were certainly opposed to Priscillian. Damasus, therefore, refused him an audience,[1] and as the three lingered in Rome making their plans for the future Salvianus died. Now the *Appeal* of Priscillian to Damasus corrects in certain details the narrative of Sulpicius, and reveals to us the character of the correspondence between Ydacius and the pope. Ydacius had suggested to Damasus that a movement should be made against immorality, and Damasus had naturally agreed to it. Priscillian[2] says that they had always urged correctness of morals and denounced indecency and false ethical principles. Then followed the assembly at Zaragossa, where nobody was accused, and nobody was condemned, and no specific crime was even mentioned, so much so that no one had any necessity to reply or any anxiety that they were hinted at.

Appeal to Damasus.

"Although," he begins, in his *Appeal* to Damasus,[3] "the Catholic Faith prompts rather to the praise of belief than of speech, yet when we consider the injury which has been done to us by Bishop Ydacius, though we are always of the party of patience, yet we are glad that events have so turned out that to you, who are the senior of us all, and are come in the experience of life to the glory of the apostolic seat, we come to make our confession.

"For indeed, for some years after our conversion and baptism, turning from the world and rejecting the deeds of darkness, we have given ourselves to God, and

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 48 "hi ubi Romam pervenere Damaso se purgare cupientes ne in conspectum quidem ejus admissi sunt." On Damasus cf. Wittig's *Papst Damasus I.* (Rom, 1902).

[2] *Tractate* ii. p. 35 "nos tamen . . . semper hoc in ecclesiis et admonuimus et admonemus ut improbi mores et indecentia instituta vivendi vel quae contra Christi dei fidem pugnant probabilis et Christianae vitae amore damnentur.

[3] Schepps, *Tractate* ii. p. 34.

some of us already are chosen by God in the Church, and others are toiling in life that we may be so chosen, and we follow the quietness of the Catholic peace.

"But when lately, either through unavoidable discussion, or by the rivalry of life, or the influence of novelty, controversies have arisen, we in our desire for the love of the Christ of God and of His peace, although we put our trust in our conscience, yet feared lest intellectual disputation should make for that which the Church does not approve. But thanks be to God, Who in these things is One and True in the midst of these actions, because that none of us who delivered a book of defence up to this time could have a judge or accuser of a reprehensible life, although to make charges may not always be the part of hostile people, but also may be the work of those who desire to remain quiet. At last,[1] in the gathering of bishops at Zaragossa, no one of us was esteemed criminal, no one was accused, no one was convicted, no one had any charge brought against him as to his life or his religious opinions, and no one had any solicitude that he should be called upon to answer on any charge. There was a certain Commonitorium handed up by Ydacius which would impose some checks on the life we lead. None of us thus felt reproved by what you said in your powerful letter concerning and against wicked men. We, nevertheless, although we were not present, ever have urged this in the Church, and shall urge it, that loose morals and indecent rules of living, and the things which are against the Faith of the Christ of God, are condemned even by our love of an approved and Christian life—nor would we hinder any who, forsaking[2] parents, children, gifts, rank, and even their own lives, prefer to love God rather than the world, or take away the hope

[1] This statement of Priscillian, ii. p. 35, seems capable of being reconciled with the words of Sulpicius, who says they were condemned, if we allow that the Catholics who opposed him carefully avoided the mention of any names.

[2] Clearly Priscillian had been advocating asceticism and so disturbing Spanish society.

of pardon from those who, if they are unable to perform these things which are first in the order of sanctity, yet may stand in the second or the third rank. As we have always received the Faith so we hold it and teach it:[1] 'credentes unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem et Unum Dominum Jesum Christum natum ex Maria Virgine ex Spiritu Sancto, passum sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum, sepultum, tertia die resurrexisse, ascendisse in caelos, sedere ad dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis inde venturum et judicaturum de vivis et mortuis, credentes in sanctam ecclesiam, sanctum Spiritum, baptismum salutare, remissionem peccatorum, in resurrectionem carnis.'

"Holding this faith, all the heresies, doctrines, rules, and dogmas which are not sincere, but on the contrary are subtle and engender strife, with true Catholic lips we condemn, baptizing in the name, as it is written, of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, not in names as if of many names, but in one because one God, to be venerated in His triune power, Christ, is all things and in all." And then Priscillian proceeds: "Although it would be a long task to go through each item, and might be objectionable to Christian feelings to repeat the wretched doctrines on such matters, yet we say this to your venerable authority that if in that which we condemn we incur blame we may be condemned by this profession of our appeal. For who[2] is able with Catholic ears to believe the wickedness of the Arian heresy." Then he condemns Photinus in that he who puts his trust in man, as it is written, is accursed. The Patripassians also come under his censure and the Ophitae, "for he is devoid of sense who imagines that God can be a serpent or that we can have a serpent for a god." "Who would wish with the Novatians to repeat baptism? And among them all we condemn the Manichaeans[3] not as heretics but as idolaters and wicked

[1] P. 36.
[2] P. 38 "quis enim potest catholicis auribus Arianae heresis nefas credere?"
[3] P. 39 "inter quae tamen omnia Manicaeos jam non hereticos sed idolatras

slaves of the sun and moon, cursed demons with their professors, sects, morals, rules, books, teachers, and disciples. While then we were living in this true faith and in this simplicity Ydacius returned from the Synod of Zaragossa assigning nothing wrong to us, whom indeed he had dismissed in his communion, and whom those who had not been present had not condemned even by the suspicion of a charge.

"But that your authority may know when this sad fire burst into flame, and whence this maddening fury began to rage in the world [Ydacius], having returned from the synod and sitting[1] in the midst of the church, was accused as one guilty of an ecclesiastical offence. A definite charge was afterwards made in our churches, and charges were subsequently brought forward by persons, worse than those which had before been brought forward by the presbyterate. Many separated themselves from his clergy, declaring that they would not communicate except with a bishop who had cleared himself of such accusations. So we, when assembled, gave to bishops Hyginus and Symposius[2] letters to this effect, and then all came into a state of excitement. One had to take measures so that the peace of the church might be preserved. The details were committed to writing so that we might speak in the very written words. As far as it concerns the laity, if Ydacius were suspected by them of wrong belief it would suffice us merely if a profession of the Catholic Faith were made, for other things a council of the church should be granted for the purpose of promoting peace, since in the Synod of Zaragossa no one was definitely condemned. Who would not give evidence to one's fellow bishops especially as in that synod the

et maleficos servos Solis et Lunae invidiosos daemones cum omnibus auctoribus sectis moribus institutis libris doctoribus discipulisque damnamus."

[1] *Tractate* ii. p. 39. Sulpicius tells us nothing of this, which probably accounts for the bitterness of Ydacius against Priscillian. If Ydacius was the source from whom Sulpicius obtained his information, as Dierich conjectures, this will account for Sulpicius' silence concerning it.

[2] Symphosius was bishop of Astorga.

religious man Symposius, who writes these things, was present ?

"We decided, therefore, among other steps to go to Emerita and ourselves to see Ydacius, and God is witness that our desire was for peace and not for strife.

"If it is regarded as a wrong and not as in our favour that we went to consult face to face with a brother bishop rather than to summon him to answer as a criminal, then we ourselves are guilty. Going into the church, the crowds being assembled and highly excited, not only were we not admitted into the sanctuary but we were smitten with blows, and we felt we had received harm ourselves and had certainly not inflicted any on him. Then he in unreasonable alarm murmurs appeals, weaving false with true and not mentioning our names, and demands an accusation against false bishops and Manichaeans, and demands it as of necessity, because no one of us would not hate those who should have been false bishops and Manichaeans."

He then reveals another fact. Ydacius had not only written to Pope Damasus, but had also informed Archbishop Ambrose :[1] "An entirely false report was given to your illustrious brother Ambrose, and Ydacius inveighs against Hyginus, calling him a heretic with ourselves, as his own encyclical letter sent to all the churches declares, in which he wished to anticipate lest he himself should be condemned. We on our part commended our churches to God, and sent information to you, a circular letter subscribed by all the clergy and the people, and those of us who are able have come to you ; and we wish to supplicate for those who are absent that if Ydacius has any charge to bring against us we may be allowed to demand an audience from the bishops or, if he should wish it, a public trial. He fears no charge or report whose only desire is to be cleared from slander."

[1] *Tractate* ii. p. 41 "viro tamen spectabili fratri tuo Ambrosio episcopo tota mentitur."

So through the whole *Appeal* it is evident that Ydacius had been busy writing letters to Rome, Milan, and to the Spanish bishops, and endeavouring, if we may give absolute credence to what Priscillian writes, to ward off a slanderous attack on himself by decrying Priscillian and his followers. Incidentally we perceive from what Priscillian had told Damasus that at Zaragossa there had been serious discussions concerning Priscillian's use of apocryphal writings, and he had been asked to condemn and to give up this practice in terms which neither his intelligence nor his consciousness of right doing would allow. The maxim[1] *damnanda damnentur, superflua non legantur* was not such a one as a bishop so punctilious as Priscillian could adopt, even though it might have been a rough and ready way of settling a controversy.

It is to Pope Damasus' loss that he would not bring himself to listen to these Spanish appellants. The partiality of his correspondents was harmful to his as to St. Ambrose's memory.

The *Appeal* closes with an earnest profession of orthodoxy and loyalty which we cannot omit and with which we will conclude our story of his effort with Damasus: "We, however, not failing to prefer in the cause of faith the decision of the saints rather than that of the world, have come to Rome with no other purport but this, that first of all we should approach you lest our silence and reserve should suggest a conscientious alarm, and that, delivering to you our report, which gives the due sequence of the events of this controversy, we may above all show forth as a body as well as individually the Catholic Faith in which we live. And we also appeal that if Ydacius out of his own hidden treasures brings out any charges which are malicious fables, our opinion on

[1] *Ibid.* p. 42 "de quibus et ipse Hydatius qui se minus purgans infamari per haec mavult quos metuit audiri in concilio Caesaraugustano sic ait 'damnanda damnentur, superflua non legantur.'"

these should be asked so that we be not condemned unheard on any writing, or on the authority of any apostle, prophet, or bishop, but the things which men may feel and say against the canon and the Catholic Faith should be condemned by all who teach or who hear them.

"Let Ydacius be called before you, and if he has anything he can prove against us, let him pursue his charge to the very end.

"We beg of you that letters be sent to all your brethren the Spanish bishops. We all seek, lest wrong be done to any, that a council may be summoned and Ydacius may be called, so that those who are charged may hear the case against them, and not find that they are condemned unheard.

"Yet with our faith declared and evident and approved and our daily life blameless, we would repudiate what has been said against us as to our being Manichaeans, those bishops who were present at the Council (of Zaragossa) bearing us witness lest in your days, which ye know is wrong, the Church should seem to the Catholic bishops, or the bishops to the Church as a harmful influence." Thus did Priscillian plead for a hearing to him, the bishop of the Apostolic See, who had already by imperial decree come to be recognized as the highest court of appeal[1] in ecclesiastical affairs. But Damasus would not receive him, and on his return to Milan Priscillian saw in his repulse by St. Ambrose that the Church had condemned him.

What was he to do? Had he been guilty of the charges which the *Commonitorium* of Ydacius had mentioned to Damasus, it seems strange that he should have persevered in his yearning to be acquitted. It was a dangerous policy for him to resist the authority of the Church, and he must have been well aware of the

[1] Valentinian and Gratian had made the bishop of Rome a court of appeal for Western Christendom A.D. 369. This decree is not preserved except in Letter xxi. of St. Ambrose. The Rescript of Gratian A.D. 379 or 380 confirms this. Ordinariorum Sententiae.

peril that faced him. The verdict of the Church seems to show that men regarded him as obstinate, but his *Apology* and his *Appeal* scarcely endorse that decision. He was either conscious of his rectitude or he was a most consummate hypocrite, and the more we read these tracts which have been preserved in the Wurzburg MS. the more we feel convinced that his case demands a rehearing.

Priscillian appeals to Gratian.

There was one and only one remedy at hand, and in his desperate position he cannot be condemned for taking it. He could appeal to the emperor if not for support yet at least for protection, and to Gratian he who had been condemned by the Church now turned for protection. In the summer of 382 the emperor was at Verona[1] and therefore near at hand. So to the court of Gratian went the two Spanish bishops, Priscillian and Instantius, condemned by a Spanish Council and rejected by Ambrose and Damasus, to plead for some consideration against injustice. His success, for he was successful, was naturally assigned to bribery, and the wealth of Priscillian always laid him exposed to such a course of action. His appeal to the high court official Macedonius,[2] the master of the offices, won for him a friend, and though no mention is made of the emperor it is difficult to imagine that Macedonius on his own authority could have procured for the persecuted a restitution of their sees. Not only was a decree issued for their restoration, but Volventius,[3] the proconsul of Galicia, who resided at Astorga not far from Abila, was also won to their side, and Instantius and Priscillian once more returned to Spain and settled down among their friends in the province of Tarragona. These facts are briefly recorded by Sulpicius, who certainly charges both the imperial officers with the

[1] Cf. Tillemont, vol. v. *Hist. des emp.* p. 721, note on the law *De poenis.* Gratian was at Pavia June 20, Verona August 18, and Milan November 22. *Cod. Theod.* ix. 40. 13; Mommsen and Mayer, *Cod. Theod.* i. 1. p. cclix.

[2] Cf. Bernays, *Über die Chronik des S. S.* p. 9 and note.

[3] Volventius was proconsul of Galicia; cf. *Cod. Theod.* ix. 1. 14.

receipt of bribes,[1] but the popularity of Priscillian when once again established in his diocese seems to suggest that his followers had not been so completely suppressed as Sulpicius imagined, and that they may themselves have influenced Volventius. The appellant at Verona clearly, and perhaps because he was himself one of his followers, received support from the proconsul at Astorga. The Priscillianists, however, in the autumn of 382 were again in the ascendant, and felt so safe that they took up the case against Ithacius, who with Ydacius had led the proceedings against Priscillian, charging him with a vexatious prosecution and false assertions against the Priscillianists. The oscillation of public opinion was neither so sudden nor so violent in the West as the complicated history of Arianism shows it to have been in the East. Procedure was regular and the government of the Gallic diocese was undisturbed. The civil authority was conscious of an injustice and Ithacius, knowing his danger, fled to Gregory,[2] the prefect in Gaul. Whether he had been condemned by Volventius we do not know, though the action of Ithacius suggests an appeal. Gregory, thereupon demanded that those chiefly concerned in the controversy should be sent to him in order that on enquiry he might draw up a report for the emperor. It was the spring of the year A.D. 383, a cloud had risen in the north and already the success of Maximus must have been well known to the prefect of Gaul. The emperor Gratian was probably at Lyons or Arles and again the friends of Priscillian found in Macedonius[3] the help they needed. Gratian's hands were full of the preparations necessary for the coming struggle, and it could not have been a difficult task to induce him to take the controversy out of the hands of the prefect of Gaul, whose time was

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 48 "corrupto Macedonio . . . corrupto Volventio proconsule."

[2] *Ibid.* "jussusque per atrocem executionem deduci trepidus profugit ad Gallias; ibi Gregorium praefectum adiit."

[3] *Ibid.* "igitur haeretici suis artibus grandi pecunia Macedonio data optinent ut imperiali auctoritate erepta praefecto cognitio Hispaniarum vicario deferretur."

fully occupied in preparations for war, and refer it to Marinianus[1] the Vicar of Spain. An order was also issued by the emperor, that Ithacius, who was the chief prosecutor, should also be sent to the vicar, and messengers were dispatched to Trier to conduct him back to Spain. Then we hear how a Bishop Britannius,[2] about whom we know nothing, though he may have been acting as bishop in Trier during the vacancy of the see, interfered on behalf of Ithacius and under his shelter the latter eluded those who had been sent in search of him. The advance of Maximus made further action impossible. On August 25 A.D. 383, Gratian was murdered at Lyons[3] and Maximus became at once supreme in Britain, Gaul, and Spain, and nothing therefore could now be done without his sanction and under his direction. The murdered emperor had certainly not been opposed to Priscillian. He may indeed have listened to his persuasive eloquence at Verona when the rejected of Damasus and Ambrose pleaded for a rehearing of his case, and as long as Gratian lived the Priscillianists had been fairly treated by the civil power.

The usurpation of Maximus introduces us to a new and the last stage in the process against Priscillian. The emperor had settled at Trier, and Ithacius, the fugitive from Gratian, could as such rely on a favourable audience. To Maximus he told all the scandalous story concerning Priscillian[4] and his followers, nor would, we may well believe, the tale lose aught of its rancour and partiality from his lips. The theological controversy seemed to the emperor most important. To sustain the authority of Damasus would ensure him

[1] Marinianus comes before us in a Rescript of Valentinian II. of 383.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 49. The name may be Britoniumas, Hontheim suggests, and if so he was the bishop of Trier at that time.

[3] Cf. Tillemont as above, p. 724, on the date of the death of Gratian; Sôzomen, ix. 11. 2.

[4] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 49 "ubi Maximus oppidum Treverorum victor ingressus est, ingerit (Ithacius) preces plenas in Priscillianum ac socios ejus invidiae atque criminum."

the loyalty of the Church in the West; and to gain this, therefore, Maximus decided that a Council of Bishops should assemble at Bordeaux, and once more consider the charges made against Instantius and Priscillian. The Council probably assembled in the summer or autumn of 384 and Martin, the bishop of Tours, was present there.[1] The case of Instantius was taken first. The names of the bishops who heard his defence are not mentioned. That he was condemned as unworthy of the episcopal office seems to suggest that the question of morality took the foremost place, and the story of midnight assemblies and gross immorality was one difficult to repudiate, since the testimony of those present would be entirely rejected. Then came the case of Priscillian, which would undoubtedly have been treated in a similar manner, and ended in a like condemnation, had he not then and there appealed to be heard by the emperor himself.[2] Clearly the theological controversy had been dropped. The bishops themselves had treated on the question of morality, and such was really a question for the State. For better or, as it turned out, for worse, Priscillian must now face a trial before the new emperor at Trier. In the tangled thread of this dark and difficult narrative the action of Martin of Tours must be carefully followed. As bishops charged with immoral acts Instantius and Priscillian were taken as prisoners to Trier, and in course of time Martin followed them there. His purpose in going to Trier perhaps was twofold, but it seems evident that he was convinced that fair treatment had not as yet been meted out to the Spanish bishops.

[1] Sulp. Sev. "deduci ad synodum Burdigalensem jubet." Sulpicius does not tell us of the presence of St. Martin at this Synod, but the chronicler Idatius records that "Priscillianus . . . redit ad Gallias. Inibi similiter a sancto Martino episcopo et ab aliis episcopis haereticus judicatus appellat ad Caesarem . . .," clearly in reference to the Synod of Bordeaux. It seems hardly possible for events subsequent to this Synod and before the execution of Priscillian to have occurred if we place this Synod in the year 385. I have, therefore, placed it in the autumn of 384, a more likely date, and one which Sulpicius does not exclude.

[2] Circumstances clearly forced Priscillian to take this step as against Canon xlvi. of his teaching from St. Paul's epistles; cf. *Op. Pris.* 129. 10.

There was a gathering of bishops in the summer of 385 at Trier,[1] for the see of Trier was vacant, and a successor to Brito had to be appointed. Ydacius and Ithacius were present as the promoters of the action against their Spanish brethren. Their vehemence against the accused carried away the other bishops, and Martin in vain urged upon unwilling hearers that it was a Christian duty to drop this charge. His fame was well known, and not only had he been favourably received by Maximus, but he had been welcomed in private audience by the empress.[2] Unable, however, to turn his brother bishops from their persecution of Priscillian, he used his influence to obtain from Maximus a promise[3] that at any rate the life of Priscillian should be spared, and having gained this he departed for Tours.

The withdrawal of Martin seems now to have effected more than his presence. The matter of the ordination of a successor to Brito was temporarily postponed. At last the other bishops began to realise that their action was unseemly, and perhaps they began to fear that they might implicate themselves in a judicial murder. Ydacius and Ithacius were also impressed with the turn things had taken and gave up the prosecution, but the task which they gave up was now taken by two other unknown bishops, Magnus and Rufus,[4] who won over to their side the stern and cruel prefect Evodius,[5] whom Maximus had

[1] Brito, bishop of Trier, seems to have died in this year, but the actual election of his successor was deferred to the following year. Martin's presence at Trier may therefore have been due solely to his desire to befriend Priscillian. Such certainly was his action there: "Martinus apud Treveros constitutus non desinebat increpare Ithacium ut ab accusatione desisteret, Maximum orare ut sanguine infelicium abstineret."

[2] The story of the empress and her admiration for St. Martin is told by Sulpicius in *Dialogue* ii. 6. 3.

[3] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 50 "et mox discessurus egregia auctoritate a Maximo elicuit sponsionem, nihil cruentum in reos constituendum."

[4] In the *Vita Martini*, § 24, there is mention of a Bishop Rufus whose conduct suggests he now desired to persecute the party towards one of which he had formerly acted so foolishly. But cf. Gams, *K. Gesch.* ii. 377.

[5] In the *Vita Martini*, § 20, Sulpicius records of Evodius: "praefectus, idemque consul Evodius, vir quo nihil unquam justius fuit." Cf. Bernays, *Über die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus*, p. 15.

just lately placed in authority over Gaul. All question of theology was now dropped, and Priscillian was definitely charged with gross breaches of morality.[1] *Maleficium* was a secular offence, and the filthy scandal that was repeated induced Evodius to report to the emperor that the accused were, in his sight, guilty of this charge. Priscillian and his companions, in other words, were worthy of capital punishment.[2] Then Ithacius, who still haunted the basilica, openly withdrew from the prosecution, and Patricius,[3] the guardian of the imperial treasury, was appointed by Maximus as accuser of Priscillian. The Spanish bishop was wealthy, and the treasury of Maximus needed filling. Again the case was considered. Patricius was the prosecutor, and Maximus himself the judge. What did it matter to Patricius so long as he helped to replenish the emperor's coffers? So Priscillian was condemned on a charge of *maleficium*, a charge which apparently he had no power to refute, and a charge which seems impossible, if we read his own passionate insistence on purity and strictness of morals. He had appealed to the needy usurper and so[4] had dug his own grave. Priscillian[5] and two priests, Felicissimus and Armenius, who had thrown in their lot with him, were beheaded; Latronianius and Euchrotia, the widow of the Bordeaux professor, were killed with the sword, and Instantius, who had been condemned at the Council of Bordeaux, was exiled to the Scilly Isles. These apparently were those named in

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 50 "is (Evodius) Priscillianum . . . auditum convictumque maleficii nec diffitentem obscenis se studuisse doctrinis . . . nocentem pronuntiavit redegitque in custodiam."

[2] *Ibid.* "Priscillianum sociosque ejus capite damnari oportere." Babut, *Priscillien et le Priscilliénisme* (1909), p. 179, considers that Priscillian suffered torture under which he may have made statements which led to his condemnation. He thinks also that Pacatus' (§ xxix.) reference to this act of Maximus allows of such an interpretation, cf. p. 266; *Cod. Theod.* ix. 16. 7; Law of Valentinian, Zosimus iv. 3.

[3] The appointment of this imperial officer as the prosecutor shows that the charge was clearly one of *maleficium*; cf. Bernays, p. 16, and Sulp. Sev. *Dialogue* iii. 12. 3. The question of heresy was dropped. Priscillian was condemned on account of "nocturni conventus" under the law of Valentinian.

[4] Cf. Gams, ii. pt. i. 375 "und grub sich so selbst die Grube"; cf. Lübkert, *De haeresi Priscillianistarum*, p. 68.

[5] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 51.

the accusation. There were others whose trial seems to have been very short. Asarinus and the deacon Aurelius were killed with the sword, Tiberianus was deprived of all his possessions, and exiled to the Scilly Isles, while Tertullus, Potamius and John, men of lower rank and therefore regarded as less guilty, were interned in Gaul.

Then, and apparently immediately after this execution, there came the reaction. Christendom stood aghast. The emperor, in his bid for the assistance of the Church, had stained his hands in the blood of bishops. The friends and followers of Priscillian naturally regarded him as a martyr and, as Sulpicius tells us, carried the bodies of those who had been slain to far-distant Spain, and there buried them in solemn grief and profound reverence. Soon it followed that to swear by the name of Priscillian[1] was regarded as an oath of peculiar sanctity, and bitter animosities now broke out among the favourers and opponents of the party, so that fifteen years afterwards, when Sulpicius wrote his *Chronicle*, the Church was still miserably harassed by the discord which the cruelties on Priscillian had created. Against Ithacius and Ydacius a bitter cry naturally soon arose, and Ithacius, who tried to shelter himself under the excuse that he had only done what his brother bishops had advised, was deprived of his bishopric of Ossonoba, while Ydacius of his own accord resigned the see of Emerita, and retired into private life. Priscillian, the brilliant leader of this strange party of asceticism, was dead, but Priscillianism had not perished with him. The story of its declension and final extinction lies beyond our limits. For years afterwards there were in Spain many who spoke with reverence and affection of the memory of the leader, and the synods which subsequently denounced Priscillianism never proved that Priscillian had taught it. The guilt

[1] Sulp. Sev. "... peremptorum corpora ad Hispanias relata magnisque obsequiis celebrata eorum funera quin et jurare per Priscillianum summa religio putabatur."

of a cruel persecution and a grave error in judgment, with all its baneful and dispersive influence, hung, like a dark and heavy cloud, upon the Church in Spain, and made itself felt on the life of the Christian communities there, for more than two centuries of its history.

CHAPTER IX

THE TRAGEDY OF PRISCILLIAN—CONCLUSION

THE story of Priscillian needs a conclusion. The movement which had arisen and of which he was so prominent a leader did not die with him, and the horror caused by his execution created a reaction greatly in his favour. Before, however, we relate those events which concern this movement, and carry the reader down to the close of the century, we must consider more in detail these writings of Priscillian which in later years his followers were called upon to condemn. In the previous chapter we have considered the three tracts known as the *Liber de fide et de apocryphis*, which was probably written during the earlier stages of the controversy, when he was charged with the use of apocryphal writings and books not recognised as Holy Scriptures ; the *Apology*, which was apparently the result of the council, when he knew that he had been aimed at though he had not been condemned by name ; and the *Appeal* to Pope Damasus, when he pleaded with the pope for a rehearing of his case, and assured the bishop of Rome of his orthodoxy and right conduct.

We must now consider the other seven tractates, excluding his work on the Canons of St. Paul's Epistles, and see whether in them or in any of them we can find any teaching which suggests heresy, either Gnostic or Manichaean. The fourth tractate, in the MS. which Dr. Schepps[1] has published, bears the title *Tractatus Paschae*,

Tractatus Paschae.

[1] Schepps' edition in the Vienna *Corpus*, vol. xviii. p. 57.

an appeal to his followers to spend the forty days before Easter in a penitential preparation for that festival. It is a tract on asceticism,[1] and should therefore, if any false teaching existed, put us on the traces of Manichaeanism. We propose to give a translation of portions of the tract as far as is possible, in order to show Priscillian's style, and, if possible, to prove the absence of heresy: "Though Nature herself teaches us that among the unexplored affairs of human life and the petty controversies, all unworthy of God, of the world, nothing is more useful to man than that he should reject the things which are dear to the world, and observe the precepts which God has established, for, as the apostle says, 'all the friendship of the world is enmity toward God,'[2] and again, as the prophet says, 'delay not to turn to the Lord and put it not off from day to day,'[3] yet the sensuous nature of mortal men is enslaved in the error of human weakness, while in the meantime divine pity comes as a harbour and longed-for port, amid so much that is unexpected, to the shipwrecked, or as a terminus to those who are in danger. Making use of the one method of revealing divine truth by the mouths of the prophets, God has established the glorious day of Easter,[4] that, though God wishes his creatures every day to serve Him, yet, because all the world lies in darkness[5] and whilst there is no limit to things which are infinite, if our steps are fixed in slippery places we cannot provide a definite plan to those who are uncertain, He may urge us to the observance of the Passion which was experienced for us, and by a yearly commemoration He would constrain us unto the obedience of the faith, us, namely, whom all things should remind that we owe it to ourselves to realise

[1] Cf. St. Ambrose, Letter on the Sunday Fast: "Dominica autem jejunare non possumus quia Manichaeos etiam propter istius diei jejunia jure damnamus." *Epp. Class.* I. No. 23, Edn. Ballerini, Milan, 1881.

[2] St. James iv. 4. [3] Ecclus. v. 8.

[4] The word Pascha is used throughout.

[5] Manes personified the realm of darkness though he did not give to that person the name of God. The realm of light was infinite. The Manichaeans had one festival called the Bema to commemorate the crucifixion of Manes; cf. Kessler's Article in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, ix. 233.

that we live, as the apostle says, 'either death or life or things present, or things future, all are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.'[1]

"And so, dearest in God, because we are placed in this position in order that we may release and direct your minds, environed by the narrow bands of human weakness, as in a new light, by the religious exercise of teaching, preparation is necessary during the commencing forty days for the due observance of Easter, as it is written, 'as good stewards[2] of the manifold grace of God,' lest it should happen that we order that as a matter of authority, or beseech that as a matter of pardon, since at this time both he who abstains from evil, accustoming himself to good practices, ought to wish for yet better things, and he who yet is a slave to the wanton errors of the world may be called off from things that are strange by their observance of these solemn days, so that as the Easter of the Lord draws nigh he who is faithful may rejoice in that he has kept the faith which was enjoined on him, and he who is penitent may seek salvation, and he who is a catechumen may not lose his confidence in future forgiveness, and there may be fulfilled as it is written, 'behold the day of the Lord's salvation,[3] open the gates that a people may enter, who keep justice and truth, since girding up their minds and hoping in the Lord they have attained peace.'

"Wherefore, most dearly beloved, partakers of the heavenly calling, chasten your souls to God,[4] and, as it is written, 'abstaining from fleshly desires which war against you in your members, fasting unto God, ye may not fast for filthy lucre or in the uncertainty of avarice, nor in strifes or in quarrellings,' since although one pursues as a divine work in these days abstinence from delights and the hardening of the body, yet God does not demand such a fast, but, as it is written, 'chastened in body and spirit show forth love and charity, sincere and

[1] 1 Cor. iii. 22.
[2] 1 Peter iv. 10.
[3] Isaiah xxvi. 2.
[4] 1 Peter i. 22, ii. 11.

from a true heart, and yourself rich in good works to the glory of God,' and, as the prophet [1] says, 'loose every bond of injustice and destroy the ties of habit which weaken, go to the relief of him who is injured, consider the child, grant justice to the widow, give freedom to those in prison, and break through every evil yoke, break your bread to those who are hungry, those in want and who have no shelter lead into your houses, if ye see the naked, work for them, and be careful not to despise any. For so it is written if ye give your bread willingly to him who is hungry and satisfy the humbled soul, then shall your light shine in the darkness and your God will be with you, and in all which your soul desires you will be satisfied in every good thing.' [2]

"For consider what the Pascha of the Lord is. The apostle says, Christ our Pascha is sacrificed for us,[3] showing the taking away of things present and the reward that is offered of blessed immortality, in which the offspring of the Virgin and Almighty God, through the assumption of our flesh, not refusing the shame of a human origin, while He kept the manifold proofs of truth in Himself, chastens the vices of a human birth, and by this conception and birth experienced all the humiliation of our nature, so that coming into the flesh He might overturn the earlier law that had been established, and fixing on the torture of the glorious cross the curses of the power of the world He Himself, the immortal One, and unconquered by death, should die for the eternal life of mortal beings. With whom, on the one hand, we are buried unto death in baptism, and on the other, we long that we may die and be buried with Him, so that we may attain to come to the day of Pascha, so that since His humiliation is our honour, having imitated our Lord, Who, according to the Gospel, for forty days fasted in the desert, walking in the flesh

[1] Isaiah lviii. 6, etc.

[2] The quotation is taken from some early Latin version which follows more closely the LXX. than the Vulgate—διάλυε στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων.

[3] 1 Cor. v. 7.

but not after the flesh, we may be somewhat subdued, yet in the framework of the body of Christ we may be restored by the divine light of His commandments. As I your counsellor and your witness seek for God's mercy, so I declare that we cannot be freed from our sins unless we gain salvation by their remission in baptism and our freedom through the Cross of God.

"These indeed are the days, forty in number, when Moses, having fasted that he might receive the law, was deemed worthy to hear the divine voice. For when the Pascha of the Lord was announced to him he feared the sea, the most powerful element of the world, and for him Nature itself, aroused by a tempest and the waters having been divided, prepared a dry pathway for the people, and against all custom the sterile desert, presenting to them a miracle, produced herbage and pasture for the age.

"These are the days when Joshua, the son of Nun, in like manner observing his fast, entered the land of promise, when the people were clad in the arms of faith and the ark of the Lord stood in the middle of the water, and Joshua, firm on the bed of the Jordan, afforded a dry pathway for his people, and looking out into the future and redeeming the things that had passed he feared lest nature should go against the divine command.

"These are the days when God, coming in the flesh, having established the font of baptism for our enrichment, fasting in the wilderness days and nights, won, tempted as He was, now by the devil, and now by the needs of the fast, and now by the ambition of mortal men, and now by the very horror of it; in which, although God could not be tempted, yet preparing for His passion, which was for our salvation, and fulfilling in Himself all that had been decreed concerning the Passover, not relaxing in that in which He willed to be tempted, He showed to us the things which ought to be repudiated by us in these days, and that which in faith

we read of, how He replied to the devil who tempted Him, we should use for the vanquishing of the Satanic influence around us."

We have then in this tractate Priscillian's pronouncement in favour of Christian asceticism. There is nothing in it which suggests the dualism of Manes,[1] and while there is little argument, the main idea which runs through it is that fasting and chastening of our flesh, *i.e.* Christian asceticism, is incumbent upon us because of our relationship to Christ.[2] Nor indeed can it be said that there lies within it and, as it were, between the lines any indication of any other principle of asceticism. Priscillian has certainly read deeply in Manichaean and Gnostic literature.[3] He uses ideas and phrases which mark that particular class of literature, but he nowhere gives us evidence that with the phrases he has adopted or would advocate also the doctrines of those sects. Religious novels[4] of a mystical, imaginative, and highly fantastic character were very popular, and were much read at the time, and his phraseology was doubtless that which was current. Yet, however involved is his style, and however far-fetched his similes and his arguments, we must not condemn him on that account. His popularity among the lay folk in Galicia and in Aquitaine proves that he had caught the popular ear. There is no hint of any inner or secret society within the Church.[5] The divisions are those common to

[1] Cf. Paret's excellent remarks, *Priscillianus*, p. 115-116: "der Grundsatz der christlichen Askese ist hiermit freilich nicht motiviert, nur die Ansicht vom Werk Christi selbst darnach gestimmt," and again further down: "dann ist aber auch nichts verfehlter als bei P. gnostische und dualistische Neigungen zu finden."

[2] Priscillian, *Tract.* iv. p. 60. 14 "in compaginationem corporis Christi divina praeceptorum luce reparemur."

[3] Cf. Künstle p. 8 "denn die neugefundenen Schriften zeigen deutlich, dass Priscillian in der Tat eine Reihe gnostischer und manichäischer Irrtümer gelehrt hat." I am more inclined to agree with Aimé Puech: "er findet es zwar nicht wahrscheinlich, dass Priscillian ein eigentlicher Manichäer war aber seine Orthodoxie kann er nicht glauben."

[4] Cf. Glover's *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, p. 357. Gwatkin also, in his *Studies of Arianism*, p. 102, shows in his criticism of the *Life of Antony* how fiction prevailed and was devoured in the fourth century. The novels of the *Monumenta vetera* are Arian works of fiction.

[5] Hilgenfeld, pp. 53-54, seems to note in various phrases evidence that these

everyday life : he who is faithful,[1] he who is penitent, and the catechumen. He receives his faith in the sacrament of baptism once administered. The bishop exhorts his flock in a perfectly natural way, as one who is so placed over them that he is bound by teaching them to lead them, as it were, into a new light. They are his dearest in God. His exhortation is that of a hypersensitive and mystic yet affectionate father in God.

Following the tract on Pascha there are six others, which bear the titles *Tractatus Genesis*, *Tractatus Exodi*, *Tractatus primi psalmi*, *psalmi tertii*, and *Tractatus ad populum i.* and *ii.*

These tractates seem to have been discourses following on some passage of Scripture which had been read aloud, and probably to an assembly of Christians in Church. They do not seem to be complete, nor can they be regarded as definite and carefully planned out addresses on Holy Scriptures. Portions are so involved as to suggest that the scribe[2] had not been able to follow the argument, and had contented himself by taking down some few of the exact words which the speaker had used without a thought as to the context. The term tractate[3] is that generally applied to a bishop's

addresses were delivered to an inner society, some guild of followers initiated into all his teaching. To prove this he cites the terms in which they are addressed : *dilectissimi in deo* iv. p. 58, *charissimi* viii. p. 88, *dilectissimi fratres* v. p. 67 ; the phrases *agere ergo nos oportet excubias* viii. p. 87, *post evasionem eorum quae sunt in mundo* x. p. 92, and *absoluta testamenti area, quod nos sumus* x. p. 102 ; and his words in *Tractate* iv. p. 57 *dum nullus infinitis est finis fixo in lubricis gressu modum non constituimus incertis.* I confess that all these expressions seem to me to be such as a bishop might and would use towards his flock, and I am not prepared on such grounds to bias my judgment on Priscillian.

[1] Cf. iv. p. 58 "Qui fidelis est, paenitens salutem repetat, et catecuminus, in hoc positi sumus ut sensus vestros religiosa docendi exhortatione laxemus." Oral teaching largely prevailed in the West.

[2] These tractates bear a certain likeness to the Homilies of St. Hilary on the Psalms, which were oral instructions after a psalm had been read publicly in the church ; cf. Homily on Psalm xiv. (Migne ix. 299) "psalmus qui lectus est inscribitur psalmus David."

[3] "Tractates" was certainly the word used in the fourth century for the Allocution or Pastoral of the bishops ; so Ruricius writes to St. Ambrose "quas nobis et sermone vivo et patrum tractatibus ministratis," Rur. *Ep.* ii. 44 (Vienna *Corpus*, xxi. p. 427) ; and so Optatus, *De schism. Donat.* vii. 6 ; but on the contrary Cassian uses the word generally, *sermo exhortatorius.* In the *Collationes*, x. 9. 3 and 11. 6 it

sermon or allocution, but such a use of the word was not strictly adhered to and might fairly be applied by a follower to Priscillian's addresses, when as a doctor and a bishop he exhorted his flock in the diocese of Abila. There is no trace of dualism in them, nor can they be said to teach anything contrary to Holy Scriptures. His similes, his interpretations, and his quotations are all exaggerated. They show the man himself, one who has thought out Gnostic cosmogonies and Manichaean principles, and sees how some items from these heresies are capable of an orthodox interpretation, and who weaves these phrases into his discourse while he keeps clearly on the lines of orthodox doctrine. We give a quotation from tractate vi. It is the conclusion of his remarks on the passage from Exodus which had been read :[1] "Among all which things, though the Scripture of God is openly read and spoken to you, yet since I also am esteemed your witness in Christ Jesus, I give you advice as one who has obtained mercy from the Lord, that putting off the old man with all his deeds and lusts ye keep the Pascha and in the seven days, in which either the world was begun or formed or completed, free from that disturbing influence, that is, without that fault, sincere, and as it were unleavened, and owing nothing to the days of the world, ye may perceive God's nature in you and the law, which is that we may live by the flesh and blood of God so that when God shall come in judgment as ye read in the Apocalypse you may not be of the number of the beast or of the measure of the world, but in which also ye read that John wept concerning the sealing of the seven seals[2] as if we may be reckoned as a book of heavenly doctrine, and among the twelve thousand of

denotes an instruction or discourse, and in the *Institutes* i. 11. 16 it is clearly the ordinary sermon delivered at the time of the Holy Eucharist : "cumque subsistens senex audisset eum fuisse tractatum et mutato rursus officio celebrare velut diaconum catechumenis missam." Prof. Watson translates the word as "homily"; cf. Introd. *Hilary*, Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. ix.

[1] *Tractate* vi. p. 80. 25.

[2] Apoc. v. 4.

the patriarchs that were sealed,[1] we may not be accounted of the number of the beast, but of the measure of a man, that is, of an angel, and that may be fulfilled which our Lord in the Gospel says, 'the children of this world marry and are given in marriage, beget and are begotten, but the sons of God neither marry nor are given in marriage, neither beget or are begotten, but are as the angels of God.'" The Tractate *ad populum* No. 1, is very fragmentary, and it begins with a quotation from Hosea,[2] which does not help us as to the text on which the discourse is based. The second tractate to the people is, however, apparently based on Psalm lx.[3] It is much longer and abounds in quotations from Holy Scripture. He urges his flock to preserve its conscience free from all blame, and says that they who turn to the faith of Christ shall recognise the future from the past, transient from eternal, and false from true, and further on he says that all things which were done or were written were so written that the mind of God revealing invisible things by those that are visible might speak in the aptest manner to human intelligence.

The eleventh tractate bears the title *Benedictio super fideles*. It is imperfect, about one-third of it at the end having been destroyed or become illegible. It is in the form of a prayer and suggests much of the thought brought out in the tractate on Genesis.[4] It is addressed to Almighty God, the Holy Father, who has prepared a way of holiness in Jesus Christ. Possibly it was a prayer said at baptisms, but this is only conjectural.

The Canons drawn up on Faith and Morals, with passages from St. Paul's Epistles in support of them, are ninety in number. The first eleven concern God and the

[1] Cf. Orosius' remarks to St. Augustine. The Manichaeans enjoined on those who were perfect various prohibitions under the heads of the *Tria Signacula*, i.e. of *oris*, *manus*, and *sinus*. There is no reference, however, to such here, and this is the only place in these tractates where that word is used.

[2] Hos. xiv. 10.

[3] Cf. *Tractate* x. p. 95 "et ideo David sanctus titulum psalmi" etc.

[4] Cf. Paret p. 83 "sie ist ebenfalls von dem Gegensatz zum Manichäismus bewegt."

universe, Canons xii.-xxi. inclusive, deal with our Lord and His work on earth, xxii.-xxxii. are anthropological, while most of the others deal with questions of asceticism and Christian ethics. It is impossible to find out the extent to which Bishop Peregrinus has altered these Canons, but the fact of it makes them unreliable as evidence of the teaching of Priscillian. The work was popular and needed, and its use by churchmen of the age compelled a revision at a very early period. It is questionable, however, whether that revision did more than provide them with an orthodox and acceptable recommendation.

The Tractates which Dr. Schepps discovered at Würzburg, and the Canons which he published with them, enable us to understand Priscillian the better, but certainly cannot be said to prove the false teaching[1] of Priscillian. They do not suggest such teaching or such a man as Orosius[2] described to St. Augustine. Earnest, excitable, imaginative, he seems to be rather a mediaeval mystic[3] or later pietist than a Manichaean. Not a word but suggests the highest morality, though, on the contrary, not a word that suggests that Christian marriage is lawful. There are no secrets. There is no esoteric teaching. If they are really expressive of Priscillian's doctrine he cannot be said to be either a Manichaean or a Gnostic. The Canons confirm the teaching of the tractates, and the collection of tractates bears internal evidence of the same mind and the same method of education. We are not justified merely by our study of these in saying that Priscillian was anything but orthodox.

[1] In his prologue to the *Canons* Priscillian states definitely his view: "illa vero vitari debere quae sunt spiritali et innocuae fidei Christianae contraria atque inimica."

[2] Schepps, *Priscillian*, p. 151: Orosius tells St. Augustine of Priscillian "docens animam quae a deo nata sit de quodam promptuario procedere," and that "membra patriarcharum membra esse animae."

[3] Cf. E. Ch. Babut, *Le Concile de Turin* (Paris 1904), p. 42 note: "Priscillien ne fut nullement l'inventeur ou le propagateur d'une hérésie dogmatique; les priscilliénistes n'ont formé qu'un parti ascétique et piétiste, toute la tradition hérésiologique relative à leur prétendu système ne repose que sur une imposture d'Itacius, évêque d'Ossonoba."

Maximus uses Priscillian's execution in his claim for support of the Church.

In the execution of Priscillian and his followers the emperor Maximus had hoped to have gained the support of the Catholic party of the West. He desired to be regarded as the protector of the orthodox and the foe of all heretics. The emperor Theodosius was in the East and the young Valentinian in Italy. His mother was known to be an Arian, and personally unfriendly to St. Ambrose,[1] nor could she be regarded as a friend of Pope Siricius. There was much therefore to lead Maximus to hope that he would gain the support of the Church. In the autumn of 385 or in the following spring he received a letter from Siricius[2] concerning a certain deacon Agricius,[3] who had been irregularly ordained. In this letter Siricius seems to have made some enquiries as to the religious views of the emperor. There is no sign, however, of any reproof or regret on the part of the pope at the wholesale executions at Trier, and it does not appear as if any was ever made by him. Maximus, in his reply, assures Siricius of his orthodoxy and of his zeal for the Catholic Faith. He will order a Council[4] of the bishops of the five southern provinces of Gaul, and see that the case of Agricius is thoroughly considered. His desire and intention is that[5] the Catholic Faith, far removed from all dissensions, with a united Catholic episcopate, serving God with one heart and mind, unhurt and inviolate, may long be preserved. As for the Manichaeans he shuddered at the thought of their vices, and what he had done concerning them he preferred that Siricius should hear rather from the report of his deeds

[1] Cf. Paul the Deacon's *Life of St. Ambrose*; and Tillemont, x. 186.

[2] Mansi, iii. 671. The letter no longer exists, but the reply of Maximus reveals its contents. Nothing in the emperor's reply seems to justify Gams in calling the letter of the pope a *Klagebrief*. There must have been a good deal of flattery in it.

[3] "De Agricio quem indebite ad presbyterii gradum conscendisse memoras."

[4] "Catholici judicent sacerdotes. Quorum conventum ex opportunitate omnium vel qui intra Gallias vel qui intra quinque provincias commorantur . . . constituam." The five provinces were Vienne, Narbonnensis i. and ii. and Aquitania i. and ii. Novempopulania was probably included in Aquitania i.

[5] "Ut fides catholica procul omni dissensione submota, concordantibus universis sacerdotibus et unanimiter Deo servientibus, illaesa et inviolabilis perseveret."

than from his own narrative of them. To Theodosius himself Maximus also wrote, as well as to the younger Valentinian urging the latter to keep to the faith of his father,[1] and calling upon Theodosius[2] not to allow any changes or innovations to take place in the Catholic Faith.

The consecration of Felix.

Meanwhile at Trier Maximus became the protector of Ithacius and Ydacius, and the stern foe of all who sympathised with the fate of the Priscillians. A Commission was ordered to proceed[3] to Spain to put down all adherents of this movement, and power was given to it to put to death all who would not abjure.

The see of Trier was vacant and a successor to Brito had to be found. For this, and if possible that he might plead once more with Maximus to spare the poor deluded Priscillianists of Galicia and for others whose lives were in danger, St. Martin of Tours again made his way to Trier.[4] But in A.D. 386 he was not welcomed by the emperor as he had been in A.D. 385. There was an influence behind the throne which was hostile, and Maximus, now that he had broken the pledge which he had made to St. Martin, was no longer desirous to meet him. The dramatic incidents which concerned St. Martin personally we have related in a previous chapter.[5] We are only now concerned with the conclusion of the story of Priscillian and his followers. At Trier St. Martin found a colleague in Bishop Theognistus,[6] who could not be induced to hold intercourse with those who were morally responsible

[1] Cf. Mansi, iii. as above: "venerabilis memoriae D. Valentinianus pater clementiae tuae hanc fidem fideliter imperavit. Nihil ille attingere voluit quod bene constitutum videbat." In the earlier part of the letter he had written "audivi enim novis clementiae tuae edictis ecclesiis catholicis vim illatam fuisse."

[2] Sôzomen, vii. 13 . . . *πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἀνεξόμενοσἰνεώτερόν τι γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν πάτριον πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν τάξιν.*

[3] Sulp. Sev. *Dialogue* ii. 13. 1 "tribuni jam ad excidium ecclesiarum ad Hispanias missi."

[4] *Ibid.* 11 "Martinus multis gravibusque laborantium causis ad comitatum ire compulsus."

[5] Cf. Chapter VI.

[6] Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* iii. 12. 1 "si Theognisti pertinaciam qui eos solus palam lata sententia condemnaverat."

for Priscillian's death. Martin and Theognistus stood apart. The others denied their guilt, and asserted that the execution had taken place in due process of law. A synod of enquiry had, somewhat informally, taken place at Trier which had acquitted Ithacius.[1] If Ithacius was guilty, as Martin and Theognistus believed, the emperor himself was not innocent, and Maximus determined that Ithacius should not only be acquitted but be treated also as innocent. So Maximus placed before St. Martin the two alternatives.[2] Either he was to join with the persecutors of Priscillian and in a solemn act of communion consecrate with them a bishop for Trier, or he might abstain, and the tribunes would be sent to Spain with power of life and death over all who professed themselves followers of the tenets of Priscillian. St. Martin at first held out, but the king was angry[3] and demanded a promise of obedience. The night came on and still the matter hung in the balance, and St. Martin began to realise the seriousness of the situation.

Moreover, St. Martin himself was in the utmost danger. It was not probable that he would ever be allowed to leave Trier if he refused the emperor's demand. So St. Martin, and apparently the other bishops who felt as he felt, joined with Ithacius, Ydacius and those who had done to death the bishop of Avila and consecrated Felix[4] as bishop of Trier. Beyond the compulsion and the ill-will, it does not appear as if there had been anything irregular, but the consecration of Felix was always looked upon as stained by the participation in it of the bloodguilty hands of Ithacius.

Meanwhile the fortunes of the Priscillianists varied

[1] Sulp. Sev. "quin etiam ante paucos dies habita synodus Ithacium pronuntiaverat culpa non teneri."

[2] *Ibid.* "spondet se communicaturum si parceretur," etc.

[3] " . . . rex ira accenditur ac se de conspectu ejus abripuit."

[4] " . . . Maximus indulget omnia ; postridie Felicis episcopi ordinatio parabatur, sanctissimi sane viri et vere digni, qui meliore tempore sacerdos fieret, hujus diei communionem Martinus iniit."

greatly. In Aquitaine they were persecuted, and a young woman, Urbica,[1] who is identified by Gams with the daughter of Euchrotia, was stoned to death at Bordeaux, because she would not cease to be a disciple of Priscillian. In the far north-west of Spain, on the contrary, the region where, at Avila and at Astorga, Priscillian had laboured, the number of adherents greatly increased,[2] and many of the bishops were openly in favour of the principles which he had taught.

In the following year, A.D. 387, St. Ambrose was called upon to undertake a mission to Trier.[3] It was his second embassy to Maximus, and he was sent by the younger Valentinian and his mother to plead for the life of certain court officials who had fallen into the hands of Maximus.

At Trier he endorsed the action of St. Martin, and would not hold communion with Ithacius, and two years afterwards, when Maximus was dead and Valentinian II. reigned, a synod of bishops assembled at Trier and deposed Ithacius,[4] while Ydacius,[5] who had realised the feeling which was against him, of his own accord retired from his bishopric. Felix, against whom there seems to have been no charge, continued to act as bishop of Trier for some years longer, and in A.D. 398 [6] resigned his bishopric and entered into a monastery.

The death of Maximus in A.D. 388 materially altered the condition of the Priscillianists. Theodosius was prepared to make full use of the obloquy which the executions at Trier had cast upon Maximus,[7] and in

[1] Prosper, *Chron.*, A.D. 386, "Burdegalae quaedam Priscilliani discipula nomine Urbica ob impietatis pertinaciam per seditionem vulgi lapidibus extincta est." I do not understand why Gams, *K. G. von Spanien*, ii. 1. 383, calls her "die Tochter der Euchrotia." Sulpicius calls the daughter of Euchrotia, Procula.

[2] Idatii *Chron.* "exin in Gallaeciam Priscillianistarum haeresis invasit."

[3] Cf. Paulus, *Vita Amb.* § 60; *Ep. Amb.* No. 56.

[4] Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 51 "quod initio jure judiciorum et egregio publico defensum postea Ithacius . . . ad postremum convictus . . . episcopatu detrusus." Ambrose, *Ep.* No. 56.

[5] *Ibid.* "Ydacius, licet minus nocens sponte se episcopatu abdicaverat."

[6] Cf. Binterim, *Deutsche Concilien*, i. p. 282; Tillemont, viii. 514.

[7] Gams, *K. G. von Spanien*, ii. 1. 386 "denn Theodosianer seyn und Priscillianist seyn . . war ihnen dasselbe."

A.D. 389 Pacatus Drepanius, a Gallican orator, in the panegyric he delivered at Rome[1] before the emperor Theodosius, makes use of these executions to heighten the obloquy and hatred that was felt for the memory of Maximus. His native Gaul, he says, demands[2] that he should speak, first of all, of the evils which it had suffered under the usurper. They had satisfied the tyrant in his cruelty by the innocent blood which had been shed. He will speak of the death of men, nay, he must descend and record how the tyrant shed the blood of women, and spared not the sex which, even in times of war, is exempt. He must tell, indeed, how a matron, the wife of an illustrious rhetor, should be hurried off in custody for punishment, whose only offence was that as a widow[3] she was too much given to religious observances and was too devoted a worshipper of God; how a bishop, too, should have acted as her persecutor; and how the tyrant should have been surrounded by a crowd of bishops who acted as spies on others. In his avarice he had gathered to him the goods of those who were rich. In his cruelty he had punished innocent people. In his impiety he had inflicted harm on religion.

So at first Theodosius was prepared to take under his protection the poor deluded Priscillianists in far-off Spain. The executions at Trier, the riot at Bordeaux were avenged. The foes of Maximus were now objects of pity on the part of Theodosius. Priscillianism was certainly not dead. As an ascetic movement it was being distinguished from Manichaeanism and receiving the imperial protection.

Council of Nîmes.

In A.D. 394 there assembled at Nîmes[4] a Synod of

[1] Baehren's *Latini panegyrici* xii. Pacati Drepanii Panegyricus Theodosio Augusto dictus, p. 271.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 293 "unde igitur ordiar nisi de tuis mea Gallia malis . . . nos saevitiam ejus innocentium sanguine . . . satiavimus."

[3] *i.e.* Euchrotia, the widow of the rhetor Delphidius of Bordeaux, whom, doubtless, Pacatus Drepanius had known.

[4] This Council was only known to us through Sulpicius until in 1743 Ignatius Roderique discovered and published at Cöln the Acts of the Council. Again in

the Gallican Church to remove the scandals that existed and to heal its divisions.[1] The movement towards Christian asceticism had made great progress in the south of Gaul, and the *Dialogues* of Sulpicius[2] show clearly that monasticism was already beginning to capture the minds of devout Christians. The cleavage among the bishops of Gaul which gave rise to these dissensions was probably caused by it, and the terms applied to the two parties, of Felicians and Anti-Felicians, though, of course, they arose from the consecration of the unhappy Felix to the see of Trier, came to denote the two parties who favoured, and did not favour, this ascetic movement. Felix of Trier, though he is said to have afterwards retired to a monastery, with the Ithacians who joined in his election, gave his name to the anti-ascetic party in the Church. There were many who had come from the East, and who claimed to be priests and deacons, and these unknown visitors, insisting on their sacred position, overturned the organization of the Gallican dioceses.

There were seven Canons enacted at this Synod :[3]

1. Because many coming from the uttermost parts of the East describe themselves as presbyters and deacons, and presenting to those who are ignorant unknown letters of peace, obtain board and lodging, and relying on the communion of the saints, impose upon others a form of counterfeit religion, we decree that if there are such, unless the common interest of the Church demand, they are not to be allowed to exercise the ministry of the altar.

2. The second Canon seems, though it does not expressly say so, to be directed at some customs of the Priscillianists. A new thing had happened, and women had begun to minister in the Church as

---

1839 Dr. Kunst published them in the *Bulletin* of the Société de l'Histoire de la France from a sixth-century MS. Cf. Abbé Lévêque's *Le Concile de Nîmes* (Nîmes, 1870).

[1] In the preamble of the Acts, "ad tollenda Ecclesiarum scandala discessionemque sanandam pacis studio venissemus," a statement which makes for authenticity and would not have been written two hundred years after.

[2] Cf. Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* i. p. 152. He was writing from some retreat near Toulouse. Cf. Letter iii. "ego enim Tolosae positus."

[3] Cf. Hefele's *Councils*, Eng. ed., vol. ii. p. 403. On the law of Theodosius, A.D. 390, regulating the matter of deaconesses cf. *Cod. Theod.* vi. 2. 27.

it were as deaconesses. Such a custom was indecent and ecclesiastical discipline would not allow of it. No woman henceforth was to presume to take such office upon her.

3. The third Canon decreed that no priest or layman under censure from his own bishop was to be received again into communion by another than his own bishop.

4. The fourth forbids a bishop to pass judgment on the presbyter of another bishop.

5. The fifth lays down that since many on the pretext of a journey grow rich[1] from the bounty of the faithful, it is to be understood that the faithful are not called upon to give to all, and that their offerings are strictly voluntary and cannot be demanded as of right.

6. The sixth establishes that when any ministers of the Church seek letters for their journeys, such letters of peace and recommendation can only be signed by the bishop.

7. The last is very confused and refers to the loss sustained by the Church in the manumission of slaves, such apparently being at first a charge on the funds of the diocese.

These canons are signed by nineteen bishops, Aprunculus of Auch, Ursus, Genialis of Cavaillon, Alitius, Felix, Solinus, Adelfus, Remigius, Epetemius, Modestus, Eusebius, Octavius, Nicesius, Evantius, Ingenuus, Aratus, Urbanus, Melanius, and Trefesius.

It was to this Council at Nîmes that St. Martin[2] was summoned. His grief, however, over the events at Trier in A.D. 386, had made him resolve to attend no more such synods, and Sulpicius tells us how the saint desired to know what had happened, and how he seemed to know intuitively[3] as they were sailing down the Loire at the very moment when the bishops were actually in session at Nîmes. The Council had acted with caution. Asceticism was not condemned and the Priscillianists were only hinted at in reference to the ministry of women. The decisions only concerned obvious offences in the organisation of the Church.

[1] Cf. Hilary's comment on these luxurious clergy, Homily on Ps. lii. § 13.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Dialogue* ii. 13. 8 "apud Nemausum episcoporum synodus habebatur ad quam quidem ire noluerat sed quid gestum esset scire cupiebat"; Venant. Fort. *Vita Martini*, iv. 384:

> "ulterius synodo neque se promiscuit insons
> virtutisque suae damnis nova lucra paravit."

[3] *Ibid.* "ibi angelus quid gestum esset in synodo ei nuntiavit."

Nearly ten years had passed away since the tragedy at Trier, and it was no longer possible, under Theodosius and Valentinian II., to persecute these deluded Spaniards. Their friends especially in Galicia had increased in a marked degree.[1] Most of the bishoprics in Spain were held by men who venerated the memory of their leader.

But a cleavage seems to have appeared. Asceticism was winning its way, and the orthodox creed of those who favoured it showed that a means must be adopted for bringing about their reconciliation with the party who had persecuted them. While a large section of those Priscillianists in Galicia was moving on towards reunion there were others less influential and less educated who were probably taking a distinctly heterodox and schismatic course. These certainly clung to the name of Priscillian though they do not seem to have followed his instruction. The strong hand and the commanding intellect of their leader had been withdrawn by death, and his more ignorant followers, surrounded as they must have been by many who were practically heathen, soon came to deserve the epithets of Manichaeans and Gnostics.

The exact sequence of events we do not know. Negotiations had been going on and the influence of St. Ambrose of Milan had been invoked in the interest of peace.[2] Symphosius, bishop of Astorga, was friendly to the followers of Priscillian and lived in the midst of them.[3] For one day he had been present at the Council of Zaragossa,[4] and is said to have retired when he perceived that it was the purpose of many to accomplish

[1] Gams, *K. G. von Spanien*, ii. 1. p. 384, endeavours to explain the popularity of this movement: "der Grund scheint mir ein patriotischer oder ein politischer zu seyn. Durfte ganz Spanien mit Recht darauf stolz seyn dem römischen Reiche einen Kaiser Theodosius geschenkt zu haben, so vor allem die Provinz Galizien, aus der er stammte." Surely the conviction that a grave injustice had been inflicted on a popular bishop would have more weight with the people!

[2] Cf. Exemplar definitivum Conc. Toledo, Mansi, iii. 1005.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Cf. Mansi, iii. 1005. We learn from the sentences at Toledo that Symphosius was at Zaragossa "post Caesaraugustanum concilium, in quo sententia in certos quosque dicta fuerat, sola tamen una die praesente Symphosio, qui postmodum declinando sententiam praesens audire contempserat."

the condemnation of Priscillian. St. Ambrose had strongly urged that gentler methods should be adopted, and that the Priscillianists should be received into the church on their recanting any heretical opinions they might have held. The case of Symphosius and his son Dictinius had been mentioned to him. They were reckoned as Priscillianists and their conversion was desired. St. Ambrose was willing to receive them, and in course of time both these men went to Milan.[1] Symphosius promised to give up honouring the memory of Priscillian as of a martyr of the Church. His son Dictinius[2] was recognised as a priest, but some conditions were laid down which would prevent his advancement. When, however, Symphosius and his son returned to Galicia[3] the people demanded, and Symphosius consented to consecrate, his son as bishop, and appointed him as his successor. He also filled up several vacant sees in the provinces with men who were acknowledged Priscillianists.[4] But the Church in Spain was wearied of these dissensions. The schism had been personal in its inception. All were ready to deliberate for peace.

Council of Toledo.

A series of informal gatherings at Toledo prepared the way for something more lasting, and probably because of their indefinite character Symphosius refused to attend them. They were followed, however, by the Council of Toledo A.D. 399–400. The Acts of the Council[5] consist of twenty Canons, a creed[6] directed

[1] Cf. Gams, ii. 1. p. 392 "Symphosius und Dictinius waren selbst bei Ambrosius in Mailand gewesen und hatten sich mit ihm über diese Bedingungen verständigt, wie ich vermuthe, in der Zeit zwischen 388 und 395." Cf. also in Mansi the exemplar definitivum of the Council of Toledo.

[2] Cf. Leo's letter to Turribius of Astorga, *Ep.* xv. 16.

[3] Exemplar definitivum of Toledo attached to the Acts of the Council. There seem to have been drawn up minutes concerning each case of submission, in which certain details of the lives of those who were received back into the Church were entered. The language is formal and suggests later revision. For Dictinius we have the letter of Leo, Migne, liv. 688.

[4] Ortigius, bishop of Celene, was driven out of his diocese by the people, who were Priscillianists, and was not restored until A.D. 400; cf. Idat. *Chron.* ut supra.

[5] Cf. Mansi, iii. 1003; Hefele, ii. 419.

[6] The Creed is generally allowed to be of the later Council of Toledo, A.D. 447.

against the Priscillianists, and two long minutes, which record the reception [1] into communion with the Catholic Church, of Symphosius, Dictinius, Paternus of Bracara, Isonius, Vegetinus, and others. The case of Herenas is interesting.[2] He was present with many of his clergy, and when questioned declared that he preferred to follow his clergy. These then, even before they were interrogated, began to say openly that Priscillian was Catholic. They exclaimed that he was a holy martyr, and that he had claimed the term catholic for himself, and had suffered persecution from the bishops.

Of the twenty Canons the first, which insists that the clergy must daily attend divine service, the thirteenth, which excommunicates non-communicants, and the fourteenth, which brands as sacrilegious those who, after they have received the Holy Eucharist from a priest do not consume it, are the only canons which in any way seem to refer to the conduct of the Priscillianists. The others refer to diocesan organisation and social evils, natural, even in the Church, in the early stage of its existence. Nineteen bishops [3] are said to have been present, among whom were Patrunias of Emerita, Asturius of Toledo, Lampius of Barcelona, Exuperantius of Celene, Marcellus of Hispalis, and Hilary of Carthage. Symphosius before his reception was induced to renounce, and denounce, the doctrines and writings of Priscillian, and to condemn him as a heretic. The formal act which was appended to the record of the Council was probably made more definite than were the actual words of the bishop of Astorga. The process of return had been made easy, and doubt-

Cf. Künstle, *Antipriscilliana*, p. 40. Dierich, in his *Inaugural Dissertation*, holds the same view.

[1] Idat. *Chron.*, A.D. 399, "in civitate Toleto synodus episcoporum contrahitur in qua quod gestis continetur Symphosius et Dictinius et alii cum his Galleciae provinciae episcopi Priscilliani sectatores haeresem ejus blasphemissimam cum assertore eodem professionis suae subscriptione condemnant."

[2] Cf. Exemp. definit. of Toledo, Mansi, iii. 1005.

[3] The repetition of the number nineteen at Zaragossa, Nîmes, and Toledo suggests some later re-editing of the lists of bishops present.

less much was assumed by mutual understanding. Indeed so easy was the return made that the more strenuous of the Catholic party were offended and stood aside for a time in schismatic isolation, a sure proof that Symphosius and the bishops of Galicia, always orthodox in their hearts as in their teaching, were accepted almost on their own terms. The Council of Toledo, however, brings the first stage of the Priscillianist movement to an end. That which remained, and on which several Spanish Synods in after years deliberated, belongs to the history of the Church in Spain, and was no real sequel of the tragedy at Trier.[1]

[1] The memory of Priscillian has certainly suffered from the fact that he was condemned by St. Augustine, and it may be well to consider the value of this judgment passed on him by the great African bishop. As far as one can discover, his information concerning Priscillian is derived entirely from the *Commonitorium* of Orosius. An appeal for help on behalf of the Spanish Church had been made to Augustine by two bishops, Eutropius and Paulus, as the British Church a few years after appealed to the church in Gaul. Orosius, the presbyter of Tarragona, was not content with this. He took upon himself to write to Augustine, as about the same time Prosper had written from Marseilles, and the language of his *Commonitorium* is also that of St. Augustine on the Priscillianists. His appeal is given by Schepps (Vienna *Corpus*, vol. xviii.) at the end of the *Tractates* of Priscillian. In introducing himself to St. Augustine he says that Bishops Eutropius and Paulus had already sent him a *Commonitorium* of prevailing heresies, but since they had not mentioned all, he hastened to forward his appeal, gathering together into heaps all the trees of perdition, roots, branches and all, to cast them on the fire of St. Augustine's orthodox zeal. They had suffered much from the Alans and Vandals in Spain, and yet he says "we are more severely wounded by depraved teachers than by our most cruel foes."

Priscillian first of all is more wretched, he continues, than the Manichaeans, in that he confirms his heresy from the teaching of the Old Testament, and states that the soul, which is born of God, proceeds from a certain storehouse (*promptuarium*), saying that, before it opposed itself to God, it was taught by the worship of angels, and then descending through certain circles was taken by evil spirits, and according to the wish of the princely victor, was placed in different bodies, and a handwriting was granted to them, and this handwriting Christ took away and fixed it to the cross by His Passion. Orosius then quotes portions of an epistle of Priscillian, which is clearly not one of the tractates of the Würzburg MS., and affirms that Priscillian taught that the names of the patriarchs are the members of the animal life so that Reuben is in the head, Judah in the breast, Levi in the heart, Benjamin in the loins, and the like.

He also refers to a book assigned to Priscillian called *Memoria Apostolorum*, and quotes from it how that the Lord, explaining the parable of the sower, had said that the sower was not good, else he would not have scattered his seed in stony or thorny parts.

But Orosius was a panic-monger. Two priests and citizens of Tarragona, both named Avitus, had gone to Palestine and Rome, and the one had returned with a work of Origen and the other with the writings of Victorinus, and Orosius perceives in these errors which could not be overlooked. Origen's Περὶ ἀρχῶν, to which Orosius referred, had lately been translated by St. Jerome and this work of Origen

was too much for the Spaniard. So about A.D. 415, after thirty years of development of ignorance and error and thirty years after the death of Priscillian, Orosius went himself to Augustine, and the information he gave him seemed to have formed the basis of St. Augustine's judgment. Heretical this teaching which he placed before Augustine certainly was. It is Gnostic and Manichaean; but our knowledge of what Priscillian taught, as derived from his tractates, does not permit us to accept the heated language of Orosius as at all a fair description of Priscillian's doctrine. We must still distinguish between the gifted bishop of Avila and the wild speculations of his ignorant and deluded flock.

CHAPTER X

EARLY GALLICAN MONASTICISM

St. Hilary and St. Martin.

It can hardly be a matter of doubt that St. Martin of Tours was the founder of monasticism in Gaul.[1] As early as in the year A.D. 358, while he was waiting in northern Italy in hope of the return from exile of his friend the Bishop of Poitiers, he retired to the small islet of Gallinaria[2] near to Alassio, and there with one companion, a priest, began the practice of those austerities of life which afterwards he advocated and organised on the banks of the Loire. Two years afterwards, when Hilary returned, St. Martin followed him to Poitiers, and with the consent of Hilary, and on a small estate which he had received from him, began again at Ligugé,[3] near to Poitiers, in 362 the life discipline he had observed at Gallinaria. Then, ten years later, on his election as bishop of Tours, he transferred his monks to Marmoutier,[4] the settlement of St. Gatian, under the cliffs on the right bank of the Loire, nearly opposite the city of Tours, and by his enthusiasm and personal influence permanently established monasticism in Gaul. His convert and admiring disciple Sulpicius, writing in the opening years of the next

[1] On early monasticism cf. Weingarten's *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums in nachconstantinischen Zeitalter*, 1877; Harnack's *Das Mönchtum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte*, 1907; Holstenius, *Codex regularum monasticarum*, vol. i., 1759; Plenker's *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchregeln*, 1906; and Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, Eng. ed. vol. i.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *V.M.* § 6, p. 116 (*V.C.E.L.* Halm's edition).

[3] *Ibid.* § 7; Greg. Tours, lib. iv. *De virt. St. Martini*, § 30.

[4] *Ibid.* § 10 "duobus fere extra civitatem milibus monasterium sibi statuit."

century, tells us of the earnest community at Marmoutier and how for the new dioceses[1] that were being created in Gaul, bishops were eagerly demanded and obtained from among the monks who had been trained by St. Martin. Marmoutier certainly stands out in Gaul as the home of early monasticism, the earliest of all such institutions in the West. As we recognise, however, the work of St. Martin we must not ignore the assistance he received from Hilary, and the evidence[2] which assigns to Hilary a desire to promote that ascetic system, which is chiefly associated in our minds with monasticism, is too strong for us to neglect. Traditions concerning the work of Hilary at Poitiers must be sought for elsewhere.[3] The occupation of Aquitaine by the Arian Visigoths must have destroyed locally the tradition of much that he had done, but the assistance, in the gift of the farm at Ligugé, which he gave to St. Martin proves his interest in the movement.

This ascetic movement was, however, independent of St. Martin. He was captured by it and did not create it. In Gaul it had given rise to considerable controversy[4]

[1] Sulp. Sev. *V.M.* "pluresque ex eis postea episcopos vidimus."

[2] The Bangor Antiphonary, *H.B.S.* edition, vol. x. p. 3, gives us a hymn of Hilary's—"Hymnum dicat turba fratrum"—which I cannot but accept as genuine. Cf. Dr. Mason's article, *J.T.S.*, vol. v., on St. "Hilary and his hymns." Stanza xxxiii. begins, "Ante lucem turba fratrum, Concinemus gloriam"—a statement which clearly refers to some early monastic establishment at Poitiers or Ligugé.

[3] There is an interesting confirmation of this suggestion of an early monastic foundation at Poitiers in the preface to the hymn—"Hymnum dicat ut supra"—in the *Liber hymnorum* of the Irish Church. Cf. Dr. Bernard's edition, *H.B.S.* vol. xiv. The preface states that St. Hilary composed the hymn "in Monte Gargani," a site which has yet to be identified, and adds, "angelus postulavit quando venit ad Susannam urbem cum trecentis viris," of whom two hundred were clerics and one laity. Susanna or Sauna is probably St. Martin de Saintonge, *i.e.* "monasterium Saliginense," or Saujon, SW. of Saintes. A Roman road from Tours through Poitiers passed through Saintes to Saujon Tamnum, and so by the right bank of the estuary of the Garonne to Bordeaux. Cf. *Ann. eccles. Franc.* v. 387 and Grasilier, *Cart. inédits de la Saintonge*, i. p. xxviii. Ausonius' villa lay close by, but in his time there was no church nearer than Poitiers or Bordeaux. I cannot but regard this reference as indicating a tradition of an early monastery at Poitiers in which St. Hilary was interested. The story of the dedication to religion of Apra and her mother by Hilary seems to confirm this tradition, and can be illustrated by the case of Ethne in the *Life of St. Patrick*, cf. Venan. Fortunat. *Vita Hil.* i. § 13 and Bury's *Life of St. Patrick*, 140 and 307.

[4] In A.D. 392 St. Ambrose wrote *De obitu Valentiniani consolatio*, and gave as his reason for not going to Gaul, "Gallorum episcoporum, propter quorum frequentes

and those who tried to suppress it branded its advocates as Gnostics and Manichaeans. The sect of the Abstinentes[1] of whom Philastrius of Brescia writes in A.D. 383, seem to have had no real existence as a sect. They were the individual advocates of asceticism, and they were to be found not only in Aquitaine, but in other parts also of Gaul. Nor was the example of St. Martin unopposed. One of his own clergy[2] who was afterwards his successor in the See, Britius, resented the attempt of his bishop to impose his method of life as a necessary condition and test of holiness and moral rectitude on the clergy, and the fact that Britius himself was elected as St. Martin's successor in the See of Tours proves the strength of the reaction. Sulpicius Severus, also, in his life of St. Martin refers[3] to the suspicion which others displayed towards those who were promoting this asceticism. Even bishops, he is grieved to write, were among those who censured, if they did not also persecute his master. And this is as we would expect. The ascetic movement was spreading, but was not unopposed, and St. Martin, as the great organiser of it in a community life, was at once the idol of those who adopted it and the front of offence to those who disapproved of it.

Anicius Pontius Paulinus.

The example of St. Martin seems to have attracted notice among the scholars of Bordeaux, and two of noble family, highly gifted and of considerable wealth, helped the cause of monasticism by their influence and by their writings. Anicius Pontius Paulinus,[4] a native

dissensiones crebro me excusaveram." Jerome, writing against Vigilantius, *Ep.* lx., A.D. 406, refers to the opposition in Gaul to asceticism, and ventured to say, "proh nefas! episcopos sui sceleris dicitur habere consortes: si tamen Episcopi nominandi sunt, qui non ordinant diaconos nisi prius uxores duxerint, nulli coelibi credentes pudicitiam."

[1] Philast. *Liber diversarum hereseon*, edition Marx, "alii sunt in Gallis et Hispanis et Aquitania veluti abstinentes qui et Gnosticorum et Manichaeorum particulam perniciosissimam aeque secuntur," etc.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* iii. 15. 7; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 1.

[3] Sulp. Sev. *V.M.* 27. 4 "non alii fere insectatores ejus, licet pauci admodum non alii tamen quam episcopi ferebantur, nec vero quemquam nominari necesse est licet nosmet ipsos plerique circumlatrent."

[4] Auson. *Epp.* xxi., xxiv., xxvii.; Ambrose, *Ep.* 30; Gennad. *De vir. inl.* xlix.

of Bordeaux, and Sulpicius Severus, a native of Toulouse[1] or its immediate neighbourhood, were powerful advocates of Christian asceticism. Paulinus had an estate at Bourg[2] on the Gironde, where his tutor Ausonius[3] was wont to stop when on his way from Nouliers to Bordeaux. Of a consular family and himself consul elect,[4] he had married a wealthy lady Therasia and from her had an only son. This son, to his unutterable grief, died about A.D. 392, and probably owing to this loss, Paulinus, who hitherto had been only nominally a Christian, was baptized by Bishop Delphinius of Bordeaux.[5] His estates were not only in Aquitaine, but also near Barcelona, and to Spain he then withdrew[6] to mourn in retirement the loss of his son. At the end of the year 393, however, he was demanded by the people for the priesthood,[7] and though he was not yet in deacon's orders Lampius, the bishop of Barcelona, ordained him priest, Paulinus only stipulating that he should not be called upon to undertake the cares of a parish.[8] In his earlier youth, and afterwards when in Italy, he had formed a deep veneration for the memory of the martyr St. Felix, and the sorrow which had now fallen upon him led him to decide to withdraw from the world and live in monastic austerity near the remains of St. Felix at Nola in Campania.[9] So in the following year 394[10] he retired to Italy, and in 410 was consecrated as Bishop of Nola.[11] His literary gifts, however, were not neglected, and from his frequent and lengthy letters

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* i. 1; Gennadius, *De vir. inl.* xix.; Paulinus, *Epp.* xi. and xii.
[2] Auson. *Ep.* xxiv. 123-132. [3] *Ibid.* xxvii. 95.
[4] *Ibid.* xxiv. 3. [5] Paulin. *Ep.* x. 1 and xx. 6. [6] *Id.*, *Ep.* i. 10.
[7] *Ibid.* "sed credo ipsius ordinatione correptus et presbyteratu initiatus sum, fateor, invitus."
[8] *Ibid.* "nam ea conditione in Barcinonensi Ecclesia consecrari adductus sum ut ipsi ecclesiae non alligarer, in sacerdotium tantum Domini non etiam locum ecclesiae dedicatus." [9] Paulin. *Poëma* xxiii. *De S. Felice Natal.* vii.
[10] Paulin. *Poëma* xiii. 14; cf. Baron. *Ann.*, A.D. 394.
[11] Aug. *De civ. Dei*, i. 10, describes Paulinus as "episcopus." His letter at the end of A.D. 408, to Paulinus and Therasia refers to him as a priest. Cf. Migne, *P.L.* tom. lxi. chapter 50 of the Prolegomena; Idat. *Chron.*, A.D. 423, "Paulinus nobilissimus et eloquentissimus dudum conversione ad Deum nobilior factus, vir apostolicus, Nola Campaniae episcopus habitur insignis."

to his friends in Aquitaine,[1] Amandus and Ausonius in Bordeaux, and Sulpicius at Toulouse, we gain most of our knowledge of the private life of the biographer of St. Martin. His retirement naturally was a matter of some notoriety, and his example certainly gave a great impulse to the ascetic movement in South Gaul. It is probable that at least on one occasion Paulinus met St. Martin of Tours,[2] and his great friend and fellow-worker in the same cause, Sulpicius Severus, was the saint's disciple and biographer. Sulpicius was a married man and owned large estates near Toulouse,[3] and during the last decade of the century resided either at Primuliac or Elusa where he also built churches.[4] His principal and favourite abode was on his estate at Primuliac. It was about A.D. 392 that Sulpicius was baptized, and having placed himself under the direction of St. Martin, began to carry out with a small circle of friends, now at Elusa and now at Primuliac, the severe discipline of a monastic life. Monasticism as yet was in a transition state, and, with the exception of the monastery at Marmoutier, seems in Gaul to have corresponded to that third class of monks which St. Jerome[5] says the Egyptians call under the title Remnuoth, two, three, or at most only a few living under rules which they themselves had drawn up. Sulpicius was frequently

Sulpicius Severus.

[1] Amandus was the successor of Delphinius in the See of Bordeaux. Ausonius the poet was a professor at Bordeaux.

[2] Paulinus, Ep. to Victricius of Rouen, *Ep.* xviii. "meminisse enim credo dignaris quia sanctitatem tuam olim Viennae apud beatum patrem nostrum Martinum viderim."

[3] Paul. *Ep.* i. *ad Sev.* and appendix; Migne, lxi. § 869.

[4] Paul. *Ep.* xxi. *ad Sev.*, "basilicam quam modo apud Primuliacum nostram majorem priore condideris."

[5] *Ep.* Jerom. *ad Eustochium* xxii. De custodia virginitatis, "tertium genus est quod Remnuoth dicunt deterrimum atque neglectum et quod in nostra provincia aut solum aut primum est. Hi bini vel terni nec multo plures simul habitant suo arbitratu ac ditione viventes." In the Vienna *Corpus*, E. L. *Ep.* xxii. which is to be found on p. 143. Professor Burkitt kindly draws my attention to the reading *Remnuoth* in preference to the older reading *Remoboth*, and tells me that the word is Coptic, possibly ρμνογτε a rendering of *θεοσεβής*, and equivalent to the title "man of God" *e.g.* 2 Kings i. 9 "*Homo Dei*, rex praecepit ut descendas." St. Benedict, cap. i. describes a similar class of men under the name Sarabaitae and regards them as "monachorum teterrimum genus." Cf. Spiegelberg's *Koptische Miscellen.*, 1906, xxxiii. p. 51.

with St. Martin, and his biography, which he wrote probably in A.D. 400, was in the greatest demand in the bookshops at Rome[1] and was eagerly read both in Italy and Gaul. His *Life of St. Martin* was followed almost immediately by three letters[2] to Eusebius, a priest who afterwards became a bishop, perhaps of Cahors, to Aurelius, a subdeacon, and to Bassula his mother-in-law at Trier, giving further details concerning St. Martin, and showing clearly that already in Gaul, as in Egypt and the East, monks were to be met with on their way to visit now this recluse and now that. The Dialogues of Sulpicius[3] appeared in A.D. 404, and in them he described certain gatherings of his friends who had come to discuss with him the fame of St. Martin. The scene is laid at Primuliac, where a perhaps fictitious Postumianus arrives from the East and *via Narbonne*, has come directly to visit his friends Sulpicius and Gallus. Postumianus describes the life of the Egyptian monks and the fame of St. Antony, and the three friends then consider the relative merits of St. Antony and St. Martin, and the possibility of the rigid system of the Nitrian Desert being introduced into Southern Gaul. They recognise,[4] however, a difference of climate, and allow that what was necessary for existence in Gaul would be regarded as gluttony in Egypt. In the first dialogue St. Antony is clearly introduced in order to show the pre-eminent sanctity of St. Martin, and the other two dialogues are devoted to reminiscences of miraculous incidents in the life of St. Martin. At Primuliac, or at Elusa, it is not certain which, Sulpicius had begun to establish that community life which he had seen and admired at Marmoutier. We read of a crowd of monks[5] there, and they are evidently

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* i. 23. He introduces Postumianus as stating this bit of flattery: "primus eum Romanae urbi vir studiosissimus tui Paulinus invexit, deinde cum tota certatim urbe raperetur, exultantes librarios vidi, quod nihil ab his quaestiosius haberetur, nihil carius venderetur."

[2] Cf. Halm's edition, *V.C.S.E.L.* p. 138.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 152.

[4] *Dial.* i. 8 "edacitas in Graecis gula est, in Gallis natura."

[5] *Dial.* iii. 1 "inruit turba monachorum."

organised as the members of the household. There were at least four priests, Refrigerius, Evagrius, Atherius, and Aurelius, Calupio a deacon, and Amator a sub-deacon, and we hear of three others (Aper, Sabbatius, and Agricola), whose exact status is not mentioned. Nor was the symposium, if so it may be called, confined to this religious household.[1] Eucherius the praetor's deputy, and Celsus a man of consular rank, are allowed to attend, and the whole scene, while it shows a certain freedom of action permitted to the members of the household, indicates the increasing admiration for monastic austerities. The age of persecution and of moral strength and holy life had been followed by laxity and luxuriousness of life and the vices and self-indulgence which Salvian[1] enumerates at this time as calling for vengeance from Heaven, created, as a natural reaction, among serious and thoughtful Christians, aspirations which could but admire the stern self-discipline of monk and recluse.

The life at Primuliac was, however, of short duration. Sulpicius and his religious household disappear before the invasion of Vandal and Visigoth, who in 406[2] devastated Aquitaine, and in 411[3] settled down in it. We must look for evidence, therefore, of the growth of monasticism in the south-east of Gaul. Westward and northward all had been ravaged by these barbarian invasions, and while we read here and there of a Christian hero who had remained at his post and dared the fury of the heathens, we cannot imagine much, if any, ecclesiastical organisation to have survived. Honoratus, the founder of the celebrated monastery at Lerins, sprang from a family of consular rank in Gallia Belgica.[3] His early life is obscure, and

St. Honoratus of Lerins.

[1] Salvian. *De gub. Dei* (*M. G. H.* edition, Halm.), vi. 12 and vii. 1.

[2] Prosper, *Chron.*, A.D. 406, "Vandali et Alani Gallias trajecto Rheno pridie Kal. Januarias ingressi."

[3] Idat. *Chron.*, sub anno, "Gothi Narbonam ingressi vindemiae tempore." The famous marriage of Atawulf with Placidia, the daughter of Theodosius, took place at Narbonne A.D. 414, when Attalus the mock emperor acted as witness.

our knowledge of it is chiefly derived from the sermon of St. Hilary, who succeeded him as bishop of Arles. He had several brothers, and soon after his baptism he began to express a desire to retire from the world, and had his hair cut short to show his contempt for worldly rank. His father had noticed his conduct and had expostulated with him, bidding him to act as a boy with his younger brothers, but to these remarks of his parent he was ever wont to say—*delectat haec vita sed decipit.* The grief, however, which this desire caused to his father induced him to delay to carry it out, and in the meanwhile his father urged his brother Germanus or Venantius to try and draw him away from this wish to forsake a worldly career. Venantius, however, not only failed in his endeavour, but was himself induced by the arguments of Honoratus to throw in his lot with him, and soon afterwards the two brothers, accompanied by an aged Christian, Caprais,[1] set out to visit the holy places of Italy and Greece. They arrived at Marseilles about the year A.D. 390, and Proculus the bishop was so impressed by the earnest saintliness of Honoratus, that he wished to detain him and ordain him as one of his priests.[2] But the brothers would not stay. They sailed for Greece, and at Methone in Achaia Venantius[3] was overcome by fatigue and died. Then Honoratus returned by way of Italy, and is said as he passed through Campania to have visited Paulinus in his retreat at Nola. When he arrived in Gaul, the influence of Leontius, bishop of Fréjus, and his brother Castor, bishop of Apt, induced him to settle in the neighbourhood of Leontius. We have seen that nearly half a century before St. Martin had retired to the island of Gallinaria, to live there the life of a recluse, waiting for the time when Hilary of Poitiers should return

[1] The presbyter Capraisius is said to have been a hermit, and to have settled at Lerins with Honoratus. Hilary refers to him in his sermon on Honoratus and Eucherius, *De laude heremi*, § 43 "haec (Lirinensis insula) nunc possidet venerabilem gravitate Capraisium veteribus sanctis parem."

[2] Hil. *Sermo de vita S. Honor.* ii. 13.

[3] *Ibid.* § 14.

from exile. During the last quarter of this century, and in the first quarter of the fifth century other[1] of these islands that fringe the coast line of western Italy and southern Gaul were occupied by men who fled from the dangers of barbarian invasion, and desired to adopt a life of retirement. The poet Rutilius,[2] who tells us of his journey from Rome to his native Aquitaine, flings scorn at the monks who hate the light, and desired to live alone that none might witness their conduct. He passed their settlements at Capraria, off the north-east coast of Corsica, and on Gorgon island, about twenty miles south-west of Leghorn.

In the Bay of Cannes there are two islands,[3] the larger about two miles from the shore, and the smaller about a mile farther south. They were known as the islands of Lero and Lerina, and are mentioned by Ptolemy[4] and Strabo[5] as well as by Pliny.[6] They had been consecrated to heathen worship, and at a later time were official stations of the Roman fleet.[7] The larger island of Lero in mediaeval times acquired the name of St. Marguerite,[8] from a church built there

[1] Ambrose gives us as island monasteries Gallinaria, Gorgon, Capraria, and Palmaria, *Hexaem.* iii. c. 5; Jerome speaks of "insulas velut monilia," *Ep.* 73, § 6.

[2] Rutilius Namat. *De reditu suo*:

439. Processu pelagi jam se Capraria tollit,
squalet lucifugis insula plena viris;
ipsi se monachos Graio cognomine dicunt,
quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt.
515. Adsurgit ponti medio circumflua Gorgon
inter Pisanum Cyrnaicumque latus,
aversor scopulos damni monumenta recentis,
perditus hic vivo funere civis erat.

Gorgon Isle, 22 m. SW. Leghorn.

Capraria or Capraia, 23 m. NW. of Elba and 42 SW. Leghorn.

[3] Lentheric's *The Riviera Ancient and Modern*; for the Monastery of Lerins, Barrali, *Chronologia sanctorum et aliorum virorum illustrium ac abbatum sacrae insulae Lerinensis*, Lyons 1613. A useful modern book is Alliez' *Histoire du monastère de Lérins*, Paris, 1862.

[4] Ptolemy, ii. 9. 21 Αηρώνη or Αηρώνις. [5] Strabo, *Geog.* iv. 1. 10.

[6] Pliny, iii. 2 "Lero et Lerina adversus Antipolim in qua Vergoani oppidi memoria."

[7] *Maritime Itin. of Antoninus*: "ab Antipoli Lero et Lerina insulae, M.P. m. xi. A Lero et Lerino, Foro Julii, portus, M.P. m. xxiv."

[8] St. Marguerite is well known as the site of the fortress of the legend of the man with the iron mask in the reign of Louis XIV. Cf. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, vol. ii.

in honour of that saint, while the smaller island of Lerins has since the fifth century been coupled with the name of Honoratus.

When Honoratus returned to Gaul many bishops were desirous to ordain and retain him, but he was attracted by the bareness of Lerins,[1] and determined to settle there and live the life of a recluse. He was near to Leontius of Fréjus, from whom he received ordination as priest,[2] and who, as the bishop of the diocese where the settlement existed, always asserted his authority over the community of monks. The fame of Honoratus soon began to attract others, and for them he had to provide cells where they could live, while under his direction they cultivated the ascetic life. On the island to-day there are the remains of the twelfth century[3] monastery which was built on the site of that of the fifth century. There were seven chapels in the monastery, and the site of five can still be discerned. To Honoratus[4] Leontius conceded the right to choose whom he would as his monks, and to say the office at their formal reception as neophytes, but he kept to himself the right to administer confirmation and to ordain whom he would of them as priests, and also reserved the question of the reception of one already a priest into the monastery, and the right to licence him to exercise there his office as a priest.

It is probable that the establishment at Lerins may best be studied from the daughter establishments at Glendalough, Lindisfarne, and Clonmacnois.[5] Irish monasticism had its origin at Lerins, and in that monastery St. Patrick[6] for several years found the

[1] Hil. *Sermo de vita Honorat.* iii. 15 "vacantem itaque insulam ob nimietatem squaloris et inaccessam venatorum animalia metu . . . petit."

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 16.

[3] Cf. Alliez' *Histoire de Lérins*, ut supra.

[4] Hilary's sermon as above, iv. 18; Mabillon, *Annal.* O.S.B. I. § 31.

[5] Cf. Fowler's Introduction to his edition of Adamnan's *S. Columba*, p. xxxvii.; Beda, *Eccles. hist.* iv. 27; Arnold's *Caesarius von Arelate*, appendix, p. 521, Die Lerinenser Regel.

[6] Bury's *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 39 and 294; the statement in Tirechan, "erat autem in una ex insolis quae dicitur Aralanensis annis xxx.," has been interpreted

refreshment of solitude and acquired the stimulating habits of an ascetic life. It is impossible to say with any exactitude the length of time included in Honoratus' rule over Lerins. He was probably abbot for thirty years,[1] and perhaps for a yet longer period. If, however, he visited Paulinus at Nola when he was returning to Gaul, then the settlement at Lerins could hardly have begun before A.D. 397,[2] and that would give him a rule of thirty years. His influence grew rapidly, and during the first half of the fifth century most of the great bishops of southern Gaul had received their early instruction under Honoratus at Lerins. To him came Hilary,[3] another nobleman from Gallia Belgica, having been invited by Honoratus, whom he had written to consult, to pay him a visit, and having first shown himself an earnest monk he afterwards succeeded his master as Bishop of Arles. In his sermon on the example of Honoratus, Hilary sums up the influence which his predecessor had exercised over him "educit me secum suam praedam, gaudet, triumphat, exsultat." Thither during those thirty years[4] went Eucherius, bringing with him his two sons Salonius and Veranius, all thus destined to become bishops in Gaul. To him came also Faustus,[5] the Briton, following the example of St. Patrick, to become in due course the third abbot of Lerins and ultimately Bishop of Riez. To Lerins came also Lupus[6] of Toul, brother-in-law of Hilary of Arles, the future heroic Bishop of Troyes and the succourer

by the Bollandists and Todd as meaning Lerinensis, and with this view Prof. Bury agrees.

[1] Tillemont shows weighty reason for not accepting Baronius' and Barrali's opinion that Honoratus began his work at Lerins in or about A.D. 375, and was inclined to date the foundation of the monastery about A.D. 400. Cf. Note vi. to *Vie de S. Honorat*, *Mémoires*, vol. xii. p. 675.

[2] Paulinus left Barcelona and settled at Nola A.D. 393-4, and the visit of Honoratus may have been in the summer of A.D. 394.

[3] Eucherius, *De laude heremi*, addressed to Hilary, and recording much of what we know about his early life.

[4] Cf. *ibid.* § 42. On Salonius cf. Tillemont's note vi. to his Life of Eucherius, *Mémoires*, vol. xv.

[5] Cf. Gennadius' *De vir. inl.* lxxxvi. His writings are published in vol. xxi. of the Vienna Corpus.

[6] Eucher. *De laude herem.* § 42; Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* vi. 1. 4, 9.

of the British Church, and there in that island, a disciple and admirer of Honoratus, lived Vincentius,[1] who, under the pseudonym of Peregrinus, wrote the celebrated *Commonitorium adversus profanas omnium haereticorum novitates*. Lerins was clearly no house of a recluse. It was a busy hive of monks, the successor of Marmoutier, a community well organised and with definite rules of life.

In A.D. 426 Patroclus,[2] bishop of Arles, was murdered, at the secret bidding, it is said, of Felix, the *magister militum* of the Roman army of occupation, and after some delay Honoratus of Lerins was chosen as his successor. On departing for Arles the new bishop was accompanied by Hilary,[3] who, however, as soon as he had seen him established at Arles, left him and returned to the monastery, and being again summoned could not be induced to leave until Honoratus came to Lerins himself and took him off. In his place at Lerins Honoratus left as abbot Maximus,[4] an early disciple, who six years later in A.D. 433 became Bishop of Riez, and Faustus the Briton was chosen as the third abbot. The succession of abbots makes it clear that the monastic life was definitely established at Lerins. Authority and discipline prevailed, and the settlement was no longer dependent on the personal influence of the founder. At Arles the work of Honoratus only lasted for the brief period of two years. In contrast to his predecessor he upheld his authority through his personal influence—"studebat praeterea amore potius regere quam terrore dominari."[5] In 429 he died, and Hilary his disciple was at once chosen as his successor.

It has been already stated that in the bay of Cannes the larger island was known as that of Lero, and it was

[1] Eucherius *ut supra*, Gennadius' *Vitae*, lxiv.

[2] Prosper Aquit. *Chron.*, sub anno 426, "Patroclus Arelatensis episcopus a tribuno quodam barbaro . . . occiditur."

[3] Eucher. *De laude heremi*, § 1; Sid. Apoll. *Carmen*, xvi. 115.

[4] Eucher. *ut supra*, § 412; Sid. Ap. *Ep.* viii. 14, and eulogy on him by Faustus, his successsor, in Barrali, *Hist. of the Monastery of Lerins*, ii. 115-126.

[5] Hil. Arles, *Sermo de Vita Honorati*, vi. 28.

between the mainland and the settlement of Honoratus.

Eucherius of Lero.

Soon after the Arvernian nobleman Eucherius[1] had left his sons at Lerins, he retired to Lero, and with his wife Galla for some years lived in solitude and abstinence as Paulinus and Therasia were living at Nola. The communication between the two islands was frequent, and Honoratus directed the discipline which Eucherius imposed upon himself. In A.D. 434[2] Eucherius was called to fill the see of Lyons, and when in 449 he died, Veranus, his son, succeeded him,[3] while Salonius, his other son, became Bishop of Geneva. The settlement on the larger island cannot be regarded as monastic, nor was it permanent. It is indicative, however, of the time. Theodorus[4] who became Bishop of Fréjus in 432, and had been a disciple of Honoratus, founded a similar monastic retreat on the Hyères Isles, and in many places in southern Gaul monasteries were arising during the first half of the fifth century, the direct result of the influence at Lerins. At Arles it can hardly be doubted that tradition was correct which asserted that the monastery on the island in the Rhone over which Caesarius[5] presided in A.D. 503 had been founded by Honoratus, and certainly St. Castor of Apt (A.D. 419-426) the friend of Honoratus and the brother of Leontius, founded a monastery at

Arles.

[1] Gennad. *De vir. inl.* (*Eccl. script.* lxiii.); Cassian, *Conf.*, Pref. to lib. xi.-xvii.; Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 11, addressed to Eucherius and Galla.

[2] *Gall. Christ.* iv. 180. He was at Lero in 427 when Cassian dedicated his *Conferences* to him, and he presided at the Council of Agde, A.D. 441, as Bishop of Lyons.

[3] It is more probable that Veranus became bishop of Vence. His name does not appear on the lists of bishops of Lyons. But cf. Duchesne, *Fastes. ép.* ii. 161, on the interpolation of the two names Salonius and Veranus into the list, which was certainly made at an early date.

[4] Cassian dedicates books xviii.-xxiv. of his *Conferences* to his "sancti fratres" Jovinian, Minervus, Leontius and Theodorus. Cf. *Annales O.S.B.*, Mabillon, vol. i. cap. xxxix. and xlvi. As successor to Leontius bishop of Fréjus, he had asserted authority over the monks of Lerins and abbot Faustus, and the quarrel was not settled till the Council of Arles, A.D. 441 (Mansi, xii. 907). Leo addresses *Ep.* 108 to him.

[5] Arnold's *Caesarius von Arelate*, p. 92. Malnory considers (*St Césaire*, p. 24) that the abbey over which he ruled was Montmajour, and considers that a branch of the Rhone ran to the east of the rocky eminence of Montmajour as well as to the west, thus making it an island.

Minerva,[1] where Leontius and Helladius were living, to whom Cassian refers in the preface to his *Conferences*.[2] As we leave the coast and go up the Rhone it is certain that at Vienne a monastery had been founded early in the fifth century.[3] When Mamertus the bishop[4] in A.D. 455 translated the remains of the martyr Ferreolus he is said to have been assisted by a large gathering of monks and nuns. The monasteries of Ternay and Grigny were probably founded early in the sixth century.[5] At Lyons,[6] there is little evidence of monastic foundations until the beginning of the sixth century. A little earlier the monasteries of the Jura[7] mountains, Condat, known afterwards as St. Claude, Lauconon, and Romain Moutier, were founded by the Patres Jurenses, of whom St. Avitus[8] and Sidonius speak in high praise, Romanus, Lupicinus, and Oyandus, and when at a still later time the Burgundians embraced Catholicism they became also the protectors of these establishments, Sigismund their king becoming in A.D. 515 the founder of the monastery of St. Maurice.[9]

Minerva.

The progress of monasticism was, however, soon checked by the barbarian invasions and by the occupa-

[1] *Gallia Christiana*, i. 376; *Acta S.S. Boll. Sept.* vi. 249.

[2] Cassian, *Conf.*, Preface xi.-xvii. and i.-x.

[3] Cf. Mabillon, *Ann. O.S.B.* i. § 76. Prosper Tiro, xxviii. *Arcad. et Honor.*, c. A.D. 420, says "Honoratus, Minervius, Castor, Jovianus singulorum monasteriorum patres in Galliis florent."

[4] Cf. Greg. Tours, *Lib. de virtutibus S. Juliani* (*M. G. H.* p. 565) "ad hoc opus abbatum atque monachorum magnus numerus."

[5] Cf. Longnon, *Géogr.* p. 425; Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* vii. 17. 3; Holstenius, *Cod. regularum*, i. 155; also Avitus, *Ep.* lxxiv. to St. Maximus (*M. G. H.* p. 91).

[6] Mabillon, *ut supra*, i. §§ 26, 27; Arnold, *Caesarius*, p. 429; cf. Dom Besse, "Les premiers monastères de la Gaule méridionale," p. 400, in *Revue des questions historiques*, 1902; Greg. Tours, *Lib. de gloria conf.* § 22 refers to the "monasterium apud Insulam Barbaram," where Maximus, a disciple of Martin, had lived. This brings the foundation of it into the first half of the fifth century.

[7] Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* iv. 25. 5; Greg. Tours, *Lib. vit. Patrum* (*M. G. H.* pp. 663-4), Lives of SS. Romanus and Lupicinus; Mabillon, *ut supra*, i. § 56.

[8] Avitus, *Ep.* xix. p. 53 (*M. G. H.*). Cf. "Vitae Romani, Lupicini et Eugendi" in vol. i. of *Vitae Sanctorum* (*M.R. Merov.* ed. Krusch).

[9] Avitus (*M. G. H.*, appendix iv. § 5, p. 180): "hunc Sigismundum regem beatus Avitus post exilium in fide pietatis erudivit, qui illo agente monasterium sanctorum martyrum Agaunensium Mauricii sociorumque ejus construxit." Cf. also Greg. Tours, *Hist. Franc.* iii. 5, p. 111.

tion of so much of southern Gaul by the Arian Burgundians and Visigoths. At Arles, which was with occasional intermission held by the forces of the Empire, the tradition and the practice of monasticism lingered on. Gregory of Tours towards the end of the sixth century gives us the names of forty places[1] which he designates under the title of *monasterium*, but it is doubtful whether they all as such had any lengthy existence, or whether they ever amounted to more than the houses of well-known recluses, such as St. Portianus[2] in Auvergne, and St. Ursus at Sennaparia.[3] In the north of Gaul there is as yet little evidence of any monastic establishment, and the Church had to wait for more settled times before the foundations of monasteries could begin there. Early instances of monastic austerity on the part of individuals such as St. Hospitius at Nice,[4] St. Leobinus[5] at Chartres, St. Avitus[6] at Micy near Orleans, and St. Carilefus[7] in the department of Sarthe in the north-west, tend to show how rare such habits were. When we meet with the monasteries again, the Order of St. Benedict had already begun.

Before we pass on from the Family of Lerins it is natural that we should inquire as to what manner of life prevailed among the monks there, and what was the system of discipline which had been adopted as gradually the disciples of the founder increased in number. Did Honoratus draw up a code or *regula monachorum* as Benedict did about sixty years afterwards? That such a rule existed seems tolerably

[1] Cf. Longnon, p. 21.

[2] Greg. *Vitae Patrum*, c. v., and Longnon, p. 511.

[3] Greg. *Vitae Pat.* c. xviii.; Longnon, p. 291.

[4] Arnold's *Caesarius von Arelate*, p. 428; Venant. Fort. *Vita Leobini*; Migne, *P.L.* vol. lxxxviii. p. 549.

[5] Greg. Tours, *Hist. Franc.* vi. 6, and *Lib. in glor. conf.* § 95.

[6] *Acta SS. Ordinis S. Bened.* 1; Longnon, p. 347; cf. Havet, *Questions mérovingiennes*, iv. p. 64.

[7] Cf. vol. i. *Vitae Sanctorum* (*Mon. Rerum Merov.* p. 386); *Vita Carileffi abbatis Anisolensis*. He came from Aquitaine, and had visited Avitus at Micy. Mabillon identifies "Tarnatense monasterium" with Ternay on the banks of the Rhone, and not far from Grigny, *Mab. Ann. O.S.B.* Appendix v. p. 678.

certain, though perhaps at first it was not written but merely traditional.[1] Hilary, the successor of Honoratus at Arles, tells us of the watchings and fastings at Lerins[2] which Honoratus had encouraged his monks to observe, but he says nothing of a written rule. Cassian of Marseilles,[3] who in A.D. 426 addressed to Honoratus and Eucherius his eleventh and six following books of his conferences, says of them: "a quibus prima anachoreseos instituta suscepimus." Eucherius, the friend and almost the contemporary of Honoratus, mentions the heavenly discipline of which Honoratus was the author. A little later the third Council of Arles,[4] held under Bishop Ravennius A.D. 449-461, laid down the relationship which should exist between a monastery and the bishop of the diocese where it was situated, and in reference to Lerins—for it was a case from Lerins which was in dispute—decided that all the family of the monastery should be under the care of the abbot, and adds that the rule should be observed—"regula quae a fundatore ipsius monasterii dudum constituta est, in omnibus custodita."[5] A little later still, Sidonius, writing to his brother Volusianus in reference to a monastic family of Auvergne which the abbot Auxanius was unable to rule successfully, recommends the adoption there of the Rules of the fathers of Lerins, or those of Grigny, a monastery near to Vienne.[6]

It was impossible that the great influence and the good order which the foundation at Lerins had acquired could have been established without some very definite and careful system of discipline. The system clearly was also some adaptation of those in vogue in Egypt, and in the life of St. Eugendus it has been suggested

[1] On the rule of Lerins, cf. Arnold, *Caesarius von Arelate*, Appendix vi. Die Lerinenser Regel.

[2] S. Hil. *Arel. sermo de vitai, S. Honorat* § 4 "fortissimos quosque et recenti adhuc conversatione praevalidos in jejuniis vigiliisque impar viribus, pari lege comitatus est."

[3] Cf. Petschenig's ed. of Cassian in the Vienna *Corpus*, vol. ii. p. 311.

[4] Mansi, vii. p. 876.

[5] Löning, *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenrechts*, 1878, vol. ii. p. 380.

[6] Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* vii. 173.

that it was the rule of St. Pachomius.[1] In the first half of the fifth century monastic literature sprang up on all sides. Putting aside the celebrated *Institutes* and *Conferences* of Cassian, which we will consider presently, the dialogues of Sulpicius,[2] the letters of Paulinus of Nola,[3] and many letters and tractates of St. Jerome emphasised the principal details of monastic life.[4] Eucherius, when he became Bishop of Lyons A.D. 434, wrote an *Exhortatio*[5] and *Sententiae* for monks, and another for nuns, and Faustus, who was the third abbot of Lerins, and afterwards Bishop of Riez, addressed several sermons on discipline to monks.[6] St. Augustine about A.D. 423 wrote to his sister,[7] drawing up for her a series of rules which women could adopt who were vowed to religion. It is clear then that in the fifth century, and before the general acceptance of Benedict's Rule by the Gallican Church, not only was monasticism prevalent in the south, but there were also definite rules which the monks observed which were so well known as not to require to be written down. On all sides there was a common understanding as to what monasticism meant, and every house of monks looked to Lerins if not as its founder, yet as the source whence it had obtained its Rule. The earliest written rules for monks are those composed at Arles by Caesarius,[8] who was bishop there A.D. 502-541. Caesarius had been a monk at Lerins, and it is nowhere claimed that he was the author of the system he established. In his case also his Rule was not written by himself, but has come down to us through the diligence of Tetradius,[9]

[1] *Vita S. Eugendi* (*A.S.O.B.* vol. i. p. 559). Cf. Arnold's comments, *Caesarius von Arelate*, p. 512.

[2] In vol. i. *Corp. Script. Eccles. Lat. Vindobon.*

[3] *Ibid.* vols. xxvi. and xxx., edited by W. de Hartel.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. xxxi., edited by C. Wotke; Migne, *P.L.* vol. l. p. 863.

[5] Migne, *P.L.* vols. xxiii.-xxx.; *Ep.* xxii. *De custodia virginitatis.*

[6] Cf. *C. S. E. Vindobon.* vol. xxi. *Sermones ad monachos*, p. 314.

[7] Aug. *Op.* Ep. ci.

[8] Cf. Malnory, *St Césaire*, and Arnold as above.

[9] Cf. Holstenii *Codex regularum*, edn. 1759, vol. i. p. 145, Regula a S. Tetradio presbytero . . . transmissa.

the grandson of Caesarius, who wrote out the principal details of the system observed, and sent copies of the Rule to different monasteries in Gaul. It is important to observe what these principles were, since they show us not only the independent origin of monasticism in Gaul, but also the wisdom of the early founders in organising the system according to the needs of the West.

Tetradius gives us this rule under twenty-six heads, which are as follows :—

1. The vow was for life—*usque ad mortem suam.*
2. There was community of goods.
3. All dwell together. None had private cells or cupboards.
4. There was to be no swearing.
5. Any detected in a falsehood was to receive punishment.
6. No one was to speak evil of his neighbour.
7. None could choose his own work. Each must do the work assigned to him.
8. There was to be no private conversation while the psalms were being sung.
9. At meals silence was to be observed, and a reader was to be appointed who should then read aloud.
10. Monks were not to become sponsors for children at their baptism.
11. The entry of women into the monastery was forbidden.
12. There was to be no quarrelling.
13. The words of an angry man were not to be remembered, but had any wronged his neighbour he was to seek his pardon.
14. Monks were to spend their time in reading to the third hour of the day, and then they were to begin their assigned work.
15. No monk could receive private letters.
16. The abbot alone could settle all questions of food and raiment.
17. The sick are to be the object of care that they may the sooner get well.
18. All work to be undertaken with a good will that it may be accomplished, for there is a greater reward to him who works with a good will than to him who only does because he is ordered to do it.
19. There must be religious zeal, and especially in the matter of spiritual temptation.

20. From the month of October to Easter vigils are to be observed by three Nocturns and three Masses [1] with intervals of reading between each.

21. All are to say the Antiphons and Responses, the Antiphons according to the order of the psalms. On Sunday six masses are to be said, and at the first mass, which is the Eucharist of the Resurrection, none may sit. Then Matins is to follow, and on every Sunday they are to say Cantemus Domino, psalms 145, 118, 146, and 148 together with the Gloria in Excelsis and the Te Deum.

22. From Easter to September Wednesdays and Fridays are to be fast days. From September to the Feast of the Nativity every day is to be a fast day. Sundays are not to be fast days because they are the festivals of the Resurrection. He who fasts on a Sunday sins. No one is to take any food or drink to bed with him.

23. If for any fault a monk has been excommunicated he is to be placed in a cell by himself, and then is to read with a senior until he is ordered to come out for pardon.

24. No meat or chickens are to be allowed those who are in good health, but only to the sick when it is necessary.

25. Every Saturday, Sunday, and on all festivals, twelve psalms are to be sung, three antiphons, and three lections from the Prophets, Epistles, and Gospels.

26. In this way monks provide for themselves spiritual weapons against the attacks of the devil.

The system here laid down is the system generally adopted in South Gaul during the fifth century. All references made by contemporary writers to the Rule of Lerins seems to find an illustration in the above, and suggests that Caesarius at Arles had adopted and enforced in the monasteries there the rules and system which had prevailed in Lerins. In the Rule of Caesarius with its prayers, eucharists, psalm- and hymn-singing, its private reading, and its daily labour we have the Rule of the great founder Honoratus.

St. Victor's Monastery at Marseilles.

During the fifth century the ancient city of Marseilles comes for a time into prominence in the history of the Gallican Church, not only on account of the monastery

[1] The word *Missa* is used occasionally at this time for any office, and is not confined to the eucharistic office.

of St. Victor, but also because of the eminent men who lived in it. Clearly it was a city of refuge. We need not assume that all who were described as priests of Marseilles were also natives of the place. Men fled to it because it was safe. The Visigoths held Toulouse[1] and Bordeaux,[2] and the Burgundians were around Lyons,[3] and both peoples threatened Arles;[4] but Marseilles[5] had resisted the attempts on it of Atawulf, the Visigothic king, and still held out against the barbarians. There died in Marseilles in A.D. 445[6] Claudius Marius Victor, to be identified with the Victorinus of Gennadius, a priest who had written in verse a commentary on the earlier portion of the Old Testament. Then in Marseilles lived, too, Musaeus,[7] a priest of the town, who at the request of Bishop Venerius had compiled a lectionary from Holy Scripture for use in the services of the Church. There lived and died the priest Gennadius,[8] the author of the hundred short biographies in imitation of the work of St. Jerome; and there too lived Salvian,[9] the most learned of them all, who died in A.D. 450, and who about A.D. 428 wrote his celebrated work, *De gubernatione Dei*, perhaps in imitation of St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, in which

[1] A.D. 412, Prosper, *Chron.* "Gothi rege Athaulfo Gallias ingressi"; Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu suo*, 495:

"errantem Tuscis considere compulit agris,
et colere externos capta Tolosa lares."

And see also Dahn, *Könige des Germanen*, v. 59. Cf. Fredegarius in Monod's *Études critiques*, part ii. p. 68.

[2] Cf. Paulinus of Pella's *Eucharisticos*, l. 312 "nostra ex urbe Gothi fuerant qui in pace recepti." "Non aliter nobis quam belli jure subactis aspera quaeque omni urbe inrogavere cremata."

[3] Cf. Jerome's *Chron.* under the year 373; Binding, *Das burgundisch-romanische Königreich*, vol. i. pp. 9 and 73 "so müssen wir nach Gundiok's Tode Hilperik in Lyon . . . suchen."

[4] A.D. 425. Prosper, *Chron.* "Arelas nobile oppidum Galliarum a Gothis multa vi oppugnatum est donec imminente Aetio non impuniti discederent."

[5] Olympiodoros, p. 456.

[6] Gennadius, *De viris inlustribus*, cap. lxi. Schenkl has edited his *Alethias* in the Vienna *Poetae Christiani minores*, part i.

[7] *Ibid.* cap. lxxx. died about 460: "composuit Sacramentorum egregium et non parvum volumen."

[8] *Ibid.* cap. ci. "ego Gennadius Massiliae presbyter."

[9] *Ibid.* cap. lxviii. "apud Massiliam presbyter." His *Opera* have been published by Halm in *M.G.H. A.A.* i. part i.

he contemplates the disasters in Gaul as the natural retribution from God for the sins of the unfaithful Christians of Gaul. He tells us incidentally that the monks, "the saints of God," were jeered at, hated, and persecuted by the outside world. He wrote also a work in four books, *De Ecclesia*, dealing with the evils of the times as a cause for reformation, Christian zeal, self-denial, and earnest perseverance. The love of the world cannot abide side by side with a real love for Christ. There are nine letters also of his which are extant, of which two are addressed to Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, and one to his son Salonius. To Marseilles also fled Paulinus of Pella[1] as he is known, the grandson of the poet Ausonius, who had been so cruelly deprived of his estates at Bordeaux by the Visigoth, and who at Marseilles wrote the *Eucharisticos*, when he received from the usurper such payment for the estates as at least kept the aged man from want.

John Cassian of Marseilles.

The chief name in connection with Marseilles, however, in this century is that of John Cassianus, the founder of the monastery of St. Victor[2] and perhaps of another, St. Salvator, for nuns. As a writer and as an organiser he takes a prominent part in the history of early Gallican monasticism, and more especially in the semi-Pelagian Controversy which troubled Gaul during this period. Neither the name nor the birthplace of Cassian can be definitely stated. Gennadius[3] calls him "natione Scytha," an error which probably arose from his long sojourn with the monks of the Egyptian deserts. Photius,[4] the Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 800, describes him as Ῥωμαῖος, *i.e.* that he was born in the Roman Empire. He was most probably born in Gaul, and apparently in Narbonensis secunda.

[1] Cf. his *Eucharisticos*, 520 "Massiliae demum pauper consistere legi, urbe quidem in qua plures sancti essent mihi cari."

[2] Gennadius, cap. lxii. Cf. Petschenig's introductory essay on his life in the Vienna *C.E.L.* vol. xvii.

[3] *Ibid.* Dr. Gibson argues in favour of the desert of Scete where Cassian spent some years of his life. Cf. Introduction to Translation of Cassian in *Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. xi.

[4] Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. cxcvii.

He described his early home as a place which would delight the heart of a monk,[1] and in his preface to the *Institutes* stated that the diocese of Apt was still without monasteries.[2] His parents seem to have been in good position, and he had a sister and many friends in Gaul. He lived to be an old man and died about A.D. 432.[3]

If the details as to his origin and early life are obscure, the facts concerning his later career are very definite and well known. About the year A.D. 375 he decided to forsake the world, and, with a companion Germanus, started forth on a journey to Bethlehem.[4] There he remained for a few years, and in the Syrian monasteries learnt much of Eastern monasticism. Palestine, however, did not satisfy him, and after he had pledged himself to return, he with some difficulty obtained permission to go and make himself acquainted with the life of the Egyptian monks. His visits and experiences there he describes to us in the twenty-four books of the *Conferences*.[5] When he arrived at Thennesus, a town on the Tannitic branch of the Nile near lake Menzaleh, he met the anchorite Archebius, who had spent thirty-seven years in the desert of Panephyris, and had afterwards become the bishop of it. Archebius undertook to introduce him to the anchorites of the neighbourhood: Chaeremon, Nesteros, and Joseph. This was followed by a visit to Pinufius, who presided as abbot over a large monastery, and who had

[1] *Conference* xxiv. 1 (vol. ii. p. 675 in Petschenig's edition) "praeterea ipsorum locorum situs in quibus erat majoribus nostris avita possessio . . . delectare monachum possent secreta silvarum."

[2] Cf. vol. xvii. Vienna *Corpus*, p. 4 "eas congregationi fratrum in novello tantum monasterio commorantium deputares." The foundation which St. Castor was meditating was clearly the first in the diocese of Fréjus.

[3] He wrote his book *Against Nestorius* at the request of Leo in A.D. 430, and he was still living in A.D. 432, when Prosper appealed to Pope Sixtus to condemn Cassian's teaching in the xiiith Conference. He seems to have died soon after. Cf. Gibson *ut supra*. Theodosius Junior and Valentinian III. reigned together till A.D. 449, and Gennadius says that he died after writing his book against Nestorius and while these emperors were reigning.

[4] *Institutes*, iii. 4 "in nostro monasterio, ubi dominus noster Jesus Christus natus ex virgine . . ." and iv. 19.

[5] His *Conferences* are based on real conversations with the Egyptian abbots, and he tells us of much of his life in the *Institutes*.

once visited Bethlehem. Pinufius recognised Cassian since he had once lodged in his cell at Bethlehem, and indeed had desired to settle in Bethlehem but had been brought back to Egypt.

Then Cassian[1] went to Diolchos, near the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile, and met abbot Piamun, who told him of the three kinds of monks: the Coenobites, the Anchorites, and the Sarabaites. Later on he met an abbot named John, whose humility was such that he had ceased to be an anchorite, and had joined the Coenobites that in their society he might have opportunities to show his humility.

Soon after there came upon the travellers a desire to return to Gaul and not to return to Bethlehem, and Abbot Abraham,[2] whom they consulted, persuaded them not to return, and so for several years they remained in Egypt with Archebius, who gave up to them his own cell and built another for himself. It is probable, however, that after some time they did return to Bethlehem and obtained permission to go again to Egypt, and now we find them at Scete in the Nitrian desert, the home of Eastern monasticism, where Rufinus[3] tells us there were fifty monasteries and many cells of anchorites. It was while the pilgrims were in the Nitrian desert that the Festal letter of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria,[4] in which he denounced the heresy of the Anthropomorphites, arrived. The letter caused intense excitement and indignation, and it required all the influence and authority of Paphnutius to allay it. This occurred in the year A.D. 399. In the following year Cassian and Germanus went to Constantinople, and there S. Chrysostom ordained Cassian deacon, and assigned to him and Germanus the charge of the Church treasury.[5] They

[1] *Institutes*, v. 36 "cum de Palaestinae monasteriis ad oppidum Aegypti quod Diolchos appellatur venissemus."

[2] *Conference* xxiii.

[3] Ruf. *Hist. monach.* c. xxi.

[4] *Conference* x. 2 "agitata conlatio Theophili praedictae urbis episcopi sollennes epistulae."

[5] Cf. Gennadius, cap. lxii., and *De incarnatione*, vii. 31 "adoptatus enim a beatissimae memoriae Johanne episcopo in ministerium sacrum atque oblatus Deo."

stayed in Constantinople for three years and drew up an official record of the troubles at Constantinople, and took it as a letter from the clergy of that city to Innocent I. at Rome.[1] Here Cassian met with Leo the archdeacon, whose estimate of the wanderer's ability is shown in his request in A.D. 430[2] that he should write a book against the heresy of Nestorius, a request which resulted in Cassian's work on the Incarnation. It was an anxious time in Italy, and certainly in Rome. The country was threatened with an invasion by Alaric the Visigoth, and the Court of Honorius had retired to Ravenna.[3] So Cassian and Germanus left Rome and, A.D. 410, settled down at Marseilles.

It was between the years A.D. 410 and 432 that Cassian founded the two monasteries of St. Victor for monks and St. Salvator for nuns in the city of Marseilles. His fame as a writer has eclipsed that of his work as an organiser of monastic life, and we are left to judge of it as described in his *Institutes* and *Conferences*. Bishop Castor of Apt had requested Cassian[4] to write a book concerning Monasticism, because he was desirous of founding a monastery in his own diocese. The work on the Institutes was written and dedicated before A.D. 426, when Bishop Castor died. Cassian then decided to write his work on the *Conferences*, *i.e.* the interviews he had with the Egyptian abbots, and the remarks they made on questions of morality and monastic discipline. The first part of this second work, *i.e. Conferences*, i.-x., was not completed until after A.D. 426, and was, therefore, dedicated to Leontius, bishop of Fréjus, and frater Helladius, since Bishop Castor was now dead.[5] The second part was dedicated

[1] Cf. Sôzomen, viii. 26, where we have Pope Innocent's reply to this letter of the clergy of Constantinople which Cassian had brought him.

[2] Cf. Gennadius *ut supra*: "et ad extremum rogatus a Leone archidiacono postea urbis Romae episcopo scripsit adversum Nestorem De Incarnatione Domini libros septem."

[3] Sôzomen, ix. 9. Orosius tells us, vii. 39, that Innocent had also taken refuge at Ravenna.

[4] Cf. preface to the *Institutes*.

[5] Cf. preface to *Conferences*, part i. books i.-x.

to Honoratus as bishop of Arles, and Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, and must therefore have been completed between the years A.D. 426-429, since Honoratus died in that year.[1] The third part, which contains the *Conferences* in books xviii.-xxiv., is dedicated to brothers Jovinian, Minervus, Leontius, and Theodore. The earlier work, the *Institutes*, deals first with the ordering of Coenobites, and then with the eight principal faults against which a monk had to contend. The *Institutes of Coenobites* comprises four books, and deals with the dress of monks, the canonical system of nocturnal and diurnal prayers and psalm-saying, and with the question of the trial and training of postulants, and the case of those who would renounce their vows. In the eight remaining books Cassian deals with the temptations which especially assail a monk in his solitude—the spirit of gluttony, the spirit of fornication, the spirit of covetousness, the spirit of anger, the spirit of dejection, the spirit of accedie or weariness of heart, the spirit of vainglory, and the spirit of pride. In his preface he relates how he had written the work at the request of Bishop Castor, who was then planning to build[2] "a true and reasonable Temple of God," and wished to know of the Institutions in the East, and especially of the monasteries in Egypt, and he had written the accounts of holy men in simple language, so that they might be read to the monks in the new monastery. St. Basil and S. Jerome had already put forth books of this sort, and that encouraged him in his task. When, however, he found anything in the rules of the Egyptian monks which could not be transferred to Gaul because of the severity of the climate or the difference of habits of the people, he has put in its place some of the customs of the monks of Pontus or of Mesopotamia.

The *Conferences*, as we have said, came as an after-

[1] Cf. Hilary of Arles' *Sermon on Honoratus*, Migne, *P.L.* vol. l. col. 1265.

[2] Cf. preface to *Institutes*: "verum ac rationabile Deo templum non lapidibus insensibilibus sed sanctorum virorum congregatione."

thought. Cassian seems to have mentioned the idea to Bishop Castor, but he was dead before the idea was carried out. The work consists of a series, in twenty-four books, of conversations or conferences with the most influential of the abbots of Egypt, and the arrangement of the books is according to a purpose that as one read them he might rise from that which is visible and concerns the external mode of life, to that which is invisible and concerns the life of the inner man, and also from the thought of the system of canonical prayers and psalm-saying to a life of unceasing prayer and praise. He held conferences with fourteen abbots, and he gives us the substance of three interviews he had with each of three of these. The abbots are Moses, Daniel, Abraham, Paphnutius, Piamum, Pinifius, Nesteros, Joseph, Isaac, John, Thomas, Serapion, Serenius, and Choeremon.

The work of Cassian[1] immediately won approval, and the demand for copies made it all the more necessary that it should be strictly orthodox. There were, however, in the Church of Gaul men who perceived in this work a tendency towards Pelagianism, and Prosper of Aquitaine[2] appealed to Pope Coelestine against it, and obtained from him a letter in A.D. 431 to the bishops of South Gaul, Venerius, Marinus, Leontius, Auxonius, and Arcadius, ordering them to prohibit priests in their diocese from discussing undecided articles of doctrine, and from preaching against the truth. The *Institutes* and *Conferences*, however, had already become so popular that they could not be suppressed. Bishop Eucherius, the friend of Cassian, issued an *Epitome of the Institutes*,[3] softening down the statements which seemed to tend towards Pelagianism. Expurgated editions were also put forth by an African bishop named Victor,[4] and by Cassiodorus,[5]

[1] As is proved by the three parts of the *Collations*, arising as they did from renewed demands for more.

[2] Cf. St. Augustine, *Epp.* ccxxv., ccxxvi.

[3] Cf. Migne, *P.L.* vol. l. § 867.

[4] This no longer exists, but we owe our knowledge of it to Cassiodorus.

[5] Cassiod. *De inst. Script.* or *De divinis lectionibus*, c. xxix.

the founder of the monastery at Squillace, and Dionysius, the famous Carthusian, a thousand years afterwards issued another edition for the use of the members of his order.[1] In the 42nd of the Rules of St. Benedict, written about fifty years afterwards, the great abbot of Monte Cassino [2] ordered that after supper the brethren were to assemble together, and one of them should read to the others the *Conferences* or *The Lives of the Fathers—et legat unus Collationes vel Vitas Patrum.*

Thus was monasticism rooted in Gaul, and the teaching and influence of St. Martin, St. Honoratus, and John Cassian bore fruit in later times, and St. Benedict of Aniane,[3] more than three hundred years after, testified to the wisdom of the Gallican abbots who had gone before him.

[1] Cf. Gazet's ed. of Cassian, A.D. 1616, who gives the Catholic doctrine substituted by Dionysius for Cassian's 22nd Conference.

[2] Rule of St. Benedict, Migne, *P.L.* vol. lxvi. col. 674, Rule 42.

[3] Cf. Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, Migne, *P.L.* vol. ciii., who quotes from the *Institutes*, ii. iii. and iv., as from a Regula Cassiani.

CHAPTER XI

GAUL IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

THE Emperor Honorius had been on the throne for nearly six years when the fifth century of the Christian era began. In Italy, the Vandal Stilicho, prime minister, generalissimo, and father-in-law to the emperor, was enjoying the honours of his first consulship. But events were occurring that must have filled him with anxiety. In the north of Italy alarm was felt on account of the approach of the Visigoths. Alaric and his warriors had already passed through Illyricum and were about to enter Italy, and the presence in his camp of the wives and children of his soldiers was a clear indication of his intention to settle there. In A.D. 399 the emperor had been much at Ravenna,[1] but the winter he spent at Milan, and was still there when the century began. In Gaul, on the contrary, there was peace and comparative prosperity. Literature flourished at Bordeaux[2] and Arles, and the organisation of the Church was in process of steady development. The country was rich, and the size and luxury of the houses of the nobles showed what resources it possessed if only peace was assured. But the wealth of the country was in the hands of the few, and the peasantry was burdened with

[1] The laws issued on Feb. 16, 399, and during the greater part of the summer are dated from Milan and from Verona and Padua. The emperor returned to Milan for the winter. Haenel's *Cod. Theod.* vol ii., and Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.* v. 509.

[2] It was the age which Ausonius celebrates in his *Commemoratio proff. Burdigal.* p. 48 in Peiper's edition. Cf. also the letters of Paulinus of Nola to Delphinus and Amandus of Bordeaux, Migne, *P.L.* vol. lxi. Paulinus was educated at Bordeaux.

taxation from which the richer classes had largely obtained exemption. To remedy this acknowledged evil, Honorius, on 19th June 400, issued a law[1] to abolish many of these privileges of exemption, and ordained that all alike should contribute to the imperial taxes in proportion to the lands which they possessed. On the banks of the Rhine the Germanic tribes had been fairly quiet, and in A.D. 402, and doubtless because the peril which threatened Italy demanded a greater concentration of the Imperial forces, the seat of the prefect of Gaul was removed from Trier and placed at Arles.[2] Vincentius, who had been consul in A.D. 401, and whose uprightness and friendship with St. Martin Sulpicius Severus[3] applauds, had succeeded Theodorus[4] as prefect, and remained in that post for the five following years.

Barbarian Invasion of Gaul.

On New Year's Eve A.D. 406,[5] the brief interval of peace which Gaul had enjoyed suddenly came to an end. An enormous army of Vandals, Alans, and Sueves, including among their hosts various bands of Heruli, Gepidae, Sarmatae, and Quadi,[6] crossed the Rhine and began the invasion of Gaul. A new era had

[1] Rescript of Honorius, A.D. 400, to Vincentius, prefect of Gaul—on the cities which were bereft of *decuriones* who were deserting the towns and fleeing for safety into the woods. *Cod. Theod.* etc. "De his qui propr. condit. reliquerint."

[2] It was either at the very end of the fourth or the very beginning of the fifth century that Arles took the place of Trier as the official residence of the prefect of Gaul. The edict of Honorius is given us in Cassiod. *Var.* viii. 10. The prefecture comprised the three vicariates of Spain, Gaul, and Britain. In Gaul the vicariate had been for some time divided into two, north and south, and in these two vicariates there were seventeen provinces which ranked as consular or non-consular. The consular provinces were ruled by a *vir consularis*; the non-consular provinces by an officer who held the title of *praeses*, *rector*, or *judex*. The head military officer in each vicariate held the title of *comes*, he was the *magister rerum militarium*. There were six consular provinces and eleven non-consular.

[3] Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* i. 25. 6 "memini Vincentium praefectum, virum egregium."

[4] For Theodorus cf. Claudian's poem *De consulatu M. Theodori*, and see also Tillemont's note, *Hist. des emp.* v. 796.

[5] Prosper, *Chron.* 406 "Vandali et Alani Gallias trajecto Rheno prid. Kal. Jan. ingressi."

[6] Cf. Jerome's letter to Ageruchia, No. cxxiii. Migne, *P.L.* "praesentium miserarum pauca percurram . . . quicquid inter Alpes et Pyrenaeum est quod Oceano et Rheno includitur, Quadus, Wandalus, Sarmata, Halani, Gipedes, Heruli, Saxona, Burgundiones, Alemani."

commenced. The Gaul of previous centuries rapidly passed away, and the foundations of new institutions were laid on which a fresh and altered national life was afterwards to be established. But the new era had to pass through bitter throes of intense misery and suffering. The invaders were barbarians, and the devastation which these hordes created was greater than any that had yet fallen on Italy. Mainz, Worms, Speyer, and Strasburg, on the left bank of the Rhine, were the first to fall, and soon after Terouanne, Trier, Rheims, Arras, and Amiens were in like manner burnt to the ground.[1] The two Germaniae and the two Belgicae were occupied in the earlier part of the year 407, and in a very short time the invaders reached the Loire.

Revolt of Constantine.

In the spring of that same year[2] yet another storm burst upon the country. The soldiers in Britain were in apparent agreement with the soldiers on the north-east of Gaul in resenting the withdrawal of the head-quarters of the army from Trier to Arles. They seemed to have been left to their fate, and were determined to make a stand in self-defence. Having murdered two rival emperors, Marcus and Gratian,[3] whom they had first of all proclaimed as Augusti, the soldiers in Britain elected as their emperor one of their number whose chief qualification seems to have been that his name was Constantine.[4] But no revolution in Britain alone could ever be successful over the western empire, and Constantine at once took steps to assert his new authority over Gaul also. Taking with him the remaining legions that were in the island he landed near Boulogne, and seems to have met almost at once with the Vandal and Alan invaders, for his progress was

[1] Jerome's letter to Ageruchia, No. cxxiii. "Moguntiacum, Vangiones, longa obsidione deleti, Remorum urbs praepotens, Ambiani, Attrebates, extremique hominum Morini, Tornacum, Nemetae, Agentoratus." Cf. Salvian, *De gub. Dei*, vi. 15.

[2] Olympiodoros, p. 451; Prosper, *Chron.*, A.D. 407, "Constantinus ex infima militia . . . in Brittannia tyrannus exoritur"; Zosimus, v. 27; Orosius, vii. 40.

[3] Zosimus, vi. 3; Orosius, vii. 40 "apud Britannias Gratianus municeps ejusdem insulae tyrannus creatur et occiditur." He does not mention Marcus. But cf. Olympiodoros, p. 451.

[4] Olymp. as above.

marked as he advanced towards Trier and towards Lyons with severe fighting.[1] Trier offered no resistance[2] and was largely desolate and in ruins, and towards the end of the year, with the capture of Arles, he found himself the master of Gaul.[3] The generals who commanded his forces were Justinian and Nebiogast,[4] and his army was probably increased by those isolated garrisons which had escaped the fury of the Vandals and their allies. The result of his revolt and his capture of all the eastern portion of Gaul was practically to leave the western province a prey to the barbarians, and the fact that Constantine's battles in Gaul had hitherto been only with the Vandals and Alans seems to show that Gaul had already been denuded of its protectors for the sake of Italy. At Arles, however, he had to turn his attention to the movements of Honorius and of those whom he should send to vindicate his authority. Under the direction of Stilicho, Honorius sent an army from Italy, of which Sarus, a Goth, was in command.[5] Constantine was at Valence[6] when the imperial troops entered Gaul, and Sarus immediately laid siege to that town, and owing to the defection of Nebiogast[7] the fortunes of Constantine were for a time very critical. He had dismissed his generals Justinian and Nebiogast and replaced them with Edobich and Gerontius,[8] an act which suggests a check as well as treachery. Under these new commanders, however, his fortune revived. Sarus was not only driven off from Valence, but was compelled to retreat to Italy, and was harassed on his way by the forces of Constantine. During the year A.D. 408 all went well with the usurper. To protect

[1] Zosimus, vi. 3.

[2] Salvian as above, and Jahn, *Geschichte der Burgundionen*, i. 288.

[3] Olympiodorus as above: *ὅλον τὸν Γάλλον καὶ Ἀκύτανον στρατιώτην ἰδιοποιησάμενος.*

[4] Zosimus, vi. 2.

[5] *Ibid.* v. 30 and vi. 2.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] This narrative all comes from Zosimus, vi. 2.

[8] *Ibid.* *Ἐδόβιγχον Φράγκον ὄντα τὸ γένος, Γερόντιον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Βρεττανίας ὁρμώμενον.*

himself he fortified the passes of the Alps[1] which led into Italy, and Spain at once submitted to the army of Gerontius. With the latter he had sent his son Constans,[2] and Apollinaris, the grandfather of the more famous Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, accompanied him as chief civil officer. Orosius[3] refers to Constans as having been a monk before he became Caesar, but this is difficult to realise if, at least, Constans had come with his father from Britain.

Towards the end of this year Constans returned to Arles, having left Gerontius in chief command at Zaragossa,[4] and in the spring of 409 it certainly looked as if the revolt of Constantine would be successful. He had applied to Honorius for his recognition of that which had already taken place in the west, and Honorius not only acknowledged him as Augustus, but sent for his acceptance an imperial purple robe.[5] Then when Constantine heard how Honorius was being pressed by the Visigoths he began a march towards Ravenna[6] for his protection, but hearing of the murder of Allobich,[7] one of Honorius's generals, he turned back, and from that moment his fortunes seemed to wane. In the late autumn he sent Constans again to Spain, and with him a general Justus[8] to replace the hitherto faithful Gerontius, and the indignity thus put upon him drove Gerontius naturally into rebellion.[9] He made a treaty of peace with the Vandals in Spain, and set up there a new emperor in the person of a soldier, Maximus,[10] and soon after marched into Gaul to attack

[1] Olympiodoros as above ; Sôzomen, ix. 11.

[2] Zosimus, vi. 5 ; Orosius, vii. 40 ; Sid. Apol. v. 9.

[3] Orosius as above : "adversus hos Constantinus Constantem filium suum pro dolor ! ex monacho Caesarem factum . . . in Hispaniam misit." How did this story arise ? Monasticism can hardly have reached Britain as early as A.D. 407.

[4] Cf. Frigeridus, quoted by Gregory of Tours, *H. F.* ii. 9.

[5] Olympiodoros, p. 450 ; Zosimus, v. 43 *ἐκπέμπει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα.*

[6] Sôzomen, ix. 12.

[7] Olympiodoros, p. 452.

[8] Zosimus, vi. 5 *Ἰοῦστον ἐπαγόμενος στρατηγόν.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Olympiodoros, p. 453.

Constantine, driving his son Constans before him. Constantine during the year A.D. 410 seems to have been at Arles, and for a time Constans remained at Narbonne.[1] To procure troops to withstand the attack of Gerontius, Constantine sent off Edobich to the Franks and Alemans[2] on the banks of the Rhine, and Constans moved to Vienne to await their arrival.[3] Gerontius during the second half of this year was certainly master of the situation, and Constantine and Constans were practically shut up in Vienne and Arles. Then in the early days of A.D. 411, or perhaps at the end of 410, Constans fell into the hands of Gerontius and was put to death.[4] Meanwhile the imperial forces, led by Constantius, the future patrician, and Wulfilas, again set out for Gaul[5] and found Gerontius besieging Constantine in Arles. His troops, however, proved unfaithful. As Constantius drew near they went over to him,[6] and Gerontius had to flee for safety to Spain. Then the siege of Arles continued, carried on no longer under the direction of Gerontius, but now in the name and by the soldiers of Honorius.[7] In the fourth month of the siege, A.D. 411, Edobich drew near to Arles,[8] bringing with him the Frankish warriors he had gone to collect for Constantine. In the neighbourhood of Arles they were attacked and utterly defeated[9] by Wulfilas, the general of Honorius, and the overthrow of Edobich was followed almost immediately by the surrender of Arles. Constantine took refuge in a

[1] Greg. T. ii. 9, and Sôzomen, ix. 13. Constans seems to have gone on to Vienne from Narbonne almost immediately.

[2] Sôzomen, ix. 13 Φράγκων τε καὶ Ἀλαμανῶν συμμαχίαν προτρεψόμενον. Cf. Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule mérid.* i. 101 and Freeman, *Western Europe in the Vth Century*, note on p. 104, to whom and to Fauriel I am indebted for most of this story of Constantine.

[3] Sôzomen as above.

[4] Orosius, vii. 42 "Constantem filium Constantini Gerontius comes suus apud Viennam interfecit."

[5] Olymp. p. 453.

[6] Sôzomen as above.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Sôzomen, ix. 14 ἀγγελθέντος Ἐδοβίχου μετὰ πλείστης συμμαχίας ἥξειν.

[9] *Ibid.*

church, and sought to escape death by ordination.[1] He was, however, sent as a prisoner to Ravenna and beheaded shortly before he reached it.[2] Thus a revolution which for three years had severed the prefecture of Gaul, the then dioceses of Britain, Gaul, and Spain from the Western Empire, was at last put down, and the authority of Honorius was recognised once more in the provinces of Narbonne. What in the meantime had been the fate of the rest of Gaul? When in 407 Constantine marched south through the Belgic provinces he met and had to contend with the invading Vandals, Alans, and Sueves. They were apparently moving south-west, and though they may have been driven off by the soldiers which Constantine had brought from Britain, they were only for a brief interval disturbed in their terrible work of plunder and devastation. We have already seen in the destruction of so many important cities what ruin they had spread in the N.E. of Gaul. The cities which the usurper Constantine entered in the spring of that year could have only consisted of the ruins of a former splendour now blackened by the fires of the Vandals.

St. Patrick testifies to the ruin of Gaul.

As these barbarians advanced westward the same terrible work was continued, and the absence of all records of that period for these years proves the thoroughness of the destruction which the invaders accomplished. During the months of September and October A.D. 409, the invaders passed on into Spain,[3] and central Gaul was left, after two and a half years of plunder, waste and desolate, and wellnigh ruined. In A.D. 411 a fugitive from Ireland[4] landed at the mouth of the Loire, and endeavoured to make his way through

[1] Sôzomen, cap. 15. [2] Olympiodoros, p. 454.

[3] Prosper, *Chron.* sub anno 409 "Vandali Hispanias occupaverunt." Idatius, *Chron.* adds Alans and Sueves. Orosius indefinitely says (vii. 40) "Gallias invadunt, directoque impetu Pyrenaeum usque perveniunt."

[4] Cf. Dr. White's *Latin Writings of St. Patrick*, Confessio, p. 240 "et post triduum terram caepimus et xxviii. dies per desertum iter fecimus et cibus defuit illis et fames invaluit super eos"; also Prof. Bury's *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 35, and Appendix 6, p. 338.

Aquitaine towards Italy. It was the future apostle of Ireland, St. Patrick, and in that strange piece of autobiography known as his *Confession* he described the land he traversed as completely desolate. For nine days they wandered across the country unable to obtain any means of subsistence,[1] and before they came to human dwellings, and during his four weeks of travel, he seems only once to have met[2] with any remnant of civilisation. In a fragment of a letter of St. Paulinus of Nola[3] written about the same time, *i.e.* A.D. 411, he bemoans the evils which had fallen on Gaul, and admires the patience and fortitude of the bishops who had faced the invasion. The bishops he refers to were those of the cities of Toulouse, Vienna, Bordeaux, Albi, Angoulême, Clermont, Cahors and Périgueux. Exuperius of Toulouse[4] seems to have done more than show his Christian fortitude. He is said to have forewarned his fellow-citizens and urged upon them measures of self-defence, and the fact that the city seems to have been spared, or at any rate treated less cruelly than others, was due either to the courage to resist with which he had imbued the citizens, or to the proximity of Toulouse to Narbonne and the soldiers of the army of Gerontius. Jerome in his letter to Ageruchia[5] briefly refers to the misery which prevailed in Gaul, and regards the ruin as extending from the Pyrenees to the Alps, and from the ocean to the Rhine. His words are useful as evidence how the appalling calamity in Gaul had become the talk of the world. In Aquitaine,[6] he says, in the four

[1] Cf. Dr. White as above, § 19, p. 240 "nos a fame periclitamur," and § 22.

[2] *Ibid.* "difficile est enim unquam ut aliquem hominem videamus."

[3] Migne, *P. L.* vol. lxi. Ep. 48, p. 398 "utcumque se habent saeculi mala videbis profecto dignissimos totius fidei religionisque custodes." This letter is referred to by Gregory, *H. F.* ii. 13. The reference in this letter is to the evils that had happened in Aquitaine previous to the Visigothic invasion.

[4] *Ibid.* and Jerome's letter to Furia, the daughter-in-law of Probus, who was consul, A.D. 406: "habes sanctum Exuperium."

[5] Jerome's letter to Ageruchia: "Aquitania, Novemque populorum, Lugdinensis et Narbonensis provinciae, praeter paucas urbes populata sunt cuncta . . non possum absque lachrymis Tolosae facere mentionem quae ut hucusque non rueret sancti Exuperii merita praestiterunt."

[6] *Ibid.*

Lugdunensian provinces and in the two of Narbonne there were but a few cities left with inhabitants. As for Toulouse, he cannot mention it without weeping. The virtues of Exuperius had been conspicuous,[1] and whether or not the city had fallen, Jerome regarded the bishop as dwelling in the vale of tears. Two poems, which were evidently written but a few years afterwards, and which are assigned to Prosper of Aquitaine, tell us of the suffering and the severity of the calamity[2] which had fallen on Gaul. If all the ocean[3] should pour itself upon the fields of Gaul, yet the destructive waves would spare more than had the barbarian invaders. A little later the Bishop of Auch, Orientius,[4] writing of this period and of the terror which the invasion had created, remarked that all Gaul smoked like a funeral pyre, nor

[1] Jerome addressed his commentary on Zechariah to Exuperius, and in the preface says, "gavisus sum esse te sospitem . . audio te in valle lachrymarum in loco quem Deus posuit ad certamen."

[2] Prosper of Aquitaine, Migne, *P. L.* vol. li. p. 612 Poëma conjugis ad uxorem :

"non metuo exsilium ; mundus domus omnibus una est.
Sperno famem ; Domini fit mihi sermo cibus."

[3] *Ibid.* p. 616 :

"si totus Gallos sese effudisset in agros
Oceanus, vastis plus superesset aquis
quod sane desunt pecudes, quod semina frugum ;"

and further on :

"caede decenni
Vandaliciis gladiis sternimur et Geticis."

[4] Orientius is edited by Prof. R. Ellis in vol. xvi. of the Vienna *Corpus* among "Poëtae Christiani minores." Cf. *Commonitorium*, ii. line 169 :

"non castella locis, non tutae moenibus urbes,
invia non pelago tristia non heremo,
non cava, non etiam nudis sub rupibus antra
ludere barbaricas praevaluere manus."

I have accepted Prof. Bury's suggestion, and read *nudis* for *tetricis*. Cf. also line 183 :

"incendia luctus
uno fumavit Gallia tota rogo."

The reader should also compare Salvian, *De gub. Dei*. He wrote his book at Marseilles some few years later, and when it had become possible to sum up the awfulness of the desolation and suffering created by the invasion : vii. 12 "gens ignavissima de loco ad locum pergens, de urbe in urbem transiens" (he is referring to the Vandals) "universa vastaret . . arsit regio Belgarum, deinde opes Aquitanorum luxuriantium et post haec corpus omnium Galliarum." Orosius (vii. 38 and 40) refers to the Vandals as "per Gallias debacchantibus."

were the castles by their lofty sites or the cities by their strong walls able to protect the inhabitants from the swords of the Vandal foe.

The storm, however, as we have already shown, ceased in the autumn of 409, when the Vandals and their allies passed into Spain and Aquitaine, and the Lyons provinces had a brief respite from suffering and invasion. But now it was to be the fate of the Narbonne and Vienne provinces to experience some of the horror which their neighbours had endured. The Visigoths, who in A.D. 410 had captured Rome, were now under the leadership of Atawulf, the successor of Alaric. He was desirous to find a settlement for his followers, and he had set his heart on a marriage with Galla Placidia, the sister of the emperor, and was therefore anxious to win the consent of Honorius. She had fallen into his hands amid the spoils of war, and was now in honourable captivity in his camp. The Visigoth, therefore, determined to spare Italy and to move on into southern Gaul.[1] So in A.D. 412 the Visigoths entered Gaul and captured Valence in 413,[2] and in it a new usurper Jovinus, and having failed in an attempt on Marseilles,[3] settled down the same year at Narbonne.[4] There in January 414 Atawulf married his captive princess Placidia,[5] and in consequence incurred the implacable hostility of the patrician Constantius to whom Honorius had promised her. The Visigoths realised the situation, and since there could be no stable peace between them and the emperor, began to treat Narbonne as a conquered province. Toulouse was captured by force of arms and Bordeaux[6] was occupied

[1] Prosper, *Chron.* "Gothi rege Athaulpho Gallias ingressi."

[2] Prosper Tiro (Migne, *P. L.* vol. li. p. 859) "Valentia nobilissima Galliarum civitas a Gothis effringitur ad quam se fugiens Jovinus contulerat."

[3] Olympiodoros, p. 457. The attempt was defeated by Count Boniface.

[4] Idatius, *Chron.* "Gothi Narbonam ingressi vindemiae tempore."

[5] *Ibid.* "Ataulfus apud Narbonam Placidiam duxit uxorem," and Olympiodoros, p. 459.

[6] Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu suo*, l. 495, and the capture of Bordeaux comes from Paulinus of Pella' *Eucharisticos*, l. 311 :

under threat of it, and some of the suffering which the inhabitants had to endure was probably due to the resentment of the Visigoths at the treatment they had received from the emperor. Meanwhile Constantius was preparing his plans, and in A.D. 415, during the siege of Bazas by the Visigoths, he captured Narbonne,[1] and compelled them to withdraw from Bazas and retreat into Spain, and in revenge the Visigoths burnt Bordeaux.[2]

We cannot, however, leave the story of the Visigoths, because they had so much influence on the history of the Church in this century in Gaul. Soon after their entry into Barcelona, Atawulf was murdered,[3] and his ultimate successor, Wallia, began negotiations for peace with Honorius by the offer to surrender Placidia to the emperor,[4] and in A.D. 418 Constantius and Honorius made peace with Wallia, and formally handed over to them the earlier Aquitaine and Novempopulania, *i.e.* the land between the Garonne and the Pyrenees.[5] So in 418 the Visigoths under Wallia returned to Gaul, and the kingdoms which Wallia founded lasted for nearly a hundred years.[6] The Kingdom of Gothia.

The capital of this new kingdom was the city of Toulouse,[7] though Bordeaux seems also to have enjoyed almost equal rank. At first there was peace between the Visigoths and the empire, but very soon, either

> "namque profecturi regis precepto Atiulfi
> nostra ex urbe Gothi fuerant qui in pace recepti
> non aliter nobis quam belli jure subactis
> aspera quaeque omni urbe inrogavere cremata."

[1] Orosius, vii. 43 "Gothos Narbona expulit (Constantius) atque abire in Hispaniam coegit."

[2] Paulinus as above.

[3] Idatius, *Chron.* "Ataulfus . . . per quemdam Gothum apud Barcinonam inter familiares fabulas jugulatur."

[4] Prosper, "Wallia pacem Honorii expetens reddit (Placidiam) ejusque nuptial Constantius promeretur."

[5] Prosper, *Chron.* A.D. 419 "Constantius patricius pacem firmat cum Wallia data ei ad habitandum secunda Aquitania et quibusdam civitatibus confinium provinciarum." Cf. Tiro, "Aquitania Gothis tradita."

[6] Idatius, *Chron.* "Gothi . . . sedes in Aquitanica a Tolosa usque ad Oceanum acceperunt." Alaric II.'s defeat at Vouglé was in the summer of A.D. 507.

[7] Paulinus, *Eucharist.* line 44, and Jordanis, *Getica*, c. 33.

through need of room or from national ambition, we find the Visigoths pushing southward,[1] desirous of the province between the Cevennes and the Mediterranean with its capital Narbonne. In A.D. 426 they endeavoured to capture Arles, when the patrician Aetius inflicted a severe defeat on them,[2] and in A.D. 436 they besieged Narbonne and were again defeated by Aetius.[3] A little later, in 438, the Roman general Litorius, the Comes of Narbonensis II.,[4] made an attempt to capture Toulouse, but was signally defeated by Theodoric, and in A.D. 440 peace was made on terms which seem to have given official recognition to all which the Visigoths had hitherto won on the southern side of the Cevennes.[5] For eleven years this peace was maintained, and we hear little about the Visigoths, who seem to have been occupied in the settlement of their new home.

The Invasion of the Huns.

Then occurred the celebrated invasion of Gaul by Attila the Hun. With an immense army, made more formidable by the instinctive horror the Gallo-Roman seems to have felt for them, Attila crossed the Rhine near Worms, and pushing across to the Mosel, captured Metz on April 6, 451.[6] Here he massacred all the inhabitants and burnt the city, St. Stephen's Chapel alone escaping from the flames.[7] Then he marched on Paris and the Seine, and for some reason, which the piety of after generations assigned to the prayers of St. Geneviève, he turned aside and moved towards Orleans, and early in June began an attack on it. It is uncertain

[1] Idatius, "Narbona obsideri coepta per Gothos."

[2] Prosper, *Chron.*, A.D. 426, "Arelas . . . a Gothis multa vi oppugnatum est donec imminente Aetio non impuniti discederent."

[3] Idatius, "Narbona obsidione liberatur Aetio duce et magistro militum."

[4] *Idem*, "Litorius dux inconsultius cum auxiliari Hunnorum manu irruens, caesis his, . . . vulneratus . . . et post dies paucos occiditur."

[5] *Idem*, "Inter Romanos et Gothos pax efficitur." Prosper adds, "humilius quam unquam antea poposcissent." Narbonne, however, did not become a Gothic town again until A.D. 470, when Agrippinus Gallus betrayed the city to the Goths. He was, as *Comes*, the rival of Aegidius, and hoped by this treachery to gain support from Theodoric.

[6] Prosper, *Chron.* "Hunni cum transito Rhino saevissimos ejus impetus multae Gallicanae urbes experirentur." Greg. Tur. *H. F.* ii. 5 "Chuni . . . in ipsa sancti Paschae vigilia ad Mettensem urbem . . . perveniunt."

[7] *Ibid.* "nec remansit in ea locus inustus praeter oratorium beati Stephani."

whether any part of the town was captured.[1] The city marks the limits of his advance, and the news he then heard made him retire on Châlons and the Mauriac plains. St. Aignan, the bishop of Orleans,[2] had gone on the approach of Attila to demand immediate help from Aetius, and the diplomacy of the patrician made a united resistance possible. Taking with him from Arles all the forces of the empire, he summoned to his assistance Theodoric and the Visigoths, and Gundiok and Hilperik, with their Burgundians.[3] It was the combined force of Roman legionaries and Visigoth and Burgundian warriors which prompted Attila to retire. The allies came up with Attila on the *Campus Mauriacus*[4] between Troyes and Châlons, and here for three days he fought desperately.[5] The battle certainly went against him, but the loss on all sides was very great and neither army

[1] Prosper, *Chron.* cap. 7 "Aurelianis aggreditur, eamque maximo arietum impulsu nititur expugnare."

[2] Cf. *Vita Aniani* in Krusch, *Vitae sanctorum* (*Script. rer. Merov.* iii. p. 108). There are some interesting details in the life of St. Lupus of Troyes, and of St. Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris, of whom there is an uncritical but attractive life by L. Roger, *Une Héroïne française*, 1890, and another in Lecoffre's *Les Saints*. Compare also Paulus Diac. *De gestis episcop. Mettensium*. An Alan king, Sangiban, had promised to deliver Orleans to Attila (Jordanes, *De orig. Getarum*, cap. xii.). Sidonius promised, but unfortunately had not leisure, to write the story of the siege of Orleans, *Ep.* viii. 15. Cf. also Thierry's *Histoire d'Attila*, i. 162.

[3] There seems to have been some grudge felt by the Visigoths against the Huns. Rotherius and Jordanes ascribe two expeditions of Attila, one which ended in the Plain of Châlons, and the other, when the Huns were said to have pushed the Visigoths to the Spanish border and destroyed Agde: cf. Fauriel, i. p. 535; Greg. Tur. *H. F.* ii. 7 "igitur Aetius cum Gothis Francisque conjunctus adversus Attilanem confligit." Sokrates (vii. 30) and Orosius (vii. 32) record a slaughter of the Huns by the Burgundians at a time when the Huns had lost Optar their leader and were at a disadvantage.

[4] The *Campus Mauriacus* of Gregory of Tours, *H. F.* ii. 7, has been identified with Méry-sur-Seine and by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Biblio. de l'École des Chartes*, xxi. 370-373), with Moirey in Dept. Aub., arrondissement de Nogent. Mr. Hodgkins, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. ii. p. 160, discusses these sites, and gives us as usual much valuable information on the geographical character of the district between Troyes and Châlons-sur-Marne. He considers that the battle was fought at Méry-sur-Seine, but Longnon, *Géog. de la Gaule au VI^e siècle*, pp. 334-40, gives us at length the difficulties which arise in reference to either identification. The Continuator of Prosper creates a difficulty by saying that it was at the fifth milestone from Troyes, *in quinto milliario de Trecate*; Méry-sur-Seine is twenty miles from Troyes. Jornandes' description of the Catalaunian Plains would cover the whole space of the ancient province of Champagne. Cf. also M. A. de Barthélemy's "La Campagne d'Attila" in *Revue des Q. H.* viii. p. 337.

[5] Prosper, *Chron.* "in quo conflictu quamvis neutris cedentibus inaestimabiles strages commorientium factae sint."

could claim a signal victory. Attila, however, retired across the Rhine to try his fortune at a later time in Italy, and the peril which had threatened Gaul was happily averted. Among the slain was Theodoric, the Visigothic king, and in his place the Visigoths elected Thorismund, who two years after was slain by his brother Theodoric.[1] The alliance with the empire tended for peace, and the condition of affairs within was such as made it impossible to check him. In A.D. 456 we find that Theodoric II. had advanced to the valley of the Rhone[2] and threatened Lyons, while other portions of the Visigothic army had crossed the Loire and attempted the capture of Orleans.[3] But local resistance, aided by the imperial forces in Gaul, was able to thwart him, and immediately after, in alliance with the Burgundians, he invaded Spain[4] and brought the Sueves of the north-west into subjection.

On the death of Valentinian III., who was murdered by[5] Maximus on March 16, 445, Avitus, a wealthy Gallo-Roman who had been chief civil officer to the usurper Constantine, was, on July 10, 455,[6] proclaimed as emperor at Toulouse and at Arles. The act was that of the Roman soldiers in Gaul, but it was certainly done with the connivance of Theodoric, who doubtless hoped to gain from an emperor whom he had placed under such an obligation. Unfortunately for the Visigoth, Avitus was deposed and murdered in the autumn of the following year,[7] and though Theodoric began to act

[1] G. T. *H. F.* ii. 7 Prosper in anno 453.

[2] Jordanis, *De r. G.* cap. 47 "Euricus . . . Romani regni vacillationem cernens . . ." Cf. Victor Tunnensis, *Chron.*, sub anno 471.

[3] Sid. Apollin. *Ep.* iii. 9; Jordanes, *De rebus Get.* cap. 45.

[4] Idat. *Chron.* The expedition was "cum voluntate et ordinatione Aviti imperatoris." Cf. Binding, *Das burgundisch-romanische Königreich*, p. 54.

[5] Prosper, *Chron.*, sub anno 455.

[6] Idatius, *Chron.* iv. of Marcian, "Avitus Gallus ab exercitu Gallicano et ab honoratis primum Tolosae dehinc apud Arelatum Augustus appellatus." The event at Toulouse could hardly have occurred without the knowledge and connivance of Theodoric.

[7] *Ibid.* "Avitus tertio anno postea quam a Gallis et a Gothis factus fuerat imperator caret imperio, Gothorum promisso destitutus auxilio, caret et vita." Cf. Marius of Avenches, *Chron.* "dejectus est Avitus imperator a Majoriano."

independently, advancing the boundaries of his kingdoms into the Roman provinces of Gaul,[1] he found himself at once engaged in hostilities with the soldiers who acknowledged the Emperor Majorian. Peace was declared in 459,[2] but it was a hollow one, for Theodoric continued to advance southward, and soon after his occupation of the province of Narbonensis II. was formally recognised by the empire.[3]

Theodoric died in A.D. 466, and was succeeded by his still more ambitious son Euric, and during the years 468 and 469,[4] and largely through the treachery of Arvandus, the Comes of Aquitaine II., Euric made himself master of Berry[5] and the north-eastern corner of Aquitaine, the portion bounded by the river Loire. The next year he made an unsuccessful attack on Angers,[6] and began an advance into Auvergne. In A.D. 471 there was continual fighting between the Visigoths and the Arvernians, and within twelve months, not only had Euric captured all Auvergne,[7] with the exception of Bourges and Clermont, but in the far south had made himself master of Nîmes.[8] In this year he received, too, an addition to his fighting force in the arrival of Vidomir the Ostrogoth,[9] who, on the advice of the Burgundian-nominated Emperor Glycerius, had gone with his warriors to settle in Gaul. In A.D. 474 all Auvergne[10] had been conquered, and Ecdicius, the patriot who had represented the power of Rome, and Sidonius, the Gallo-Roman bishop of Clermont, paid for the resistance they had organised by a period of exile,[7] and peace was soon after proclaimed on the basis of the recognition by the Emperor Julius Nepos

[1] Anonymus Cuspiniani, sub anno 456.

[2] Idatius, *Chron.* "nuntiantes Majorianum Augustum et Theudoricum regem firmissimae inter se pacis jura sanxisse."

[3] *Ibid.* sub anno 470. There had been continuous war from the date of Count Agrippinus' treachery at Narbonne to the attack on Arles which Algidius had so strenuously resisted, cf. Prisci *Excerpta*, p. 230.

[4] Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* i. 7; cf. Fauriel, i. p. 308.

[5] Greg. Tur. *H. F.* ii. 18.

[6] *Ibid.* ii. 20.

[7] Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* ii. 9.

[8] Jordanes, *De orig. Get.* xviii.

[9] *Ibid.* xv.

[10] Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* viii. 3 and 6.

of the whole of Auvergne as forming part of the Visigothic kingdom of Euric.[1] Four years afterwards, Odovaker the Patrician yet further recognised the might of the Visigoth in the surrender to him of all his authority west of the Alps,[2]—an action, however, which merely amounted to a promise that Odovaker would not attempt to disturb him in his possession of it. Acting on this new power, in A.D. 480 Euric advanced into Narbonensis prima, and the capture of Arles and Marseilles[3] completed the loss of Gaul to the Roman power. Euric had carried on the work of both the Theodorics, of Wallia, and of Atawulf, and Gaul at heart had ceased to be Romania and was nearly become Gothia. That the work would have been completed by the conquest of the north-east we may well believe, had not Euric died at Arles in A.D. 483.[4]

His successor, Alaric II., in alliance with Gundobad, king of the Burgundians, in A.D. 490 marched into Italy to assist the Ostrogoths, and defeated near Milan the patrician Odovaker;[5] but now another power had arisen in the north-east, and the downfall of the Visigoths must be told as part of the narrative of the rise of the Frankish kingdom. Alaric was not a warrior, and was suspicious of the influence in his kingdom of the Franks. A strong Arian, he was much disliked by the Catholic bishops who lived in his kingdom, and we find several instances of persecution as much the result of the rival creeds as of jealousy of foreign interference. Volusianus,[6] bishop of Tours, was exiled to Toulouse and died there, and his successor Verus was also transferred for safer keeping to the capital.[7] At Rodez,[8] Bishop Quintianus escaped im-

[1] Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* vii. 7.
[2] Jordanes *ut supra.*
[3] Jordanes, *De orig. Get.* xv.
[4] Isidor, *Chron. Goth.*, sub anno 483.
[5] *Hist. Miscella* and Anon. Valesii, § 53.
[6] Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 26.
[7] *Ibid.* x. 31 "Verus . . . apud urbem Tolosam exsilio condemnatus, in eo obiit." Gregory says of Euric (ii. 25) "gravem in Galliis super Christianos intulit persecutionem. Truncabat passim perversitati suae non consentientes, clericos carceribus subigebat; sacerdotes vero alios dabat exsilio, alios gladio trucidabat."
[8] *Ibid.* ii. 36.

prisonment by flight, and at Bearn the bishop Galactorius[1] openly espoused the cause of the Franks in the invasion of A.D. 507 and was killed on the battle-field.

We must now turn to the east of Gaul and trace the fortunes of another barbarian tribe which had won a settlement there. Our first notice of these people comes from Ammianus, who tells us of the anxiety which was felt by Valentinian about A.D. 370[2] because of the approach of the Burgundians across the plains of upper Germany. Seven years later they had reached the right bank of the Rhine, and the terror they had inspired in the minds of the imperial authorities had estimated their number as eighty thousand men.[3]

The Burgundian Kingdom in Gaul.

It is probable that in the great invasion of New Year's Eve 406, at least one section of the Burgundian nation had crossed the Rhine with the Vandals, Alans, and Sueves who were so intent on the plunder of Gaul. They seem to have settled down at once in Germania prima, keeping in touch with their brethren on the other side of the river, and in A.D. 411 joining with the Ripuarian Franks, and perhaps some remnants of imperial garrisons located on the border, in the election of the Gallo-Roman nobleman Jovinus as emperor of the West. The usurpation of the tyrant Constantine and his occupation of the provinces of Lyons, Vienne, and Narbonne had cut off the Roman settlers in the Germanic and Belgic provinces from all connection with Honorius and the authorities in Italy, and the act of the Franks and Burgundians which must have been in co-operation with the colonists in these provinces, is evidence of the peculiar relationship that was arising between the empire and the barbarian tribes, under which they seem to desire to be regarded as allies if not actual members of the Roman Empire. Jovinus is declared to have been raised to the purple

[1] Marca, *Hist. du Béarn*, and Fauriel, ii. 54.

[2] Amm. Marcel. xxviii. 5, 9, A.D. 370.

[3] Jerom. *Chron.*, sub anno 377, "Burgundiorum lxxx. ferme millia quot nunquam antea ad Rhenum descenderunt."

by Goar, king of the Alemans, and Gundakar, king of the Burgundians.[1] Two years afterwards Jovinus met his death a captive of the Visigoth Atawulf at Narbonne, and by this time the Burgundians were definitely settled in Gaul, and the town of Worms was the centre of their national life.[2] It was at this time that the Burgundian Gunther reigned over them, the time which formed the basis of the mediaeval Nibelungenlied.[3] Then follows a period of twenty years during which we hear very little about the Burgundians, but they seem to have extended their influence and perhaps their settlements into the province of Sequania, the district which included the north-western slopes of the Jura range and the valley of the Doubs.

During the year A.D. 431, and perhaps the two following years, Aetius,[4] the commander-in-chief under Valentinian of the imperial forces, seems to have had considerable fighting with the Ripuarian Franks,[5] and the Burgundians seem to have taken part with the latter, since in A.D. 435 they suffered severely at the hands of Aetius.[6] There had been a rising of the peasantry of N.-Eastern Gaul, and the marauding bands of the Bagaudae,[7] as we have already seen those called who withstood the efforts of the collectors to gather in the imperial taxes, seemed to threaten the very existence of the empire in Gaul. Aetius was in 434 engaged in the suppression of these Bagaudae, and had clearly noted the sympathy if not the assistance which the Burgundians had given them. There

[1] Sôzomen, lx. 15. 3; Sid. Apoll. v. 9; cf. Idat. *Chron.*

[2] Cf. Kurth's *Clovis*, vol. ii. p. 2; *Fragmenta Fredegarii*, Migne, *P. L.* lxxi. p. 700.

[3] Pétigny, *Études sur l'histoire de l'époque mérovingienne.*

[4] Prosper, *Chron.* "pars Galliarum propinqua Rheno quam Franci possidendam occupaverunt, Aetii comitis armis recepta."

[5] Cassiod. *Chron.*, sub anno 428, "Aetius, multis Francis caesis, quam occupaverunt propinquam Rheno partem recepit Galliarum."

[6] Prosper, A.D. 435, and Idatius, *Chron.*, A.D. 436. Binding, in his *Das burgundisch-romanische Königreich*, calls these defeats "zwei furchtbare Niederlagen."

[7] Prosper Tiro, A.D. 434, "omnia pene Galliarum servitia in Bagaudam conspiravere."

had been for some time a bitter enmity between the Burgundians and certain sections of the Hunnist race settled near the confines of the empire.[1] The Huns had long wished for an opportunity to avenge on the Burgundians the death of their king. Aetius had largely recruited his army with Hunnish auxiliaries, and under him the Huns now saw their chance, and between the years A.D. 435 and 437 the Burgundians were so severely punished by Aetius and these Huns, that their national existence was almost destroyed.[2] It is said that twenty thousand Burgundians were killed in battle, and with them their king Gundakar. Germania prima was almost cleared of inhabitants, and arrangements were necessary to fill up the vacant and ruined cities with settlers from other subject peoples. Meanwhile we find in A.D. 443 that the remnant of the Burgundian nation was transferred by the imperial command to the district of Savoy,[3] a district which probably included the western part of modern Switzerland from Neufchâtel to Martigny, with the Pennine and Graian Alps, and the road from Milan to Vienne as its southern limit. It does not appear, however, that the whole of the nation was thus transferred, for after the death of Gundakar, we find two kings, Gundiok and Hilperik, ruling jointly over the Burgundians. The latter, Hilperik, seems to have ruled over the section which, previous to the great disaster, had settled in the valley of the Doubs, while Gundiok ruled over those of his nation who had been removed to Savoy and had Geneva as the capital of his kingdom.[4]

As settlers within the empire and by the consent of the Roman authorities, they seem to have been regarded

[1] Orosius, vii. 32; Sokrates, vii. 30.

[2] Prosper Tiro, A.D. 436, "bellum contra Burgundionum gentem memorabile exarsit quo universa pene gens cum rege Peretio [per Aetium] deleta." Binding, *Gesch. des burgundisch-romanischen Königreichs*, p. 3.

[3] *Ibid.* "Sabaudia Burgundiorum reliquiis datur."

[4] Continuator Prosperi, sub anno. Cf. Binding, p. 38 "die beiden Herrscher des Volks zur Zeit der Ansiedelung waren Gundiok und Hilperik."

as auxiliaries who could be summoned for war whenever their help was needed. We have already seen how in A.D. 451 they rallied to Aetius,[1] when with Theodoric the Visigoth he marched to contend with Attila on the Mauriac plains near Troyes. Whether or not it was this united effort which brought them into close relationship with the Visigoths, we certainly find that in A.D. 456 the Burgundians, under Gundiok and Hilperik, joined the Visigoths[2] under Theodoric in their expedition into Spain against the Sueves. Gundiok had as wife a Suevic princess,[3] granddaughter of that Wallia who had brought back the Visigoths from Spain and founded his kingdom in Aquitaine. Her brother Ricimer was now all-powerful in Italy, deposing the Emperor Avitus in September 456,[4] and raising to the purple in his stead in April 457[5] the simple soldier Majorian, and it was through Ricimer that we find his sister's son, Gundobad, with the Burgundians taking part soon after this in the political intrigues which brought about the fall of the Western Empire. During the brief reign of Avitus there seems to have been a move of the Visigoths which would have occupied the country on the right bank of the Rhone, and either in collusion with them or relying on the forbearance of Ricimer, the Burgundians in A.D. 457[6] advanced westward towards the Rhone, and the capital of their new settlement was probably Ambérieux. The Emperor Majorian regarded Gundiok as in the service of the empire, and when he came to Lyons in A.D. 459 the Burgundians were induced to withdraw from the neighbourhood, and the boundaries of their kingdom

[1] Prosper, *Chron.*, sub anno 451; Jordanes, cap. 36; Sid. Apoll. viii. 15.

[2] Idat. *Chron.*, sub anno 456, "mox Hispanias rex Gotthorum Theudoricus cum ingenti exercitu suo . . ingreditur"; cf. Jordanes as above.

[3] Idatius, *Chron.*, A.D. 456.

[4] Joannes Antiochenus, *Chron.*, sub anno, and Idat. *Chron.*; Greg. Tur. *H. F.* ii. 11.

[5] Anon. Cuspiniani, sub anno 456.

[6] Cf. Binding, p. 57; Cont. Prosperi, sub anno 457; Mar. Avent. *Chron.* A.D. 456. Binding mentions Ambérieux on the authority of a Burgundian edict, T. 42 of "Lex Burg.; Data Ambariaco in concilio."

were temporarily reorganised as of old.[1] Majorian's reign ended in 461, and his successor, Libius Severus, in appointing Gundiok in 463 as *Magister militum*,[2] showed his recognition of the Burgundian power as well as his wish to keep them in his obedience. In A.D. 470, on the death of Hilperik, the two portions of the Burgundian kingdom were apparently united under the rule of Gundiok.[3] The kingdom now extended from Langres and Belfort down the valley of the Doubs as far west as the upper waters of the Loire, and bounded by the Rhone stretched southward as far as the right bank of the Durance, while eastward it extended as far as Martigny. Gundiok survived his brother for about three years, and on his death, 5th March 473, there seems to have been some sort of partition of the kingdom[4] between the four sons of Gundiok—Gundobad, Godegisel, Hilperik, and Godomar. Gundobad at first appears to have reigned at Vienne, Godegisel at Geneva, Hilperik at Lyons, and Gondomar at Besançon. This arrangement did not last long, nor is it certain whether it ever existed more than formally. Gundobad and Godegisel, the former at Lyons and Vienne, and the latter at Geneva, soon seized to themselves the power, and Godomar disappears, while Hilperik[5] is said to have been put to death by his brother Gundobad, and perhaps at the same time his two sons, while his daughters, Soedeleuba and Hrothilde,[6] were in constant fear of what their uncle might do to them. The former seems to have taken the veil, and the marriage of the latter with the Salian

[1] The fighting which Majorian had near Lyons seems connected with the pushing back of the Burgundians, cf. Binding, pp. 62-3.

[2] *Chron. Cuspiniani*, 28th February 457; Cont. Prosperi, A.D. 456.

[3] Binding as above; cf. Pallman, ii. p. 286; Sid. Apol. *Ep.* v. 7.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 73 "so müssen wir nach Gundioks Tode Hilperik in Lyon, Gundobad aber in Vienne und Godegisel in Genf suchen." G. Monod, however, in his commentary to his translation of Junghan's *Chlodovech*, says, p. 25 (note), "rien ne prouve que la Burgundie ait été partagé entre les quatre fils de Gundovech."

[5] Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 28; Binding, p. 114.

[6] Gregory, *ut supra*, calls them Chrona and Chrotechildis, but Fredegarius in *Epit.* xvii. gives their names as Soedeleuba and Chrotechildis.

Frank Chlodovech, which we shall presently relate, had not a little to do with the action of Chlodovech towards Gundobad and the downfall of the Burgundian kingdom.

Soon after the accession of Gundobad, events within the empire and the policy of expansion shown by Euric, king of the Visigoths, brought the Burgundians into yet closer relationship with the Western Court. The Visigoths had been the patrons of Avitus, and had assisted in raising him to the throne, and the example which Theodoric had set was not lost on Gundobad. For some time the Burgundian king had worked in close alliance with his cousin Ricimer, and when in August 472[1] the latter died, Gundobad succeeded to his post and to the influence he had wielded over the Western Empire. He had taken part with Ricimer in the deposition and execution of Anthemius, and in March 473 he raised Glycerius,[2] the former Comes Domesticorum, to the throne, and was himself immediately afterwards honoured with the coveted title of Patrician. The ambition of Euric the Visigoth was at once a danger to the empire and a check to the westward development of the Burgundian nation, and during the intermittent hostilities between the empire and the Visigoths the Burgundians not only advanced again to the Rhone, but also crossed it and occupied the western region as far as the mountains of Auvergne.[3] In A.D. 473[4] Gundobad had occupied Clermont in the name of the empire and to protect it from Euric, but when the dishonourable peace between the Visigoths and the emperor Julius Nepos assigned Auvergne to the Visigoths the Burgundians naturally were obliged to retire. What the boundaries between these two nations were is not quite certain, but it is probable that southward the Rhone divided them, and

[1] Joannes Antiochenus, 209 § 2.
[2] *Id.*, *Hist. miscella*, l. xv.
[3] Sid. Apol. *Ep.* iii. 4, and *Carmen* xii.
[4] Binding, p. 85 "dass eine burgundische Besatzung in Clérmont lag."

north of Lyons the Saone and a line formed by the line of hills between Roanne and Villefranche. But whatever those boundaries were, Rome had ceased to be interested in them since the year 476 witnessed the downfall of the empire, and left Visigoth and Burgundian in undisputed authority over Central Gaul.

In the earlier days of their settlement in Gaul the Burgundians had embraced Catholic Christianity,[1] but subsequently, and probably owing to their close connection with the Visigoths, who were Arians, that portion of the nation over which Gundobad ruled, if not the whole nation, had inclined to Arianism, and at the downfall of the empire the Burgundians were definitely Arians.[2] In alliance with Rome, however, they were unable openly to prohibit the labours of those Catholic bishops placed in the Roman cities which they now inhabited. When the authority of the empire had disappeared the power of the Arian organisation among the Burgundians seems to have been a real danger to the Catholics. In the northern border the Catholic party seems not only to have been on the ascendency, but also to have been felt as a danger to the state, and especially when the Franks under Chlodovech had become orthodox Christians. Among the bishops settled in the kingdom of Gundobad was Aprunculus,[3] brother of Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, and closely related to the former emperor Avitus. Aprunculus belonged to one of the noblest of the Gallo-Roman families of Lyons and Auvergne and had been for some years Bishop of Langres. On the downfall of Syagrius and the absorption of his kingdom into that of the Salian Franks under Chlodovech the Burgundians had become the

[1] On the religion of the Burgundians cf. Jahn, *Geschichte der Burgundionen*, etc., i. pp. 122 and 385. Orosius, vii. 32.

[2] Cf. Sidonius' letter to Bishop Patiens of Lyons, *Ep.* vi. 12, and Binding, pp. 122-5.

[3] Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 23; Sid. Apol. ix. 10.

immediate neighbours of the Franks, and Chlodovech's capture of Verdun and the district of the upper waters of the Mosel made Langres almost a frontier town. What friendship however could exist between the orthodox Bishop of Langres and the Arian Burgundians around him? The mission there was one of considerable antiquity,[1] and the Catholic Church of Langres doubtless included the larger portion of the population of the city. The very fact, if indeed we are to rely on the testimony of Orosius, that the Burgundians had once been orthodox, yet further embittered the feeling between the two sections of professing Christians there. Certainly Gundobad suspected Aprunculus of an intention to deliver Langres into the hands of Chlodovech. The Franks in their heathenism were to be preferred to the Burgundians in their Arianism, and there was also a hope of their conversion to the orthodox faith. So in A.D. 489 Gundobad decided to arrest Aprunculus, but the bishop anticipated him by a hasty flight from Langres, and took refuge with his brother at Clermont, and on his brother's death succeeded him as bishop of that city. The incident is important because of subsequent events, and shows the position of the orthodox Church in the kingdom of Gundobad; it was suspected and harassed, but in the last quarter of the century it was certainly too powerful to be openly persecuted. A few years later this opposition of creeds had not a little to do with the downfall of the Burgundian kingdom. Meanwhile north of the Loire and of the Saone there had survived, regardless of the change of emperors and the political ferment in the south, that Roman administration which in former days had done so much for the inhabitants of Gaul. The rise of the Visigothic and Burgundian kingdoms had cut it off from the empire, and as its isolation became more real

[1] Bishop Urban is said to have been bishop of Langres and present at the Council of Valence in 374, and Desiderius was bishop probably in 407, when he is said to have been martyred by the Vandals, cf. Warnachar's *Vita S. Desiderii*, Migne, *P. L.* vol. lxxx. 195.

its practical independence became more prominent. There had been settlements of Saxons north of the Loire and of Franks beyond the Seine, and perhaps as far west as the Sarthe. But after the invasion of the Vandals in 407 the country seems to have slowly developed under the Roman officials sent to administer it. No portion had been assigned by the emperor as the settlement of a distinctly foreign race.

The Kingdom of Aegidius.

There had been incursions into it, as we have already seen, from across the Loire by the armies of Theodoric II. and of Euric, and a Roman officer Paulus,[1] who held perhaps the post of Comes of Lugdunensis III., the district which included Armorica and the country north of the Loire as far as Le Mans, had asserted the authority of the empire, and with the help of some Frankish allies had to some extent checked the advance northward of the Visigoths. Another officer Aegidius[2] a little later in date had done the same farther east, and with the help of similar allies had preserved the declining power of the Roman Empire. The Franks, who had found him useful, hailed him as king, though Chlodomir had killed Count Paulus, and with the title of king of Soissons he seems to have ruled the remnants of Roman Gaul. The kingdom of Aegidius had its capital at Soissons, and seems to have extended from the Vosges to the Sarthe. Its very existence, however, depended on the Salian Franks, and it was with the help of them that Aegidius defeated the Visigoths at Orleans in 463, and drove back the Saxon invaders from Angers in 464.[3] In that year Syagrius, the son, succeeded his father Aegidius[4] as king of Soissons, destined, as the last of the Romans, to witness in his own downfall the final triumph of the Frankish nation.

Northward and eastward beyond the kingdom of

[1] Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 18; Fredegar. *Hist. epit.* cap. xi; Jordanes, c. 44.

[2] G. T. ii. 11 "Aegidius ex Romanis magister militum datus est," and cap. 12 "Franci, hoc ejecto (*i.e.* Childeric) unanimiter regem asciscunt."

[3] Fredegarius, *Epit.* cap. xii.; Marius Avent., sub anno 463; and Idat. *Chron.*, sub anno.

[4] *Ibid.* cap xv. ". . . nomine Syagrius Romanorum patricius."

Aegidius and Syagrius were the settlements of the Franks who occupied the whole of Belgica secunda and Germania secunda.[1] The valiant Teutonic nation, which was destined soon to conquer the whole of Gaul, appears before us in the earlier decades of the fifth century, as divided into the two branches of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks. The Salian Franks held the province of Belgica secunda,[2] while the Ripuarian branch was settled on the left bank of the Mosel across the Eifel district, and their settlements extended to the vicinity of the city of Cöln.[3] As early as A.D. 393 we hear of the Ripuarian Franks attacking and plundering Trier.[4] Settled in the highlands in close proximity to it they were able to attack and ravage it whenever opportunity occurred, and five sacks of Trier are recorded in the fifth century as due to the marauding habits of this branch of the Frankish nation.[5]

The Salian Franks appear as divided into four or five small kingdoms in Belgica secunda.[6] One portion under their king Kararic was settled near St. Omer in the north-east of the Pas de Calais, another under Regnakair occupied the district round Cambrai, a third under Sigebert stretched eastward to the Rhine, and had Cöln as their capital, and a fourth at some unknown but earlier period, with the consent or perhaps without it, of the Comes Paulus or of Aegidius, had settled down near Le Mans.[7]

In A.D. 481 there died at Tournai Childeric, the king of another branch of these Salian Franks,[8] who is said to have been descended from a half-legendary hero Meroveus, and who seems on that account to have

[1] Monod's Junghans' Chlodovech in *Biblio. des hautes études*, vol. xxxvii. cap. 1; Leo's *Vorlesungen*, i. 335; Kurth's *Clovis*, vol. i. cap. 3; Fauriel, ii. cap. 12.

[2] Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 9; Fauriel, i. v.

[3] Fauriel, ut supra, p. 209.

[4] Gregory, ut supra. The sieges of Trier are collected together in Haupt's *Triersches Zeitbuch*, 1822.

[5] *i.e.* A.D. 399, 411, 420, 440, and 456.

[6] Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 41 and 42.

[7] Procopius, *De bello Gothico*, l. xii. p. 63.

[8] *Gesta reg. Franc.* 9 "eo tempore mortuus est Childericus, rex Francorum."

had some precedence among the Franks. The kingdom of Childeric was the nearest of the Frankish kingdoms to the kingdom of Syagrius, and Childeric had at times, and for his own purpose, taken part with Syagrius in upholding the *status quo* of the Roman Empire. Childeric was succeeded by his son Chlodovech, whose ability and ambition were to do so much for his fellow Franks. In 486[1] he seems to have considered that the time had come when he should be not only in reality, but also in name king, not only of his own kingdom, but of all that remnant of the Roman Empire over which, by his assistance, Syagrius for twenty-one years had ruled. With the help of Regnakair of Cambrai, therefore, Chlodovech attacked and drove Syagrius from his throne and occupied Soissons, and soon after Paris and Verdun and other cities of this district fell into his hands. So the kingdom of the Franks now suddenly rose into importance. It extended indefinitely over Belgica secunda, and as far east as the limits of Belgica prima, and as far west as the Loire and to the boundaries of Armorica. In extent it was the largest of the three kingdoms of the Franks, the Burgundians, and the Visigoths, which now composed the ancient Roman province of Gaul, and it was soon to show that it was the most powerful.

Chlodovech, the great founder of the Frankish kingdom, was a heathen, but he seems, as his father Childeric seemed before him, to have lived on terms of peace and toleration with the Christian bishops who had been placed in his cities when those cities were still portions of the empire.[2] Christianity seemed so integral a part of the idea of the Imperium Romanum that to oppose it was to oppose the might and grandeur of the empire, and not until they had been established in Gaul for some years, and had realised the hollowness

[1] G. T. *ut supra*, ii. 27; Fredegar. *Epit.* xv.

[2] Cf. Jonas, *Vita S. Vedast.* cap. 3 Krusch's edition. The story of the vase at Soissons, *G. F.* ii. 27, represents Chlodovech as friendly to the bishop, nor would the bishop have made such a request, say, to Euric the Visigoth.

of the imperial rule of this century, did the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians attempt in any serious way to hinder and to harass the Catholic Church. That state was never reached by the Frankish nation. While yet there was among them an indefinite admiration for the mighty power which had checked the progress of the barbarians westward, this nation was won over by the Catholic Church, and the Franks, cruel and destructive as they may have been in the act of conquest, do not appear as persecutors of the Catholic bishops.

In A.D. 491 Chlodovech was occupied in a war with the Thuringians[1] or people of Tongres, whose lands lay on the left bank of the Meuse, between that river and the Escaut, and the success of his arms helped to unite under his authority the various branches of Salian and Ripuarian Franks. As yet he was unmarried, but his sister Augofleda, A.D. 495, was married to Theodoric the Ostrogothic king in Italy.[2] Under the protection of her uncle Godegisel there was living at Geneva Hrothilde, the daughter of that Burgundian king Hilperik whom her brother Gundobad had murdered.[3] Inquiries had been made probably at various courts, and the messengers of Chlodovech had reported to their master of the beauty and the royal descent of the princess Hrothilde, which would make her a worthy helpmate for the rising and ambitious young Frank. Later biographers would have us believe that Hrothilde, as an orthodox Christian, had been the victim of much persecution from the Arians of Burgundy, and if they had in any way harassed her, this and the fear of her uncle Gundobad's cruelty would doubtless have confirmed her in her allegiance to the

[1] Fredegar. *H. F. Epit.* cap. 11 ; Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 27 "decimo regni sui anno Thoringis bellum intulit, eosdemque suis ditionibus subiugat." The Thuringians were Franks and seem to have disputed the ascendency of Chlodovech. Gregory knows nothing of the Thuringians east of the Rhine.

[2] Jordanes calls her Audofleda, c. 57 ; cf. Anon. Valesii, Eyssenhart's ed. p. 540 "postea vero accepit uxorem de Francis nomine Augofleda," and G. T. iii. 31.

[3] Fredegarius, *Epit.* xviii., gives us the mission of "Aurelianus quidam ex Romanis" to Geneva to negotiate with Godegisel the marriage of Hrothilde ; Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 28. Kurth, *Clovis*, i. p. 283, denies the murder of Hilperik's widow and the exile of his two daughters on the authority of Avitus' letter to Gundobad, No. 5.

Catholic form of the Christian faith. That she welcomed the idea of a marriage with Chlodovech, even though he was a heathen, and also that she was a Catholic Christian, seems quite clear. It would deliver her from any possible danger from her father's murderer. In A.D. 493[1] Chlodovech, therefore, demanded from Gundobad the hand of his niece the princess Hrothilde of Geneva, and whatever the Burgundian king may have desired or feared he could hardly refuse the request of so powerful a neighbour. So Hrothilde was taken to Soissons and there became the wife of Chlodovech. In quick succession two children were born as the fruit of this marriage.[2] The first died soon after baptism, and the father suspected that the child's death was due to it. The second, Chlodomir, born in 495, was only baptized at the earnest entreaty of Hrothilde, for Chlodovech feared to lose a second child a victim of the anger of his ancestral gods, and was for a time therefore unwilling to allow it. He had been married for three years, and the influence of his wife, though it had not brought him to renounce his idolatry, had been more powerful than he possibly realised. In A.D. 496 his authority was menaced by a rising of the Alamans,[3] who had crossed the Rhine and threatened his kingdom. Chlodovech, therefore, was compelled to collect his force for a struggle which certainly proved severe. In the fierce conflict at Tolbiac the Alamans were pressing him hard, and Chlodovech realised that he was in great danger. Hitherto he had invoked the gods of his ancestors and they did not help him. So now he called upon the God of Hrothilde, and seems afterwards to have confessed that at the time he had also made some pledge of faith and obedience. Whatever the true story was the danger of the moment was averted. The Alamans for

[1] Cf. Binding, p. 114. The place of meeting of Chlodovech with his bride was Vilariacum, *i.e.* Villery (Aube), Fredeg. iii. 19.

[2] Greg. T. ii. 29.

[3] *Ibid.* cap. 30, cf. *Vita Remigii* (vol. ii. p. 239, *Script. Rer. Meroving.* (Vitae Sanctorum)).

some cause or other began to retire, and from the verge of retreat he suddenly found himself leading his warriors to victory. On his return from the war his feelings towards Christianity were certainly changed, and his acknowledgment of what had occurred encouraged his wife in her efforts to bring about his conversion.[1] But it was not to happen without deliberation, and the various accounts of his baptism show that there was some difficulty to be feared from his own Frankish warriors, and also that the Arian clergy[2] were not idle or unnoticed by him.[3] If he

[1] Greg. T. ii. 31.

[2] It is not easy to account for this statement of the activity of the Arian clergy. Its unexpectedness gives it authority and comes to us from the *Epitomata* and *Gesta Francorum*, and shows us that the work of evangelisation was not confined to the Catholic priests of Burgundy.

[3] It is with much regret that I find myself unable to follow Dr. B. Krusch, (Introd. *Vita S. Vedast.* (*Script. rer. Merov.* iii. 399)), A. Hauck (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1895, p. 351) and Prof. Bury, who on the authority of Nicetius of Trier would have us regard the baptism of Chlodovech as taking place at Tours after the Visigothic war of 507 and not at Rheims in 496 after the victory over the Alamans. Gregory of Tours, who wrote his *Historia Francorum* between A.D. 578 and 593, tells us (ii. 30 and 31) of the Alamanic war and of the baptism, but he certainly does not actually say that Chlodovech was baptized at Rheims or immediately after his campaign in Germania secunda. The queen doubtless learnt from Chlodovech of what had occurred in that campaign, and sent for Remigius, and there were secret conferences between the bishop and the king. The graphic accounts which Gregory gives of the baptism is preceded by some rather confused and ill-connected paragraphs which suggest adaptation of earlier documents, and which also offer us an opportunity for doubt both as to the place of the baptism and the date of it. Gregory certainly derived some of his information from a life of St. Remigius which is no longer extant, and Mons. G. Monod (*Études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire mérovingienne*, p. 99), considers from the phraseology of Gregory that there must have been a Latin poem on the baptism of Chlodovech, and von Schubert (*Die Unterwerfung der Alamannen*, p. 135) also thinks that there must have been a Latin poem on Hrothilde. Gregory undoubtedly was a diligent collector of evidence for his splendid *Historia Francorum*, and the so-called Fredegarius (A.D. 660), who epitomized this history (*Historia epitomata*), definitely interprets Gregory's history as saying that Chlodovech was baptized at Rheims; so also does Abbot Jonas in his life of St. Vedast (*Script. rer. Merov.* iii. 410), which was written about the same time as the *Epitomata*. St. Vedast meets Chlodovech on his return from the Alamanic war somewhere near Toul, and conducts him to S. Remigius at Rheims where he is baptized.

Dr. B. Krusch, however, relies on the letter of Nicetius to Chlodoswinde, the wife of Alboin, which he wrote to urge her to try and win her husband to Catholicism. Nicetius was bishop of Trier, A.D. 527-566, and his evidence is therefore earlier by a quarter of a century than that of Gregory of Tours. The bishop tells Chlodoswinde of the efforts made by her grandmother Hrothilde to bring about the conversion of Chlodovech, and of the hesitation of the king, and of his desire for some proof that the faith of the Catholics who surrounded his wife was the orthodox faith. This latter problem had been solved by a miracle, and Nicetius continues: "noluit adquiescere antequam vera agnosceret. Cum ista quae supra dixi probata cognovit, humilis ad domni Martini limina oraturus cecidit et baptizare se sine mora promisit (or "permisit")

was to become a Christian, was it to be a Catholic or an Arian? An interview with St. Vedast, bishop of Cambrai,[1] seems to have helped him in his decision. It is possible that this bishop had been with him in his camp. He was with him at Toul on his return, and apparently accompanied him to Rheims. His conversion and baptism was now only a matter of time. The Frankish warriors[2] seem to have followed their leader, or at any rate he realised that they would not oppose the act he contemplated. On Christmas Day A.D. 496,[3] therefore, Chlodovech received Christian baptism at the hands of Remigius of Rheims in the church which was hard by the ancient palace of the Roman Emperor. Gregory of Tours, in his history of the Franks, has collected and arranged in his narrative details of the scene which seem too striking to have been invented. It is possible that he had seen and talked with men who had been present at the baptism.[4] He tells us that when

(*M. G. H. Epp. Merov.* i. p. 122). It is clear that "ad limina domni Martini" must refer to the tomb at Tours, and I cannot accept F. W. Rettberg's (*Kirchengeschichte Deutsch.* i. 276) suggestion that *D*(*omini*) *M*(*artini*) is a mistake for *D*(*ivae*) *M*(*ariae*). Hauck and Krusch do not think that the baptism followed immediately after the Alamanic war, nor does Gregory say so. His narrative would allow of an interval, and perhaps we ought to assign it to the Christmas of 497 and not to that of 496. Lecoy de la Marche (*S. Martin*, p. 362) invents a pilgrimage of Chlodovech of Tours, but certainly the Frankish king dare not go there till Alaric II. had been defeated in battle.

Now Gregory is always so indefatigable in collecting information concerning the See of Tours, and is at such pains to tell us of all that occurred in the episcopates of his predecessors, that I cannot bring myself to believe that an event of such very great importance as the baptism of Chlodovech the Frank at Tours could possibly have escaped his notice, or that if he had known it he would have written as he did when he told us of Chlodovech and Remigius. I feel, therefore, that Junghans and Monod, who translated into French his life of Chlodovech (*Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études*, vol. xxxvii. p. 66), are right, and that Nicetius, writing loosely and in reference rather to Hrothilde's zeal than Chlodovech's baptism, refers (p. 31) to the king's devotions at the tomb of St. Martin on his return from the Visigothic campaign in 507 as if it had preceded his baptism. It is the slip of the pen of a man who had another object in view than that of the order of events in the conversion of Hrothilde's great husband. Cf. an excellent account in G. Kurth's *Clovis*, 1901, vol. i. p. 294, and Appendix 2, vol. ii. p. 277, and L. Demaison's note on the actual place in Rheims where the baptism took place, vol. ii. pp. 287-314.

[1] § 3. The *Life of St. Vedast* by Abbot Jonas has been reprinted from Krusch's larger editions in the series of *Scriptores R. G. in usum scholarum*, 1905, p. 309.

[2] G. T. ii. 31.

[3] Fredegarius, *Epit.* iii. 21; *Vita Remig. Hincmar* (*Mon. R. Merov.* iii. p. 295).

[4] Gregory was Bishop of Tours A.D. 573-596, and was born in A.D. 544; cp. Loebell, *Greg. von Tours*, p. 8.

Chlodovech advanced for the administration of the sacrament, Remigius accosted him in words which were long remembered, and so unexpected as surely to be authentic, "Bow thy neck in humility, O Sicambrian; accept as an object of worship that which thou wast wont to destroy, and burn that which once thou worshipped" ["mitis depone colla, Sicamber; adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti."]

In the person of their warrior king the Franks had now recognised Christianity, and Chlodovech was not unconscious of the advantage which this would bring him. His subject Franks might hesitate or remain in their heathenism, but now, of all the monarchs of Gaul, he alone was the champion of the orthodox faith. Through Burgundy and Gothia[1] there were in every city groups of orthodox citizens, Gallo-Romans, painfully enduring the domination of the barbarians, and waiting for some one to deliver them, and in the larger cities there were Catholic bishops to encourage them. All eyes were naturally turned on Rheims, and men wondered what the orthodox Chlodovech would do to Arian Gundobad and to Arian Alaric. In far off Vienne Avitus the bishop had heard of what was probable, and wrote to Chlodovech to encourage him in his conversion and to express his regret that he could not attend his baptism.[2] Certainly Gundobad, who had chased Aprunculus from Langres, would not have sanctioned such a journey as Avitus had desired to make.

But Chlodovech, if he had professed his faith in the crucified Redeemer, never became *mitis*. He had not put aside his ambition when he forsook his heathen

[1] *Vita Eptadii* (*Script. rer. Merov.* i. 191).

[2] Avitus, *Ep.* xlvi. in Peiper's ed., *M. G. H.* His letter suggests that the bishops in Gaul had been invited to the baptism, but Fredegar, *Epit.*, says it took place "clam," and Gregory refers to the interviews between Chlodovech and Remigius as in secret. This letter tells us that the baptism was on Christmas Day—"igitur qui celeber est natalis Domini, sit et vestri: quo vos scilicet Christo, quo Christus ortus est mundo."

The letter of Anastasius ii. to Chlodovech, Achery, *Spicilegium*, v. 597, is a forgery of Jerome Vignier, priest of the Oratory, 1606-1661. Cf. J. Havet, "Les Découvertes de Jerome Vignier," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. xlvi. 233-250.

gods, and he soon showed his determination to use the advantage which his new faith had conferred on him for the further advancement of his kingdom. In the kingdom of Alaric II., as well as in that of Gundobad, the Arian hierarchy seem to have been in the ascendant. At least the victories which Chlodovech soon won over both monarchs prove that there existed a party in each kingdom which was heartily for him, a party which had become his through the persecution it had experienced. The Catholics certainly welcomed the Frankish conqueror as their deliverer from the Arian cruelties. As early as in the days of Euric we find Sidonius[1] warning Bishop Basil of Aix of the danger to be apprehended from the proselytism of the Arians. He is grieved to notice how many bishops refused to realise this danger. Euric might be regarded almost as the head of a religious sect as well as the leader of his people, so bitter was he against them. The very name of Catholic gave him a shudder. There had been indeed a controversy going on between Bishop Basil and an Arian bishop Modahar,[2] and Sidonius rejoices at the way Basil had silenced him. Generally the Catholics were languishing for lack of bishops, since Euric had either done to death or refused to allow successors to those who had died naturally in the cities of Bordeaux, Périgueux, Rhodez, Limoges, Gabale, Eauze, Bazas, Comminges, Auch, and in many other towns which he does not mention. In another letter[3] written to Patiens, bishop of Lyons, he rejoices at the way Patiens had come to the help of suffering Catholics who had lost their all in the devastations of Euric and his Goths.

Such persecution had continued, and all the more openly now that the name of Rome no longer availed for the protection of the Catholics, and the existence of this strife and division was for Chlodovech an occasion

[1] Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* vii. 6.
[2] Cf. also the case of Sigifunsus the Arian, *Vita Eptadii* (*Script. rer. Merov.* i. 192).
[3] Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* vi. 12.

The Burgundian campaign.

for his ambition. His relationship with Godegisel seems to have been more intimate and friendly than that with Gundobad, and perhaps it was due to the way Godegisel had befriended Hrothilde, his niece, at the time when her father, Hilperik, perished. There is much that is wanting to make the narrative complete, but clearly, when Chlodovech marched southward in A.D. 500 into the territory of the Burgundians there seems to have existed an understanding between him and Godegisel.[1] Gundobad, however, was unaware of his danger, and with Godegisel marched north with the Burgundian forces, and met with Chlodovech at Dijon. In the conflict Godegisel deliberately went over to the side[2] of the Frank, and Gundobad, seeing that all was now lost, fled from the battlefield and took refuge in the far south of his kingdom behind the walls of the city of Avignon.[3] The movements of Chlodovech are somewhat uncertain. It is said that he marched south as far as Avignon, and finding the defences too strong for him to take the city by storm returned home, having left Godegisel at Vienne with a Frankish garrison for his defence. Then Gundobad marched out from Avignon and laid siege to Vienne[4] and took it by strategy. Godegisel, his brother, he put to death, and the Frankish garrison he handed over for safe keeping to Alaric,[5] who however soon after sent them back safely to Chlodovech.

But Gundobad and the Burgundians were humbled, and the ambition of Chlodovech was so far satisfied in that he had made subject to him the whole of south-eastern Gaul.[6] Henceforth Gundobad was not likely

[1] Fred. *Hist. Epit.* xxii.

[2] Marius Avent., under the year 501, "pugna facta est Divione inter Francos et Burgundiones," etc.; Binding, p. 143.

[3] *Ibid.*; Fred. *Epit.* xxiv.

[4] *Ibid.*; Greg. *H. F.* ii. 33.

[5] Greg. *ut supra*, "(Francos) apprehensos eos Tolosae in exsilium ad Alaricum regem transmisit." The garrison is said to have been originally four thousand Franks.

[6] The Burgundian kingdom extended from Dijon and the upper waters of the Yonne as far as the Mediterranean, G. T. ii. 32.

to attack the Franks except under conditions which Chlodovech took care should never occur. For sixteen years longer he was destined to remain king of all the Burgundians, but the Arian power was broken, the Catholics were no longer persecuted, and when in 516 he died, he left his kingdom to his son Sigismund, who was an ardent Catholic.[1] But beyond the Loire southward and westward was the fairest part of Gaul. It was the kingdom of the Visigoths, and Alaric II. and his subjects were all Arians. It is perhaps unnecessary to regard these wars between Frank and Burgundian and Frank and Visigoth as religious wars. The differences of religious creed and power afforded an excuse, but the invasion which used it was certainly due to the natural ambition of the Frankish monarch.

The Invasion of Gothia.

It was not long after the humiliation of the Burgundians that Chlodovech made it quite clear that he intended to invade the kingdom of the Visigoths. Negotiations had taken place between him and Gundobad which led not only to peace, but also to an alliance between the Franks and the Burgundians.[2] Some time before the campaign of A.D. 507 an interview took place between Chlodovech and Gundobad. The place of meeting was an islet on the river Cure, a tributary of the Yonne,[3] and which flows into it some few miles south of the city of Auxerre. What took place there was made evident when the war against Alaric broke out. The Burgundian had felt the power of Chlodovech, and was not again prepared to risk his wrath. But the Burgundians were not alone in realising what was inevitable. Theodoric, the Ostrogothic king in Italy, was alarmed on behalf of his comrades in Aquitaine and endeavoured to prevent a war. During the year A.D. 504 Chlodovech was engaged in another war with the

[1] G. T. iii. 5. He built the monastery of Agaune in expiation for the murder, in a rage, of his son Sigeric. Cf. *Vita Sigismundi* (*A. S. S.* 1 May, i. p. 87).

[2] This alliance or understanding between the two monarchs comes out in the Life of Eptadius (*M. R. Merov.* iii. 187), cf. Binding, p. 188.

[3] *Ibid.*; *Vita Eptad.* (*S. R. M.* iii. p. 189); Kurth's *Clovis*, ii. 22.

Alamans, and such was their defeat that Theodoric felt alarmed lest the Franks should attack him on the north-east, and not only wrote[1] to Chlodovech to congratulate him on his victory, but in his letter made it quite plain that for Chlodovech to advance farther in the direction of Rhaetia, whither the Alamans had fled, would be regarded by him as an unfriendly act. Soon after he wrote to Gundobad and the Burgundians, urging them to peace, and making it quite clear what might happen should they help the Franks against the Visigoths; to Alaric II. he also wrote to recommend caution, and to Chlodovech yet again to urge him not to break the peace of Gaul, but to be content with his present dominating position.[2] On the other hand the Eastern Emperor Anastasius, in his desire for vengeance on Theodoric, wrote to encourage Chlodovech to attack the Visigoths, promising a flank movement against the Ostrogoths in Italy should they venture to march to the help of their kinsmen in Gaul.[3]

Meanwhile Chlodovech had met his rival Alaric II. in conference on an island in the Loire, close by the town of Amboise.[4] The interview took place at the request of Alaric, and Gregory states that its result gave prospect of peace. Chlodovech, however, had gone too far, and whatever his promise to Alaric may have been, in the spring of A.D. 507, when his warriors and the Frankish nobles met for their yearly March-field, he told them he could no longer submit to the occupation by the Arian Goths of the fertile lands of Aquitaine. Let us go,[5] and having by the aid of God brought them into subjection, let us make their lands our own. So immediately afterwards the storm, which had been feared, burst on Aquitaine. Neither Alaric nor Theodoric seems to have expected it so soon, but the action of Gundobad proves that the whole was a

[1] Cassiod. *Var.* ii. 41.
[2] Cassiod. *Var.* iii. 1-4.
[3] *Chron. Marcell.*, s.a. 508.
[4] G. T. *H. F.* ii. 35.
[5] G. T. ii. 37 "eamus cum Dei adjutorio et superatis redigamus terram in ditionem nostram."

well-arranged plan of which Chlodovech had carefully thought out the details.

The Frankish army led by Chlodovech,[1] his son Theodoric, and Chloderich, the son of Sigibert, king of the Ripuarian Franks, seems to have crossed the Loire near Amboise.[2] The line of march was directed towards Poitiers and Tours ; the territory of St. Martin was carefully respected, and was passed by on the right. Chlodovech had issued a proclamation, in which he gave orders that the persons of the Catholic bishops and clergy were to be protected against all harm, and declared that he took the religious of both sexes under his own protection.[3] Plunder was absolutely forbidden, and he himself struck down a soldier who had robbed a poor woman of her hay.[4] Alaric and his Visigoths were encamped at Vouglé, about twelve miles north-west of Poitiers, and the two armies approached each other towards sunset. The next day—it was in the early summer soon after Whitsuntide[5]—the fateful battle was waged. Chlodovech, venturesome as ever, was for a time in great danger, but ultimately he overcame his opponents, and the death of Alaric gave the note for retreat and dispersion to his defeated army.[6]

Meanwhile Gundobad and his son Sigismund had led out the Burgundians through Auvergne to meet with Chlodovech somewhere beyond Limoges,[7] capturing on their march a castle where many Catholics were found imprisoned.

The allied forces then marched on Bordeaux, and there spent the winter,[8] and in the early spring marched

[1] G. T. ii. 37. [2] Pétigny, ii. 503.

[3] G. T. ". . . pro reverentia beati Martini dedit edictum ut nullus de regione illa aliud quam herbarum alimenta aquamque praesumeret."

[4] *Ibid.* ; cf. G. Kaufmann, *Die Schlacht von Vouglé, A.D. 507*, §§ 14-23.

[5] Binding 195 ; and Avitus, *Ep.* xlv. and lxxxii. Pétigny, *Études*, ii. p. 504, considers the festival referred to was in the spring, since the waters of the Vienne were swollen.

[6] G. T. ii. 37 "cum fugatis Gothis Alaricum regem interfecisset."

[7] *Vita Eptad.* (*Script. rer. Merov.* i. p. 190). The captives were certainly Christians, and perhaps the spoil of Italy sent for safe keeping by Theodoric to Alaric.

[8] G. T. ii. 37 "Chlodovechus vero apud Burdigalensem urbem hyemem agens."

on Toulouse, which was captured and sacked.[1] Then after the chief resistance had been overcome a division of the army was made. Chlodovech confined himself to Novempopulania and the road towards Spain, and apparently in fear of an attack from that quarter.[2] His son Theodoric, with another portion of the Frankish host, was sent towards southern Auvergne, capturing Albi and the district of the Tarn and Lot,[3] and Gundobad and the Burgundians moved into the province of Narbonne, and through the flight of Gesalic, a natural son of Alaric II., had the good fortune to capture Narbonne.[4]

So within a year the kingdom of the Visigoths had ceased to exist. All except a small section of Narbonensis, the region near the mouth of the Rhone, had been occupied by the Franks and Burgundians, and the city of Arles alone remained to check for a time the victorious march of Chlodovech. The siege of Arles[5] began that same year, but the city was not captured until 510. The story, however, of the siege, of the intervention of Theodoric, and of the trials of the bishop Caesarius[6] belong to another century, and the downfall of Gothia must conclude this sketch of the history of Gaul in the fifth century.

[1] G. T. ii. 37 "cunctos thesauros Alarici a Tolosa auferens Encolismam venit." Fredegarius tells us (cap. xxv.) that he took the treasure to Paris.

[2] G. T. ii. 37.

[3] *Ibid.* "Chlodovechus vero filium suum Theudericum per Albigensem ac Ruthenam civitatem ad Arvernos dirigit."

[4] Isidore, *Hist. Goth.* c. 37; Victor Tunnensis, *M. G. H.* 68, 940.

[5] Cassiodorus, *Var.* iii. 32; *Vita Caesarii* (*Script. rerum Merov.* iii. p. 467).

[6] *Vita Caesarii*, p. 470; Malnory, *St Césaire*, 91-101; Arnold's *Caesarius von Arelate*, p. 245.

CHAPTER XII

THE GALLICAN CHURCH AND THE PAPAL SEE

WESTERN Christendom has ever regarded the See of Rome with that special reverence which is due to it because of its apostolic origin. Whatever relationship might have existed which linked the nascent Church in Gaul, the Britains and Spain to the bishops of Rome, as to those who had organised those missionary efforts which created it, yet through the early centuries there is to be seen in these infant branches of the Church a special respect for, and obedience to, the bishops of Rome because they were regarded as the successors of St. Peter. In Gaul, as we have seen in Chapters II. and III., there can be no doubt that the existence of the Church was due to the missionary zeal of the early bishops of Rome, and it is the object of this chapter to consider this connection in reference to the development of local Church order, and to the growth of the claim of Rome to exercise unrestrained authority over it. A missionary Church, unorganised and ill equipped, would naturally turn to the source whence it derived its origin, for help and for advice, as slowly it began to take root. We may believe that such intercourse and reference to the bishops of Rome went on from the second to the fourth centuries, and it is certain that the Church in Lyons during the persecution under Marcus Aurelius looked to Rome for help and for the consecration of a successor to St. Pothinus.[1]

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 4; cf. also Irenaeus, *Adv. haeres*, iii. 32. On the meaning of the

But our inquiry falls into three very definite lines of research which, while they are more or less intertwined and react on one another, are certainly distinct and important. It is obvious also that such an inquiry is only a portion of a much larger one, narrowed down to the history and the affairs of the Church in Gaul, and to such an extent is partial and incomplete. It is necessary, however, if we would understand the early history of the Gallican Church, and that is our immediate object. Others, however, have written books [1] which tell us of the ever-increasing papal claims and of the growth of the idea of the primacy of Rome, and we may be allowed, therefore, to narrow our inquiry to the affairs of Gaul. Along whichever one of these three lines of inquiry we travel we find that each one tends to converge upon the other two and to create that predominating influence, the papacy of the middle ages.

We must consider then, first of all, and in reference the Church in Gaul, the policy of the bishops of Rome as the agents of the emperor. Secondly, we must consider the bishops of Rome as the spiritual advisers and guides of the bishops of Gaul in matters of faith and discipline,—advice spontaneously requested and generously and affectionately given ; and then, in the third place, we must inquire into the claims which the bishops of Rome made to guide and to direct the internal organisation of the Gallican Church, the creation of dioceses, and the creation and arrangement of ecclesiastical provinces.

That the importance of the city of Rome gave the occupant of the See a position which he would not otherwise have held can hardly be a question of doubt. The ecclesiastical provinces followed generally

potentior principalitas cf. Harnack, "Das Zeugnis des Irenaeus" in *Berliner Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1893, p. 939.

[1] Langen, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche*, p. 170; Batiffol, *L'Église naissante*, p. 250; Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 501; F. W. Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*.

the great divisions of the empire, and the capitals of these civil provinces became the seats of the archbishops. The privileges and precedent afforded by the city became the basis for an extension of jurisdiction, and the bishop of that city gained an influence over his fellow-bishops in that district which slowly developed into the rights and authority of an archbishopric. But another factor in this growth was the influence of the emperor. Constantine must have had some conversation with Maternus or Agraecius, bishop of Trier,[1] before he started forth on that perilous venture which ended in his victory at the Milvian Bridge. But he was not bound in any way by that fact. The civil power had come into friendly relationship with the officers of the Church, but as yet the liberty of the emperor was not compromised. These interviews, however important after-events show them to have been, were as yet quite informal. The emperor had not pledged himself to any definite policy. But when the Edict of Toleration and Liberty had gone forth the situation was changed. The emperor was brought by it into a recognised relationship to the Church, and when he was at Rome these interviews, such as the emperor must have had at Trier, would be repeated, and the bishop of the capital of the empire had not only an opportunity, but probably often was invited, to discuss with the emperor matters concerning that religion which he the emperor had officially sanctioned. Between Constantine and Melchiades there must have been much deep speech. Paganism was in process of decay, and the newly licensed Christianity was essentially aggressive. What was the emperor's intention now that Christianity had been recognised? The process of exchange had begun. The fact may not have been acknowledged, and perhaps at

The Bishop of Rome the agent of the Emperor.

[1] Euseb. *Vita Constantini*, i. 27-28. Agraecius was present at the Council of Arles, 314. Maternus, whom Constantine summoned to Rome to assist Melchiades in the council of 313 (Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5), is generally described as Bishop of Cöln. The diocese, as far as there was any such, was of a missionary character, and Maternus may be described as of Cöln or of Trier. The growth of Church organisation was naturally very rapid during those two years.

the time was not fully recognised, but the Edict of Milan was the charter of the liberties of the Christian Church, and Constantine, at least, must have perceived that at no distant future the Christian Church would take the place of the old religion in the affairs of the State. But the emperor was not prepared to give absolute authority to a power which might some day rival his own. Christianity was established. The State took the Church under its protection, and slowly we begin to perceive that which the State understood by the edict which had been issued. The Church was now to be the agent of the State to produce civil order and to uphold the authority of the emperors. It was not indeed so stated in the edict, but as we mark the action of Constantine and his sons that appears to be clearly laid down as the policy of the State.

The persecution that had raged during the reign of Diocletian and his colleagues had produced dissensions in the Church so violent that they attracted the notice of the imperial authorities, and Constantine must soon have been aware that in addition to those who agreed with his two friends, the bishops of Rome and Trier, there were others within the Church who claimed for themselves that they alone were the orthodox members of the community. These facts he must also have learnt from the Bishop of Rome, and the action he took in reference to this controversy proves that he had already begun to regard himself as the Patron of the Christian Church, the universal bishop, as he afterwards described himself, of things external. The bishops of the Christian Church were now to him, because of his relationship to Christianity, of the nature of state officials, and, as we have already seen, we find him giving orders to Bishop Melchiades to hold a council,[1] and from Gaul he summoned the bishops of Cöln and Autun and Arles to go to the capital and take part in these deliberations. These four bishops were clearly

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5.

acting in obedience to the imperial order, and were acting for him as a sort of final court of appeal to settle for the emperor the Donatist controversy. The Donatists had appealed to the emperor, on the authority of the edict,[1] through the proconsul, and the formal reply to that appeal was the council in the palace of Fausta in October A.D. 313. Whatever the Bishop of Rome may privately have advised, the council was not due to the initiative of Melchiades. It was the deliberate act of the head of the State. Nor was the Council of Arles held in that city in August A.D. 314 other than the creation of the emperor.[2] The Donatists had not been satisfied with the decision at Rome, and hoped to induce Constantine to consider their case personally so that they might gain from him some recognition of their claims. At Arles the new Bishop of Rome, Sylvester, was represented by four of his clergy, but over the Synod Marinus, the bishop of Arles, presided and apparently under the direction of the emperor.[3] Yet it was natural that Constantine should first of all ask the advice of the bishop of his capital. It was at Rome that he had made the final decision as to his recognition of Christianity, and the bishop of that city inherited the benefit of those private interviews with Melchiades. The emperor would desire the other bishops, and especially those of the West, to consult with the Bishop of Rome as one most likely to give them good advice and directions, and to inform them of the will of the emperor.

The moral influence, therefore, which the bishops of Rome had formerly exercised was now officially recognised, not indeed to limit the action of the emperor, but to form the normal organisation of the Church in the West. The State had given its sanction to that which had existed under the law of growth and expansion,

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5.
[2] Optatus, *App.* iii. "Constantinus Augustus Aelafio."
[3] *Ibid.* "jussu Constantini Magni in Caeciliani et Donatistarum causa."

and the Bishop of Rome was regarded as he who was more or less responsible to the State that Christians in the western prefectures should continue in the true faith.

Under the earlier edicts of the Christian emperors this is certainly not formally enacted. The position of Rome had been seriously compromised by the creation of New Rome on the Bosphorus, and until the visit which the Emperor Constantius paid to the ancient capital in the spring of A.D. 357, there had been no emperor in Rome since A.D. 326.[1] Liberius, the bishop of Rome, had been conducted by order of the emperor in A.D. 355 to Milan,[2] and had been exiled to Thrace on account of his refusal to sign the Edict of Milan, an Arian document which would condemn Athanasius and the creed of Nicaea. In the place of Liberius the imperial authorities had established Felix as bishop, and there is a rescript addressed to him by the emperor from Milan, Dec. 6, 357,[3] which enjoined on him his duty to keep order and which recognised him as the Bishop of Rome. A month earlier, November 10, 357, the emperor had issued also from Milan an Edict[4] addressed to Leontius, the prefect of the city, commanding him to preserve intact the privileges granted to the Church of the city of Rome and to its clergy.

While in Rome, however, the emperor had perceived that the Christians there were not prepared to accept Bishop Felix, and the submission of Liberius, humiliating and dishonourable as it was, gave to Constantius the opportunity he desired. Liberius[5] was re-established at Rome, Felix was driven out, and the will of the emperor prevailed.

The edict to Leontius could now be used by the party of Liberius, and it was for Rome now to substantiate its claim if any were inclined to doubt its

[1] Sôzomen, iv. 8.
[2] Sôzomen, iv. 9 and 11.
[3] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2. 14.
[4] *Ibid.* xvi. 2. 13.
[5] Sôzomen, iv. 35; Theod. ii. 17; Sulpic. Sev. ii. 39.

privileges. Whatever favour the emperor may have shown was now confirmed and could not be taken away. It was the foundation-stone on which interpretations favourable to the expansion of the Bishop of Rome's power and jurisdiction could be easily based. It had been granted to assist the party of the unorthodox Felix, and was used in succession by the unfaithful Liberius. Meanwhile, for the Arian strife had left the Church much disorganised, the Bishop of Rome continued to receive on all sides applications for advice, applications which could be interpreted as appeals for his final decision, and in A.D. 369, if we are to accept the statement of St. Ambrose,[1] Valentinian and Gratian formally created the Bishop of Rome as the final court of appeal for western Christendom. The decree no longer exists except as far as we can understand it in the letter of the Bishop of Milan. Damasus became Bishop of Rome in A.D. 366, and in A.D. 382 held a council at Rome, at which ninety-three bishops were present, and in which this subject was discussed.[2] The council was held under letters of business from the emperor, and in the letter addressed by it to Gratian he was asked to sanction more formally the creation of this final court of appeal.[3] Gratian's decision was not exactly that which Damasus had desired. The emperor was not prepared to give to the Bishop of Rome sole authority

[1] Ambrose, *Ep.* 21, cf. Wittig, *Papst Damasus*, i. § 5, p. 35.

[2] Mansi, iii. 624.

[3] "Quaesumus clementiam vestram ne rursus in plurimis causis videamur onerosi ut jubere pietas vestra dignetur quicumque vel ejus (Damasi) vel nostro judicio qui Catholici sumus fuerit condemnatus atque injuste voluerit ecclesiam retinere vel vocatus a sacerdotali judicio per contumaciam non adesse seu ab illustribus viris praefectis praetorio Italiae vestrae sive a vicario accitus ad urbem Romam veniat aut si in longinquioribus partibus hujusmodi emerserit quaestio ad metropolitani per locorum judicia deducatur examen vel si ipse metropolitanus est Romam necessario vel ad eos quos Romanus episcopus judices dederit contendere sine dilatione jubeatur, ita ut qui depositi fuerint ab ejus tantum civitatis finibus segregentur in qua gesserint sacerdotium ne rursus impudenter usurpent quod jure sublatum est. Certe si vel metropolitani vel cujusve alterius sacerdotis suspecta gratia vel iniquitas fuerit vel ad Romanum episcopum vel ad concilium certe quindecim episcoporum finitimorum ei liceat provocare," Migne, *P. L.* xiii. 576. The demand was made, not for some new decree, but for the confirmation of an earlier one—"Idcirco statuti imperialis non novitatem sed firmitudinem postulamus," *ibid.* § 4, p. 579.

over western Christendom in such a way that the imperial authorities were bound to execute his decrees. He recognised the edict of A.D. 369, and re-enacted it under certain conditions.[1] The bishops in the provinces were not to be subject to the secular authorities. In case of wrongdoing they were to be judged by a local council of fifteen bishops, and the imperial authorities were ordered to carry out the decrees of these local councils, and to compel the attendance before them of the accused and recalcitrant bishop. From that provincial court, however, he now created a final court of appeal at Rome. To it might appeal a metropolitan if the local organisation had created such, or the bishop who had been condemned by a local council. The Bishop of Rome, however, was to act in council. Before he heard the case[2] he was to summon to his assistance five or seven bishops to act with him, and not until such joint action had taken place were the imperial authorities to carry out the decision. A year or two previously a further step had been reached in this official recognition of the authority of the bishops of Rome, for Gratian, Valentinian II., and Theodosius decreed in an edict to the people of the city of Constantinople[3] that the religion of the people of Constantinople was to be that which St. Peter had delivered to the Romans, and which Damasus, bishop of Rome, and Peter, bishop of Alexandria, now preached.

The Edict of Gratian, creating an appeal court at Rome, was again referred to in the law of Honorius A.D. 400,[4] in which he enacts that any bishop deprived

[1] Cf. Gratian's Rescript to Aquilinus: "Ordinariorum sententiae," Gunther's edition of *Collectio Avellana*, Vienna *Corpus S. E. L.* xxxv. 1. 57, 58.

[2] *Ibid.* "volumus autem ut quicumque judicio Damasi quod ille cum concilio quinque vel septem habuerit episcoporum vel eorum qui Catholici sint judicio atque concilio condemnatus erit."

[3] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 1, 27 Feb. 380 ". . . in tali volumus religione versari quam divinum Petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio usque ad nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat quamque pontificem Damasum sequi daret et Petrum Alexandriae episcopum virum apostolicae sanctitatis," Mommsen and Meyer, l. ii. p. 833. Peter of Alexandria had been banished and was probably at Rome at this time; Theodoret, v. 16.

[4] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2. 35.

of his See by the judgment of a provincial synod, and attempting to exercise his authority in disregard of that judgment, and trying to recover his See, is to be removed by the civil power to a place of exile at least a hundred miles distant from his city.

But it was not the intention of the emperors to create at Rome such an authority which should restrain their liberty in after years. Rome was not to be the sole agent in carrying out the laws of the empire in matters of religion. During the interregnum, when Galla Placidia, the daughter of Valentinian II., the wife of the Patrician Constantius, was guardian for her son the young emperor Valentinian III., Constantius, at Arles, had procured the election of his creature Patroclus as bishop in the place of the exiled bishop Heros, and Patroclus, to increase his authority as bishop, claimed that he should receive as bishop the influence due to his See as that of the seat of the Gallican prefecture. The negotiation of Patroclus with Zosimus, bishop of Rome, we shall presently consider. His influence with the imperial authorities is, however, shown by the edict of A.D. 425, issued by Theodosius and Valentinian III.,[1] and directed to the prefect Amatius. All that the tyrant Constantine had ordered was to be annulled, and to Patroclus, as bishop of Arles, was to be assigned the duty of hearing actions brought against any bishop of Gaul on a charge of holding Pelagian opinions and deciding thereon. If any bishop was found guilty of this heresy he was to be removed from his See, and Patroclus had authority to appoint another bishop in his place. It is clear, therefore, that hitherto the emperor did not consider either that they had conferred on the bishops of Rome any exclusive right in this final court of appeal for bishops of the West, or that they were aware that the Bishop of Rome claimed such right, and the action of Pope Zosimus must be interpreted in the light of these decrees.

[1] *Sirmondianae*, 6, 9 July 425, Mommsen edition, vol. i. p. 911.

But the process of aggrandisement went on, and each victory that was won made it the easier for the bishops of Rome to obtain from the waning power of the emperor official recognition of their claim to sole and unquestioned authority. We are not surprised, therefore, at the edict of A.D. 445, won by the great Leo from the hesitating and impulsive Valentinian.[1] By it the Roman See was definitely placed in a position of supreme authority, and obedience to the orders of the Bishop of Rome was to be enforced by the secular arm. Bishop Hilary, as the successor of Patroclus, had claimed for the See of Arles an influence in the south of Gaul which was naturally due to it as the process of development and organisation of the Church thus steadily continued. But the action of Hilary was not in accordance with the wishes of the papal See. The spirit of independence which he showed was such as the strong will of Leo the Great could not sanction. When, therefore, Valentinian III. was in Rome A.D. 445, Leo[2] obtained a rescript from him addressed to the patrician Aetius, who was then in Gaul, which laid down that nothing must be done without the sanction of the Roman See. That See enjoyed supreme

[1] The Rescript to Aetius was issued from Rome July 8, 445, and appears in the *Novellae* of Valentinian. Cf. Mommsen, *Cod. Theod.* vol. ii. p. 101; Valent. xvii. "De episcoporum ordinatione." The edict is too long for quotation in a note, but the following passages show its character:—

"Cum igitur sedis apostolicae primatum sancti Petri meritum, qui princeps est episcopalis coronae et Romanae dignitas civitatis, sacrae etiam synodi firmasset auctoritas, ne quid praeter auctoritatem sedis istius inlicita praesumptio adtemptare nitatur . . ., Hilarius enim qui episcopus Arelatensis vocatur ecclesiae, Romanae urbis inconsulto pontifice indebitas sibi ordinationes episcoporum sola temeritate usurpantis invasit . . . sed nostram quoque praeceptionem haec ratio provocavit, ne ulterius nec Hilario quem adhuc episcopum nuncupari sola mansueti praesulis permittit humanitas nec cuiquam alteri liceat ecclesiasticis rebus arma miscere aut praeceptis Romani antistitis obviare. Ausibus enim talibus fides et reverentia nostri violatur imperii. Nec hoc solum, quod est maximi criminis, submovemus, verum ne levis saltem inter ecclesias turba nascatur vel in aliquo minui religionis disciplina videatur, hac perenni sanctione censemus ne quid tam episcopis Gallicanis quam aliarum provinciarum contra consuetudinem veterem liceat sine viri venerabilis papae urbis aeternae auctoritate temptare. Sed hoc illis omnibus pro lege sit quidquid sanxit vel sanxerit apostolicae sedis auctoritas, ita ut, quisquis episcoporum ad judicium Romani antistitis evocatus venire neglexerit per moderatorem ejusdem provinciae adesse cogatur. . . ."

[2] Cf. *Ep. Leon.* xi., Migne, *P. L.* liv. p. 638.

authority, and Hilary of Arles was presumptuous in disobeying the order of Leo. Not even to the saintly and learned Hilary could independent action be allowed. He must not disobey the commands of the Roman pontiff. What the Bishop of Rome may decide had the authority of law, and any bishop called to appear at Rome to answer to charges made against him, and failing to obey the summons, was to be arrested and sent to Rome by the prefect.

The times, indeed, were changed, and Leo and Valentinian III. were the exact opposite of Constantine and Melchiades. It was the Church now which could prop up the tottering empire, and the price that was paid for that assistance was destined for her harm. All the evils of the mediaeval papacy, however much the bishops of Rome may have appealed to divine authority, had their origin in this imperial recognition. The edict might almost have been issued by the episcopal secretaries themselves. It is the first that refers to the primacy of St. Peter in reference to the authority which his successor might exercise over their brother bishops. The imperial chancery could surely not have invented the theory "that the dignity of the city of Rome was due to the primacy of St. Peter, who was the chief of those who wore the episcopal mitre." Language such as this shows the predominating mind of Bishop Leo.

Rome, the apostolic See of the West.

The second portion of our inquiry is conditioned by the fact that for the west of Europe Rome was the only See that claimed to have been founded by an apostle. It is certainly conditioned also by the relationship between these western churches and Rome as the source from whence they received their origin. At any rate, during the second and third centuries it was to the bishops of Rome that the missionaries of the West turned for instruction and guidance as to the policy which they should adopt. Our inquiry, however, can only be taken up in the fourth century, and it was then and by the favour of the Emperor that Rome had

peculiar honours accorded to it. There is no evidence that Melchiades ever claimed more than a moral influence, nor was the action of Sylvester in sending delegates to the Synod of Arles evidence of anything than a desire to protect himself, seeing that it was his predecessor's decision, in concert with his three colleagues at Rome in the previous year, that was being appealed against. The action of Sylvester, however, was a precedent which was repeated at Nicaea in A.D. 325,[1] though it is evident that neither at Nicaea nor at Arles did his delegates in any way preside.

The Council of Sardica, A.D. 343,[2] was called upon to consider, among other controversies of the day, its relationship to bishops who had been accused of various faults, and had apparently defied local opinion. In its third canon[3] it decided that when a bishop, who had been tried and condemned by a local synod, felt that he had good cause to demand a new trial, the bishops who tried him, or the bishops in the neighbourhood where he lived, should appeal to the Bishop of Rome, and if he thought the matter should be reopened he should say so and appoint judges. If, on the contrary, he should consider it unnecessary, then the decision should be confirmed and the appeal refused.

The fourth canon of this council decided on the motion of Gaudentius, bishop of Marathon, that in the event of an appeal the bishopric should not be filled up, even though the local decree may have amounted to deposition, until the decision from Rome was known. The fifth canon decreed that if a bishop, accused and locally condemned to degradation, should appeal afterwards to Rome, and desire to be retried at Rome, the Bishop of Rome should write to the local bishops in the immediate neighbourhood of the accused's diocese,

[1] Julius, bishop of Rome, was excused attendance at Nicaea on account of age, and was allowed to send in his place two priests, Vito and Vincentius. Sôzom. i. 17.

[2] Cf. Mansi, iii. 30. The Canons are also given in Ballerini's ed. of Leo III. p. xxviii, *n.v.*

[3] Cf. Hefele, *Conc.* vol. ii. p. 112, who gives the Greek and the Latin versions.

and request a careful record of the facts of the case—"et juxta fidem veritatis definiant." If the accused should demand a new trial he might request from Rome that priests be sent who shall, with the bishops in that neighbourhood, retry the case, and such presbyters shall have the authority of him who sent them. If the comprovincial bishops consider the case should be terminated the Bishop of Rome shall decide according as he thinks wisest.

We have here the first definite recognition of the Roman episcopate as the court of supreme advice. The Church in the West was longing for peace and unity, and saw in the See of Rome a centre round which to rally, and which was believed to be thoroughly orthodox, because it had systematically defended St. Athanasius. But there is no question of jurisdiction, and the opinion and even decision of the Bishop of Rome is clearly for the cause of unity and uniformity of action. No coercive authority was recognised. It was an appeal for help and advice. It was, however, a step which could and did lead on to a vast increase of the power of the bishops of Rome, and it will be our duty to consider it in due course.

When Priscillian went to Rome in A.D. 382, it was for the purpose of appealing to Damasus against the decision of the Council of Saragossa,[1] and the appeal was probably made in accordance with the Edict of Valentinian I., but we must at the same time notice that Priscillian did not appeal to Damasus alone. He went to St. Ambrose at Milan[2] as well as to Damasus at Rome, and his journey to St. Ambrose after his rejection at Rome may be interpreted as implying a regard for Milan equal to that he had for Rome. Nor did he consider his case as settled by the condemnation of the Spanish Council and the rejection by the Roman bishop. The usurper Maximus[3] seems to

[1] Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* ii. 48.
[2] *Ibid.* "regressi Mediolanum aeque adversantem sibi Ambrosium reppererunt."
[3] *Ibid.* 49 "deduci ad synodum Burdigalensem jubet."

have had no idea of ignoring the Bishop of Rome when he relegated the appeal to the Council of Bordeaux. It was thus that Priscillian was finally condemned by his fellow-bishops of western Christendom.

Siricius succeeded Damasus in December 384, and it is evident that he was determined to make the most of the Edict of Valentinianus. He had been consulted by Himerius,[1] bishop of Tarragona, and by a Spanish synod which had been held in A.D. 385. The local bishops were in need of advice on matters of Church order. Information was desired on the question of the rebaptism of Arians, on the times for administering holy baptism, on the expulsion of unchaste monks and nuns from their monasteries, on the marriage of bishops, and several other points of such like nature. Siricius' reply presents us also with the first claim on behalf of a papal decretal. He declares that it is the duty of all churches "ad servandos canones [*i.e.* of Church councils] et tenenda decretalia constituta . . . et quamquam statuta sedis apostolicae vel canonum venerabilia definita nulli sacerdotum domini sit liberum," etc. The advice given has now become something more than advice. It is a papal decree, and no bishop is at liberty to reject it.

On the other hand, the letter of Siricius to the Church of Milan on the Jovinian heresy has quite a different tone.[2] He is anxious that Christian orthodoxy should prevail, and he desires, therefore, to let them know the decision of the Roman Church, and St. Ambrose in his reply assures Siricius that the Church at Milan is at one in reference to this heresy with the Church at Rome.

The troubles in northern Gaul which the character of those bishops, who had joined in A.D. 386 in the consecration of Felix for the See of Trier, had created were brought for settlement in A.D. 390 to St. Ambrose and

[1] Mansi, iii. 655; Migne, *P. L.* xiii. p. 1131.
[2] Mansi, iii. 663; Ambrossi *opera*, ii. 1. 963; Migne, *P. L.* xvi. 1121.

the Church of Milan, and St. Ambrose, regarding himself as holding supreme authority to decide the matter, did not hesitate to condemn the Ithacians.[1] Siricius, however, himself took up the matter in the same year, and held a Council at Rome, and condemned in a similar manner these followers of Ithacius, and forwarded the decision of his council to St. Ambrose as apparently on equal terms.[2] The story is not as clear as one could wish it to be, for we have to depend on our information concerning the Council of Turin A.D. 417[3] for our knowledge of that which happened at the Council of Milan. Rome, however, was feeling her way and could do to distant Tarragona that which she dare not attempt towards Milan.

Innocent I. began his episcopate on 20th December 401, and the two letters which he wrote to Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse, and Victricius, bishop of Rouen, show him as earnestly desirous to advise the provincial bishops. Both letters were probably written in A.D. 405, and in answer to letters previously received. Both bishops had asked advice, and the letters are not decretal, but letters of counsel from him who held the Apostolic See in the West. Exuperius had been much troubled by the action of Vigilantius,[4] a native of Calagorris or Houra in the department of Haute-Garonne, who, once enthusiastic for the ascetic movement within the Church and the friend of St. Jerome, St. Paulinus of Nola, and Sulpicius Severus, had now changed his opinions, and had fallen back into the ranks of those who were violently opposed to monasticism. The reply of Innocent is dated 10th February 405,[5] and in it there is no attempt to magnify the See of Rome or to claim any authority over him. He states his own view, and informs him

[1] Mansi, iii. 664; on the Ithacian trouble; cf. Hefele, *Conc.* ii. p. 385.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 663, and *Ep. Ambros. ad Sir.* ii. 1. 1165.

[3] On the Council of Turin, cf. Mons. Babut's essay, 1904, to whom I am largely indebted for much valuable information. Cf. also Mgr. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, vol. i. p. 90.

[4] Cf. Gennadius, *De vir. inlustr.* No. xxxvi.; Paulini Nol. *Ep.* v. § 11.

[5] Mansi, iii. 1038; Migne, *P. L.* lvi. 500.

of the custom which had prevailed at Rome during the pontificate of his predecessor Siricius.

The letter to Victricius of Rouen was of a similar nature, and perhaps was written just a year (15th February 404) before that to Exuperius. Far off in the north of Gaul, Victricius[1] was anxious to keep in

[1] Mansi, iii. 1032; Constant, p. 746. The life of Victricius calls, I think, for further consideration. The story, as given by Tillemont, Lebœuf, and Lebrun, assumes a condition of Church organisation which we have already shown to be improbable, and the labours of Victricius have therefore sunk down to the level of those of an ordinary bishop of the age of Pope Innocent. On the contrary, he seems to deserve to be classed with St. Martin and St. Patrick as one of the apostles of north-western Europe. In the list of the bishops of Rouen he appears as seventh, but the list has no historical value in the names it gives us anterior to the sixth century. (Cf. Mgr. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* ii. p. 205.) He was a missionary bishop as far as any evidence we possess makes it clear. All our information concerning him comes from two letters addressed to him by Paulinus of Nola, and this letter of Pope Innocent in reply to questions he had put to him. He was perhaps a younger contemporary of St. Martin, born somewhere in North Gaul, and probably in Belgica secunda, and, like St. Martin, had been in the army. His retirement from it brought upon him very cruel treatment from the military tribune. The two epistles of Paulinus, *Ep.* xix. and xxxvii., Migne, *P. L.* vol. lxi., are full of eloquent adulation, and cannot be relied on as strictly historical. He writes of the north of Gaul, where he had never been, as if there was a well-organised Church there, and refers to the daily assemblies in many churches and monasteries for worship and the recitation of the Psalter. He refers to Rouen as a city where Victricius was well known, but does not say he was bishop there, and he tells us that he had met Victricius and Martin at Vienne, an event which must have occurred before A.D. 394, when Paulinus retired to Nola. About the year A.D. 399 Victricius had sent a deacon Paschasius from northern Gaul to Rome, and Paulinus had met him there, and had carried him off to Nola with him, and his first letter to Victricius was to excuse himself for this liberty. About the year A.D. 404 Victricius himself went to Rome, and Paulinus wrote his second letter to him to tell him of his grief that Victricius had not gone farther and paid him a visit at Nola. Beyond these two facts of the mission of Paschasius and the visit of Victricius to Rome Paulinus tells us nothing definite. Later writers have assumed that Victricius fell under suspicion of heresy, and that this intercourse with Rome was connected with his purgation. Are there adequate grounds for this assumption? Nowhere in his letters does Paulinus ever hint of any such suspicion. He refers, *Ep.* xxxvii. § 5, to the faith and confession of Victricius in terms of approval, and in describing the Catholic faith mentions the errors of Apollinaris. This, however, cannot be made the grounds for assuming that Victricius was of doubtful orthodoxy. Far away in the north of Gaul he knew little of the teaching of Apollinaris, and the condemnation of the latter at Constantinople in 381 would justify Paulinus in this reference. Nor does the letter of Innocent allow of such an idea. The apostle of Belgica secunda and Lugdunensis tertia was to him *frater carissime* who desired to know the rule of the Roman Church. Neither Victricius nor Martin were trained theologians, and orthodox formulae would be welcome under the conditions of his episcopate. Innocent does not call him *episcopus Rotomagensis*, nor does he give us any hint of theological uncertainty on the part of Victricius. The questions he desired to be answered were for the well ordering of the faithful to whom he ministered.

Sulpicius Severus, in his *Third Dialogue on the Labours of St. Martin* (Halm's edition, p. 200), states that St. Martin met a bishop Victricius at Chartres. This would be about A.D. 385, and we have here probably our earliest notice of Victricius. A short tractate *De laude sanctorum*, Migne, *P. L.* xx. p. 443, is ascribed to

close touch with the Apostolic See, and Innocent applauds this desire, and writes at length to him in order, he says, "that the churches in your region may know what is the discipline of the Roman Church. He considers that it is right that in those parts a rule similar to that which the Church in Rome was wont to hold should be observed. So he tells Victricius (1) that no bishop should dare to consecrate another bishop without the knowledge of his metropolitan, nor should one bishop presume to consecrate another contrary to that which the Nicene Synod had laid down. In the third canon or rule he says that contentions among the clergy are to be settled by the bishops of the province summoned to assemble for that purpose, nor should any one be allowed, without prejudice to the Roman Church, to which all deference is due—"sine praejudicio tamen Romanae ecclesiae, cui in omnibus causis debet reverentia custodiri"—to leave his own bishop and those who in God's Name govern the Church there and go away to other provinces. If greater cases cannot be settled on the spot, then, after the decision of the local episcopate, such are to be referred to the Apostolic See as the Synod has decided—"si autem majores causae in medium fuerint devolutae ad sedem apostolicam sicut synodus statuit post episcopale judicium referantur."

There are in all thirteen points on which Innocent sent to Victricius the advice he desired. These points are such as a bishop, acting alone and situated far away

Victricius, and Lebœuf accepts it, because the style seems to resemble somewhat that of Paulinus, whom Victricius may have imitated. It seems to have been written in the first flush of that extravagant estimation of the relics of the saints when they were eagerly sought for to give a special sanctity to a church, and was probably written about A.D. 395. In section iv. we have a short confession of faith, orthodox and simple, and apparently one used in the instruction of catechumens. The work, if indeed it is that of Victricius, was probably taken down from addresses given by Victricius, and should be compared with the *Liber contra Arianos* of Phoebadius, which has come down to us under like conditions. Three years after the return of Victricius from Rome occurred that terrible invasion of North Gaul by the Vandals and Alans. Was Victricius a martyr or not? We cannot tell, nor is there any tradition of such a fate. But Victricius disappears, and probably died early in the fifth century, and the ruin created by Vandal, Saxon, and heathen Frank account for our ignorance of the fate of this valiant apostle of northern Gaul.

from any great centre of the empire, would especially desire to know the mind and the practice of the Apostolic Church in reference to them. There were rules concerning second marriages, which were at least to be forbidden to the clergy, and concerning the ordination of men who wandered from diocese to diocese, and concerning monks who, after they had been for some time in their monastery, expressed a desire to leave it and to seek ordination. These ought not to be encouraged, says Innocent, to forsake their profession. If they are ordained they are at any rate to remain unmarried. Some other rules are also laid down concerning the treatment of unchaste nuns or monks and the penance to be imposed upon them. One wonders, however, to what extent some of these rules were necessary for the missionary diocese of Rouen with a population constantly menaced by heathen invaders, and living side by side with heathen Saxon and Frankish settlers. The rules indicate clearly the condition of the Church in Italy, and within two years the opportunity to adopt them had unfortunately passed away.

The claim of the Roman pontificate, however, comes out very clearly in the controversy which arose between Pope Zosimus, A.D. 417-418, and the African Church. A certain Apiarius,[1] a priest of Sicca, had been deposed by Urban, his bishop, himself a disciple and friend of St. Augustine. Apiarius, however, went to Rome and appealed to Zosimus against this decision, a privilege which was allowed by the canons of Sardica to bishops condemned by their comprovincial bishops, but not to priests against their superior officers. The act of Apiarius, and especially the way in which he was received by Zosimus, annoyed the bishops of North Africa, and in a council which they held, 1st May 418, they forbade any priest, deacon, or inferior cleric to appeal to any court on the other side of the sea.

Zosimus, however, not only presumed to hear

[1] Mansi, iii. 831; Zosimus, *Ep.* x.

Apiarius' case and adjudicate on it regardless of the absence of his accusers, but demanded from Urban, bishop of Sicca, that Apiarius should be reinstated in his office, and sent over Bishop Faustinus[1] and ten priests to meet the African bishops in Synod.

Archbishop Aurelius of Carthage thereupon held a Synod, 16th November 418, of African bishops at Carthage,[2] and in this Synod the messenger of Zosimus, Bishop Faustinus, and the priests Asellus and Philip, demanded that they should treat—first, of appeals to Rome ; secondly, on the matter of so many bishops travelling to Rome and frequenting the imperial court, a practice which they desired to see forbidden ; thirdly, that priests and deacons unjustly dealt with should be heard and tried by the neighbouring bishops ; and, fourthly, that Bishop Urban was to reconsider and retract his judgment against Apiarius under threat of excommunication. Pope Zosimus was not only ambitious, he was also ill advised. He had based his action on what he described as a canon of the Council of Nicaea, a mistake which caused great perplexity and confusion.[3] The African Church could not find any such canon in their copies of the Nicene Canons, and were not willing to accept Zosimus' word for it. They therefore sent messengers to Cyril of Jerusalem and also to the Church at Constantinople for copies of these decrees. As a matter of fact the canons were those of Sardica, which at the same time did not decide as of a priest against his own bishop, but only in reference to delinquent bishops. The question was ultimately settled under Pope Boniface by the Council of Carthage, 25th May 419. They had received copies in Latin of the Nicene Canons, and these they forwarded to Boniface at the request of St. Augustine, pointing out at the same time that hitherto the Council of Sardica

[1] Constant. *Concil.* p. 981 ; Mansi, iv. 403.

[2] Mansi, iii. 827, where we have the letter of the Council to Pope Boniface relating what had occurred. Cf. Boniface to Bishop Faustinus, Mansi, iv. 451.

[3] Cf. below.

had not decided concerning appeals of those who were in inferior orders. It was the wish of the Council of Carthage that peace should prevail, and that the custom of the Western Church should be similar to that in the East. Zosimus, however, in his letter had claimed that the traditions of the fathers gave this authority to the apostolic See, and that no one was allowed to question it. That tradition had been preserved through recognised canons and rules, and he was not prepared to change his mind. But Zosimus was at bay. The Council of Turin, A.D. 417, backed as it was by all the authority of the See of Milan, was testing his claims very severely. The Ithacian controversy had been settled by comprovincial bishops, and they had acted in complete independence of Rome. If such was allowed to pass unnoticed the authority or rather the ambition of the Roman bishops would be seriously compromised. So Zosimus, who could not rule in Italy, endeavoured to act the tyrant in Africa.

That the See of Rome had a recognised precedence on historical grounds cannot be doubted. But what had been the reason for this precedence? St. Cyprian had looked upon Rome as the *ecclesia principalis*. It was doubtless the mother Church of the West of Africa.[1] St. Augustine[2] also was prepared to recognise the precedence, because, in the West, Rome was distinctly the apostolic See. The question of its position took acute form during the deliberations of the fathers at Chalcedon,[3] October 451. The twenty-eighth canon of that Council, which was passed in the fifteenth session, decided as follows:—Rightly have the fathers conceded to the See of old Rome its privileges on account of its character as the imperial city, and moved by the same considerations the 150 bishops have awarded the like

[1] Cf. Optatus of Milevis, Migne, *P. L.* vol. xi. 999 "non enim respublica est in ecclesia sed ecclesia in republica, id est, in imperio Romano cum super imperatorem non sit nisi Deus solus."

[2] Aug. *Ep.* 43, § 7; Migne, *P. L.* lx. p. 300.

[3] Mansi, vi. 155; Hefele, iii. 411; Evagrius, *H. E.* ii. c. 2, 4, 18.

privileges to the most holy See of new Rome, judging with good reason that the city which is honoured by the imperial power and the Senate, and which enjoys the same privileges as the ancient imperial city, should also in its ecclesiastical relations be exalted to hold the second place.

The custom of the Eastern Church had been in accordance with this view, and the action of the Synod of Antioch,[1] A.D. 341, which in its ninth canon had decided that the ecclesiastical rank of the bishop should be regulated in accordance with the civil rank of the city, shows the basis on which this development of Church organisation had proceeded. This view, however, was not at all welcome to Pope Leo I.[2] If such had indeed been in the minds of the emperors, yet he himself was not prepared to allow it, and he laid down that it was the apostolic origin of the Church of Rome which gave it a higher rank and authority in the organisation of the Church. This then was the line on which in the fifth century the claim for the authority by the bishops of Rome was extended. To Gaul Rome was especially the apostolic See, and it was also the mother Church. It had therefore a double claim on the obedience of the Gallican bishops. But behind all this there were the edicts of the emperors, and other edicts yet to come, and when moral influences could not prevail the bishops of Rome fell back on the secular arm. They were not content to act as the guide of the provincial Church in matters of faith, nor did they consider that for them it might be enough that they were the official channel through which the bishops of Gaul came to know the decisions of general and local Synods. They came to claim, and with a persistence that at last gained for them recognition, that the Church in Gaul could not take the initiative in any project without their consent. They asserted now,

[1] Cf. Hefele, ii. 69; Mansi, ii. 1307; Maasen, *Primat des Bischof von Rom*, p. 3.
[2] Leo, *Ep.* 104; cf. also Leo's Sermon on Fest. SS. Peter and Paul. Migne, *P. L.* vol. liv. p. 336.

and there was no single bishop strong enough to deny the statement, that the division of the dioceses and the creation of metropolitan provinces was a matter for their sole decision.

Rome and the organisation of the Church in Gaul.

The organisation of the Church in Gaul brought it into very close relationship with the papal See. Anterior to the action of Patroclus, bishop of Arles, and Zosimus, bishop of Rome, which we will presently describe, there is no evidence of any defined organisation. What had hitherto existed was due to local circumstances, and one is tempted to conclude that this in itself is a sign that the territorial organisation of the Gallican Church was remarkably late. Certainly there was no archbishop in Gaul before the fifth century. In A.D. 314 we find the Bishop of Arles presiding at the Council there because, apparently, the Council assembled in his city, and it is possible he may have acted under instruction from the emperor. During the latter years of Constantius, Saturninus, the Arian bishop of Arles, presided at the Council of Arles A.D. 353,[1] and of Beziers A.D. 356,[2] and possibly in this case it was as the trusted servant of the Arian emperor. At Valence in A.D. 374[3] Phoebadius of Agen, who must undoubtedly have been the most influential of the Gallican bishops of the time, presided. The Council of Bordeaux,[4] A.D. 384, was rather a court of appeal to consider the case of Priscillian and his followers, and the presidency of Delphinus, the bishop of Bordeaux, offers us no evidence of metropolitan organisation. At Nîmes, in A.D. 396,[5] the senior bishop presided, and during the antifelician troubles which originated at Trier, and which affected the whole of Gaul, the influence of St. Ambrose at Milan was felt, and it was at Milan in A.D. 390 that the controversy was settled. There had,

[1] Hilary, *Ad Constant. Aug.*, Migne, *P. L.* vol. ix. p. 1222.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 1218. [3] Mansi, iii. 491.
[4] Sulpic. Sever. *Chron.* ii. 49.
[5] *Id.*, *Dialogue* ii. § 15; Kunst, *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, xi. 465; Hefele, ii. p. 403.

however, apparently been some movement during the fourth century which would have organised the Church on the civil divisions of South Gaul, the plan which had already been adopted in the East. During the great conflict between Vienne and Arles[1] for precedence, there is clearly evidence that to Vienne, the capital of the seven provinces, there had been allowed a certain pre-eminence, and its bishops had exerted some sort of influence over at any rate the bishops of the province of Vienne. The letter of the Council of Valence is perhaps of more historical value than the list of names attached to the four canons then adopted. Clearly Phoebadius of Agen presided at it, and his name comes first in the list of signatures, and in a special way as the leading bishop of the assembly. He subscribes as if he did so in the name of the other bishops present. Now Valence is in the province of Vienne, and Agen in the civil province of Aquitaine II., of which Bordeaux was in somewhat later times the archbishopric. It is evident, therefore, that as late as A.D. 374 there was no definite organisation, and that the Bishop of Agen presided because he was Phoebadius, the fellow-opponent with Hilary of the Arianism which Constantius desired to impose on the Church of Gaul, the veteran bishop who had the unwavering confidence of his fellow-bishops.

The letter of the Council of Valence is addressed to the bishops of the five provinces of Gaul. The similar ascription to the decisions of the Council of Nîmes was addressed to the bishops of the seven provinces, *i.e.*

[1] Gundlach, *Der Streit der Bistümer Arles und Vienne*, Hanover, 1890, has gone carefully into this rivalry between the earlier and the later metropolis. In 1605 Jean du Boys, in his book *Floriacensis vetus bibliotheca*, published thirty pretended papal letters, and claimed that from the middle of the second century the bishops of Vienne down to the twelfth century held the first place among the bishops of Gaul and the primacy of the seven provinces. This was answered in 1629 by Pierre Saxy, a canon of Arles, in his work *Pontificium Arelatense*, who claimed, on the authority of sixty papal and imperial edicts and decrees, that the Bishop of Arles from the beginning of the fifth to the tenth century had the metropolitan dignity in the old province of Vienne except over four dioceses which were subordinate to Vienne, and that from the first half of the sixth century he was enfeoffed of the apostolic vicariate.

Vienne, Narbonensis I. and II., Aquitania I. and II., Novempopulania, and Alpes Maritimae. The civil capital of those provinces was the ancient city of Vienne.

In the early years of the fifth century we begin to find traces of organisation. There is a tendency on the part of the bishops of Vienne and Narbonne to exercise a certain authority in the two provinces of Vienne and Narbonensis over the bishops of the dioceses included in them. We find also that Proculus the bishop of Marseilles, either by reason of the commercial importance of his See, or for personal reasons because of his age and experience, had begun to exercise a similar overseership in the province of Narbonensis II. These local efforts at organisation appear by way of protest made a little later against the action of the popes in ignoring what had been done, or was in process of accomplishment, and in creating the archbishopric of Arles for the personal advantage of Patroclus. The province of Vienne stretched in a sort of pear shape form from Vienne and Geneva to Arles, cutting off Narbonensis I. from Narbonensis II. The province of Narbonensis I. extended from Toulouse through Lodève to Nîmes, and the ancient capital of Narbonne represented generally the most important bishopric in that province. Narbonensis II. comprised the district south of the Durance, though indeed Apt and Gap, two episcopal sees in it, are north of that river, and over this province Proculus of Marseilles exercised an undefined episcopal supervision.

In A.D. 408 Proculus, as senior bishop, had consecrated Lazarus as Bishop of Aix, and about the same time Heros had been elected Bishop of Arles.[1] In A.D. 400, however, Arles had become the official capital of Gaul and the residence of the prefect. As the centre of government for the whole of the Gallican prefecture it would naturally confer on the bishop of that See

[1] Cf. Babut, *Le Concile de Turin*, pp. 39 and 241.

a precedence which could not brook any earlier and opposing organisation. For three years or more Arles had been the capital of the usurper Constantine, and with the death of Constantine Heros disappears, and the patrician Constantius, who had won back Arles for the empire, appears to have placed in the vacant See a friend of his own, a somewhat worldly and ambitious man Patroclus. The new Bishop of Arles was anxious to assert his influence over his fellow-bishops, and seems to have claimed metropolitan right as due to him from the position of his See. Arles for him should become an archbishopric. It was probably in the year A.D. 416 that Patroclus[1] went to Rome to discuss with the bishop the elevation of Arles to metropolitan rank. Such a recognition of his position naturally made Patroclus welcome to Zosimus, who had become Bishop of Rome in March 417, and an ear was given to his petition. But the theory that an episcopal See derived its importance from the civil position of the town was no longer popular in Rome. The primacy of St. Peter was now the favourite text. So Patroclus apparently invented an antiquity for his See which would connect it with the apostles, and possibly with St. Peter. The pioneer of Christianity at Arles was a Roman missionary Trophimus, and Patroclus now and for his own purpose identified this saintly man with Trophimus the Ephesian, the companion of St. Paul. Certainly we do not hear of this identification before, and the strong motives which Patroclus undoubtedly had justifies our assumption that he was the first to invent the idea.[2]

So the ground for action having been discovered, on March 22, 417, Zosimus wrote to the bishops in Gaul and in the Seven Provinces—"Placuit apostolicae,"[3]

[1] Duchesne's *Fastes ép.* i. 96, and Babut as above, p. 32 "la présence de Patrocle à Rome est indispensable pour qu'on s'explique le rapprochement de ces deux dates : 18 mars, élection de Zosime, 22 mars, décrétal Placuit apostolicae."

[2] Decree Placuit apostolicae : "sane quoniam metropolitanae Arelatensium urbi vetus privilegium minime derogandum est, ad quam primum ex hac sede Trophimus summus antistes, ex cujus fonte totae Galliae fidei rivulos acceperunt, directus est."

[3] Cf. Constant. 935 ; Mansi, iv. 359. No one is to come from Gaul to Rome

—declaring that he had made Arles the seat of an archbishopric, and that Patroclus as archbishop should preside over the three provinces of Narbonensis I. and II. and Viennensis. In the meanwhile, but subsequent to this decree, Proculus of Marseilles had been called upon by a custom already some years old to provide bishops for two small Sees in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, and he consecrated Ursus to the bishopric of Ceyreste and Tuentius to that of S. Jean de Garguier.[1]

It happened also that a council had been summoned by Marolus, bishop of Milan, to meet in Turin[2] in the autumn of this year to consider an appeal from Britius, bishop of Tours, who had been charged by members of his diocese[3] of various crimes. Its assembly, therefore, coincided with the attempt on the part of Zosimus and Patroclus to organise the Church in South Gaul. The independence of Marolus and the Church in Milan naturally roused the jealousy and anxiety of Zosimus, since his own action had made possible a coalition against him of which Milan might be the centre. Zosimus was aware that the council was to assemble in the autumn of 417, and on the very day it began its sessions wrote an encyclical to the Church in Africa and in Gaul, and the Seven Provinces—"Cum adversus statuta,"[4]—placing Ursus and Tuentius out of

"nisi metropolitani Arelatensis episcopi formatas acceperit." The "metropolitanus episcopus in ordinandis sacerdotibus teneat auctoritatem." He Zosimus "Viennensem, Narbonensem primam et N. secundam provincias ad pontificium suum revocet."

[1] On the relationship of Ceyreste and S. Jean de Garguier to Marseilles cf. Babut, *ut supra*, p. 62. Ceyreste or Ciotat is close to Marseilles on the south-west, and was once on the sea-coast.

[2] On the Council of Turin and our evidence concerning it, cf. Babut, *Le Concile de Turin*, "le date du concile de Turin peut être déterminée d'une manière précise et certaine: il s'est ouvert le 22 septembre 417." It is referred to by the letters of Zosimus "Multa contra" et "Relatum nobis," and in the acts of the Council of Riez A.D. 439, Mansi, v. 1191, and of Orange A.D. 441, Mansi, vi. 434.

[3] Cf. Greg. *Hist. Franc.* x. 21 "Briccius . . crimen adulterii est impactum a civibus Turonicis"; Mansi, iii. 859. Hefele, ii. 426, wrongly places this council in the year 401.

[4] This decree was issued the day on which the Synod of Turin assembled, September 22, 417, Constant. 955. The consecration was said to be void, because—(1) it was done without the metropolitan Patroclus of Arles; (2) there was no

the communion of the Church, and summoning Proculus to Rome. On receipt of this news Proculus appealed to Turin, and so did Simplicius of Vienne and Hilarius of Narbonne, whose rights had been equally invaded by the creation of the new archbishopric. The Church in Gaul was in revolt against the autocratic action of the Bishop of Rome. That Zosimus was right in principle can hardly be questioned, for the older arrangements had been made under conditions which had passed away and before Arles had risen into political importance. The capital of Gaul could not really be ignored, and if it was not ignored then the traditional influence of Marseilles, Vienne, and Narbonne could not but be curtailed. The story, though somewhat complicated, is of importance as illustrative at once of a valuable chapter in the history of the organisation of the Church in Gaul and of the growth of that papal authority, which was the more unwelcome because of that evident coercive tendency which was due to the secular power conferred on the bishops of Rome by the civil authority. Four days after Zosimus had issued this summons to Proculus he wrote to Hilarius of Narbonne[1] (September 26, 417)—"Mirati admodum"—and informed him that he was no longer to consecrate bishops for the province, since this privilege had now been assigned to Patroclus, and on the same day wrote to Patroclus—"Quid de Proculi,"[2]—confirming him in his authority, now that Proculus had been condemned. It is possible that he may have heard of Proculus' appeal to Milan, and desired therefore to show that the matter had been settled by him, and could not therefore be considered at Milan.

Then on September 29 he wrote to the bishop of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonensis II.[3] to say that Patroclus was their archbishop and not Proculus or Simplicius—"Multa contra veterum,"—and on the

assembly of bishops to assist; (3) the day was not a Sunday or holy day; (4) the two towns belonged to Arles and not to Marseilles.

[1] Mansi, iv. 364; Constant. 960.

[2] Mansi, iv. 364.

[3] Constant. 959; Mansi, iv. 363.

next day in a similar manner to Simplicius himself—"Relatum est nobis."[1] But the Council of Milan had not been idle, and the bishops assembled there were prepared to recognise the claims of Arles, and provide for it by dividing Viennensis into two, with an archbishop at Vienne and another at Arles, leaving Narbonensis II. to Proculus of Marseilles.[2]

Patroclus could not have been blind to this determination on the part of the Church in South Gaul to be consulted in such diocesan partitions as concerned them so intimately, and in the late autumn of 417 went to Rome again, and attended a council there, at which Proculus was once more condemned. Early in 418 Zosimus heard that the clergy of Narbonensis II. were unwilling to be separated from Proculus, and March 5 wrote to Patroclus—"Cum et in praesenti"[3] —to say that no one was on any account to recognise those whom Proculus had consecrated, and on the same day he wrote also to the clergy of Marseilles[4]—"Non miror Proculum"—to say that now that Proculus had been deprived, they were to arrange to elect a new bishop in his place.

After the first shock, however, both parties became more reasonable. Zosimus had already hinted to Simplicius that he would not deprive him of his metropolitan rank, and in Narbonensis II. the clergy and bishops began to submit and look to Arles rather than to Marseilles for direction, and the reform, unpleasantly as it had been introduced, was certainly bearing fruit.

But the year A.D. 418 produced considerable changes in the leaders of the movement. Constantius, the patrician, the friend and supporter of Patroclus,

[1] Constant. Appendix, p. iii.; Theiner, *Disqu. critic.* 201.

[2] Hardouin, i. 958; Remi Cellier, *H. A. S.* x. 756. Peter de Marca, *De primatu, Lugdun.*, says of this second canon of Turin: "ex eodem canone colligitur hanc praerogativam illi episcopo deberi in unaquaque provincia qui eam civitatem obtinebat quae in laterculo imperii metropolis dignitate fruebatur." Cf. Mansi, iii. 859.

[3] Constant. 972; Mansi, iv. 367.

[4] Constant. 973; Mansi, iv. 368.

died on September 21, and Zosimus himself died on December 26.[1] His successor Boniface was not so friendly to Patroclus, especially seeing that his great patron was dead, and the Archbishop of Arles was compelled to act more in accordance with the feelings of his suffragan bishops. A vacancy had occurred in the See of Lodève, which was in the province of Narbonensis I., and so, according to the constitution of Zosimus—"Placuit apostolicae,"—it was the duty of Patroclus to provide for that See. This he promptly did, and so ignored the later decree of 1st October 417[2] —"Relatum est nobis,"—which had endeavoured to accept part of the proposal of Milan, and had assigned to Arles half of Viennensis and Narbonensis II. For this conduct Patroclus was severely reproved in a letter addressed to Hilarius of Narbonne—"Difficile quidem"[3] —February 9, and in which Hilarius was called upon to provide for the See of Lodève, seeing that Patroclus had no right to invade another man's province.

Yet, notwithstanding the thunders of Zosimus, Proculus[4] remained to his death the presiding bishop of Narbonensis II., and his successor, Venerius, in A.D. 430, had five suffragans, and the dominating influence of Marseilles continued until the death of Venerius in A.D. 452.

Patroclus of Arles was murdered[5] in A.D. 426 by a certain military tribune, and it was believed by the secret orders of Felix, the *Magister militum*; and his successor Honoratus, the saintly and ascetic founder of the monastery of Lerins, was not welcome to Coelestine of Rome. His previous life had not fitted him for the difficult position of an archbishop of Arles. But

[1] Jaffe, *Reg. pont. Rom.* i. 51.
[2] Constant. *ut supra*, Appendix iii.
[3] Leonis *Opp.* iii. 369; Mansi, iv. 395.
[4] Proculus was the friend of Jerome, Cassian, Honoratus, and Augustine. St. Augustine mentions him, *Ep.* 219.
[5] Prosper, *Chron.* sub anno, "Patroclus Arelatensis episcopus a tribuno quodam barbaro multis vulneribus laniatus occiditur; quod facinus ad occultam jussionem Felicis magistri militum referebatur."

more spirituality was needed among the bishops of southern Gaul, and it was Honoratus' endeavour to promote this. He found much in need of reform, and his efforts in that direction were not only opposed by the friends of his predecessor, but brought down on him a letter full of bitterness and contempt from Coelestine himself.[1] It was certainly questionable whether men with no knowledge of the world were best fitted to be made bishops, and Honoratus had promoted monks to the vacant episcopal Sees, and had preserved the simple austerity of his monastic life as well as his monastic garb while he was Archbishop of Arles. His episcopate, however, was very brief, and in A.D. 429 he was succeeded by a man of his own choice, a disciple of his in the monastery of Lerins, Hilary surnamed of Arles, and the disciple persevered in the methods which his master had laid down before him.

It would not be correct to assign the hostility of Coelestine to monasticism only. He had been appealed to by Prosper of Marseilles for help against the Pelagian tendencies of the Gallican Church.[2] The spirit of resistance to the influence of St. Augustine was strongest in the monasteries, and it is clear that Coelestine saw in the monastic party, in the family of bishops who had been trained at Lerins or Marseilles, Hilary of Arles, Eucherius of Lyons, and Castor of Apt, the centre of opposition to his claim for absolute rule. The controversy lingered on for a few years, and then broke out again as between Hilary and Leo I. of Rome. It was after fourteen years of his episcopate that Hilary found himself in direct opposition to the Bishop of Rome. He had been on a visit to Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and while there he was

[1] "Cuperemus quidem," 26th July 428. The letter was addressed to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne. He bids them not to choose a bishop who has not been through all the lower grades of the ministry. He refers to Proculus—"Massiliensis ecclesiae sacerdotem qui dicitur, quod dictu nefas est"—as if he was somewhat implicated in the death of Patroclus.

[2] Cf. Chapter xi.

appealed to by the Church in Sequania in reference to Chelidonius, bishop of Besançon. Hilary therefore summoned a council of local bishops, and having heard the charges against Chelidonius, condemned and deprived him of his bishopric. But Chelidonius at once appealed to Leo[1] and went to Rome the better to state his case before him. So Hilary also went to Rome, and Leo desired that Hilary should appear as prosecutor, but Hilary adhered strictly to the Canons of Sardica, and said that the case had been carefully heard by the comprovincial bishops, and had been decided on, and it was the duty of Rome to revise the judgment, but not to try the case as if for the first time. In Rome itself and before the great Bishop Leo, he boldly upheld the independence of the Church in Gaul, and is said on that account to have run considerable risk of his life.

Meanwhile another complaint was made against Hilary, and this time in reference to his own province. Two bishops of Narbonensis II., Projectus and Leontius, complained to Leo that Hilary was only promoting monastic bishops. Projectus, it appears, was suffering from an illness which made it impossible for him to act any longer as bishop, and Hilary had summoned other bishops to his aid, and had consecrated a successor to Projectus.[2] Hilary was clearly acting on the papal letter of Zosimus—"Placuit apostolicae." Leo, however, was determined to humble Hilary, and through his discomfiture to gain increased power in Gaul. He took the extraordinary line of policy, that as Zosimus had created the province so his successor could dissolve it, and as Hilary had shown such independence, he decided to deprive him of metropolitan rank, and leave him to administer the diocese of Arles only. So in July 445 he wrote to the bishops of the province of Vienne to say, that since Hilary of Arles would not

[1] "Divinae cultum," A.D. 445; Mansi, v. 1244. Chelidonius, as bishop of Besançon, must have been a metropolitan of Sequania. But Leo was acting on the edict of Valentinian III. to Aetius.

[2] Leo, *Epp.*, Migne, *P. L.* vol. liv. 628.

submit himself to the authority of the Roman See, claiming as he did the right to ordain for all Gaul, and ignoring the dignity of other metropolitans, he is deprived of all metropolitan rank, and the Sees he had superintended as archbishop are to be returned to their former metropolitans, and Chelidonius and Projectus are to be reinstated in their Sees. The edict of Valentinian III. which we have mentioned above made it impossible for Hilary to resist this decision of Leo, but Hilary made serious efforts to preserve for Arles the position which had been granted to it by Zosimus, and to win back, if it were possible, by deferential conduct the good-will of Leo.[1] He made use of Auxiliaris, who had been praetorian prefect, and at Arles had known him well, and who was now living in Rome, and he sent to Rome one of the chief priests of his diocese, Ravennius, who afterwards succeeded him as bishop, and he commissioned Nestorius, bishop of Avignon, and Constantinus, bishop of Carpentras, to carry his profession of obedience. The bishops also of the province of Arles joined in their appeal to Leo, and expressed their regret at this proposed rearrangement. But Leo was slow to relent, and Hilary died 5th May A.D. 449, and thus the greatest of the then bishops of the western prefecture passed to his rest unreconciled to Leo, the greatest of any of the hitherto bishops of Rome.

The death of Hilary was known in Rome as early as the month of August, and Leo promptly wrote[2] to twelve bishops of the Church of south Gaul, including the bishops of Narbonne and Vienne, Rusticus and Nicetus, calling upon them to consecrate Ravennius of Arles as bishop in place of Hilary, and two letters from Leo[3] to Ravennius follow soon after, in which he is

[1] Leo, *Epp.* 36 and 37.

[2] "Virum sibi probatum, fratrem Ravennium, secundum desideria cleri." Cf. Mansi, v. 1428, "justa et rationabilis."

[3] "Circumspectum te" (Mansi, v. 1430 "Ravennio episcopo Arelatensi") and in the same month another letter, "Provectionem dilectionis."

recognised as Bishop of Arles, and requested to write and report how he fared. Yet the dissolution of the archbishopric was to be regarded as an accomplished fact. On 6th January 450 Leo wrote to the bishops of Gaul and of the province of Vienne, repeating his decree of deposition on Hilary, and stating that the privilege of Arles was now transferred to Vienne, which was now to resume its ancient dignity.[1]

Meanwhile Ravennius had been elected and consecrated as bishop of Arles by the bishops of Vienne and Narbonne and others, and Ravennius had entered upon his work conscious that he had the approval of the Bishop of Rome. Leo had given some hope to Ravennius that he would restore to him at least some portion of the privilege that had been attached to his See, and writing to him to tell him of the Eutychian heresy and the Council of Chalcedon, he gave evidence that it was his intention to treat him[2] as his agent in Gaul, or, in other words, as the representative of the Church in Gaul. The knowledge of this gave courage to the bishops of the two Narbonne provinces to write again to Leo in reference to the restoration of the metropolitan See of Arles. The letter[3] was signed by nineteen bishops of Carpentras, Die, Avignon, Cavaillon, Orange, Toulon, and Vardon of the province of Vienne, Antibes, Fréjus, and Riez of the province of Narbonensis II., and Terouanne, Cimiez, and Embrun of the province of Alpes Maritimae, and by six others whose Sees cannot be identified. They urge the antiquity of Arles and repeat the legend of St. Trophimus, the companion of St. Paul, and they hope that the authority of Arles may be extended over the

[1] "Quali pertinacia," Migne, *P. L.* vol. liv. 1237. He announces to the bishops through Gaul and Vienne "Hilarium, episcopum Arelatensem . . . a privilegio civitatis ejus submotum esse, et redintegratum Viennensi archiepiscopo privilegium et jus antiquum quod apostolica benignitas ad Arelatensem ex parte transtulisset civitatem."

[2] "Optassemus quidem," Mansi, vi. 181.

[3] Leo replied to this letter in "Lectis dilectionis vestrae," Mansi vi. 76; and see also Babut, p. 278; Duchesne, *Fastes ép* vol. i. 349; Migne, *P. L.* vol. liv. 379, "Memores quantum."

whole of the provinces of Vienne, Narbonensis I. and II., and Alpes Maritimae, *i.e.* over probably forty dioceses.

To this letter Leo replied, 5th May A.D. 451, that he would assign to Vienne the dioceses of Tarentaise, Valence, Geneva, and Grenoble, and to Arles the remaining dioceses of that province, and says as yet nothing about the two provinces of Narbonne. The same summer he wrote[1] to Ravennius to keep Easter on March 23, A.D. 452, and trusts that there will be no diversity of observance, but that the festival may be kept everywhere on the same day. He uses Ravennius, without calling him such, as his vicar, and through Arles desired to address the whole of Gaul. The reply which Ravennius made to this letter pleased Leo, and on 27th January 452 he wrote again[2] to Ravennius and his co-bishops, expressing the pleasure which he had received from their letter, which he said was full of sound doctrine, and he tells them again of the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies of which the former had just been condemned by the Council of Chalcedon. The ecclesiastical province of Vienne, however, is not mentioned, and Narbonne takes precedence of Arles, and the rank of Marseilles is regarded as due to Venerius. On June 11, 452, Leo blames[3] Bishop Theodore of Fréjus because he had appealed to him for advice, and had not first of all consulted his own metropolitan; and once more in 458 we find Leo interesting himself in the Church of Gaul, allowing to Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne,[4] the decision as to two criminous clerks who had been brought before him. Rusticus had written to him about them, but it is not easy to understand why Rusticus had not acted

1 "Ad praecipuum," Mansi, vi. 140.

2 "Impletis per," Migne, *P. L.* vol. liv. 988; Mansi, vi. 185.

3 "Sollicitudinis quidem tuae," Mansi, vi. 208 ". . . objurgans eum quod metropolitanum ante non consuluerit."

4 "Epistolas fraternitatis." Leo urges him not to retire from his episcopal office, and gives him much advice concerning moral discipline, Mansi, vi. 397.

on his own authority. Had the emperor given such power to Rome, and was this power wielded with such far-reaching strength that the bishops were afraid of acting before they had received formal sanction from the Bishop of Rome?

Leo's successor, Hilarus, while he does not seem to have acted in the same autocratic manner, yet was careful to keep up the rights of the See of Rome. He wrote at once to Leontius, who had succeeded Ravennius before 461, to announce his succession, and desired Leontius to communicate that fact to the bishops of Gaul.[1] Arles was clearly taking the foremost place among the dioceses of the province of Gaul, and the Archbishop of Arles was becoming more and more the vicar of the bishops of Rome. Leontius in his reply assured him of his loyalty, and Hilarus wrote again expressing the desire that there should be a regular correspondence between them, and promising on his part to do all he could to promote peace.

Soon after an event happened in the province of Narbonensis I. which legitimately seemed to need his advice. Rusticus, of Narbonne, had consecrated Hermes as bishop of Beziers,[2] but at Beziers he was not accepted, and so Hermes returned to Narbonne, and during the rest of Rusticus' life assisted him in his episcopal duties. When, however, the See of Narbonne became vacant in A.D. 461 through the death of Rusticus, Hermes, either through intrigue or by the popular wish, was elected as his successor. But such election really amounted to a translation, for Hermes was still canonically bishop of Beziers, and so Hilarus wrote to Leontius for full particulars concerning this intrusion at Narbonne in order that he might decide what should best be done. Then in December 462 he

1 "Quantum reverentiae," Mansi, vii. 931, and "Dilectioni mei."

2 Hilarus in November 462 expresses to Leontius his astonishment that he had not reported to him the affair of Hermes at Narbonne. The details of the story are related in his letter to the bishops of the five provinces, "Quamquam notitiam," in which he gives his decision concerning Hermes, Migne, *P. L.* vol. lviii. 24.

wrote again to Leontius and the bishops of Vienne, Lyons, Narbonensis I. and II., and Alpes Maritimae to say that there had been on the anniversary of his own appointment a numerously attended synod at Rome at which the case of Narbonne had been carefully considered. The bishops, he said, had decreed that since Hermes had been formally consecrated a bishop of a diocese, and against the decrees of the Fathers had been translated to Narbonne, the metropolitan rights of that See should be transferred for the time to Constantine, bishop of Uzès, but should again return to the bishop who should succeed Hermes at Narbonne.

He also bids Leontius of Arles[1] to summon the bishops of his province to meet him yearly in council, and to report to Rome any irregularities that had been noticed. They were to endeavour to settle in council any local difficulties, and to see that the canons of the Church were scrupulously observed. Grave matters were, without fail, to be reported to Rome. Clergy were not to leave the provinces where they had been ordained without the permission of the metropolitan, and bishops were not to receive any of those strange and wandering clergy who then troubled the Church, unless they were provided with a permit to travel from their own metropolitan.

In October of the next year A.D. 463, we find Hilarus concerned about Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, and writing to Leontius and telling him to summon a synod at Arles, or to consider in the yearly local synod and report to Rome why Mamertus, without permission from Rome and against the decrees of the papal See, had consecrated a bishop for the See of Die. This city was in that part of the province of Vienne which had been handed over to the metropolitan of Arles, and it is possible that Leontius himself had made the complaint which Hilarus desired to settle. In A.D. 463,

[1] The assembly of the bishops at Arles was becoming more and more difficult owing to the advance over the Cevennes of the Visigoths and the constant revolutions in Italy. Cf. Mansi, vii. 936, "Qualiter contra sedis."

however, the Burgundians had extended their boundaries as far as the river Durance, and it is certain that they would never allow the Archbishop of Arles to take any part in the affairs of the bishopric of Die.

The bishops whom the fortunes of war and the susceptibilities alike of Visigoth and Burgundian allowed to assemble at Arles in the spring of 464, had evidently sent to Hilarus a satisfactory explanation of the action of Mamertus, for on 25th February 464 Hilarus[1] wrote again to Leontius and the nineteen bishops who had assisted at the council, to impress them that he would not punish Mamertus, but that if he, Mamertus, did not cease to inflict injury on the archbishopric of Arles, he would deprive him of those four dioceses which Leo had assigned to Vienne to raise it to the rank of an archbishopric, and give them back to Arles, and he orders that Veranus shall take care to announce this decision to Mamertus. Hilarus was either ignorant or refused to consider the local political difficulties. The See of Die, he said, rightly belonged to the archbishopric of Arles, and the occupant of the See of Arles should be called upon to provide for it. So he urges the bishops of Vienne, Lyons, Narbonne I. and II., and Alpes Maritimes to assemble yearly under Leontius at Arles, and discuss the welfare of the Church in south Gaul lest any bishop should injure his neighbour by crossing the boundaries of his diocese, and in this his insistence of strict orderly procedure shows his ignorance of affairs, for already those provinces were divided out between these most suspicious and jealous powers, the kingdoms of the Visigoths and the Burgundians, and the last representatives of the remnants of the imperial power.

Two other letters of Hilarus, which no longer have dates attached to them, bid Leontius, Veranus, and

[1] Hilarus had the same year added to the suffragans of Arles at the expense of Vienne, and announced this fact, "Sollicitis admodum," to twenty bishops, in reply to a letter from them, and in this as in another letter to the same bishops, "Etsi meminerimus," relates his anger at the action of Mamertus.

Victurus to make themselves acquainted with the controversy between Ingenuus, bishop of Embrun[1] and Auxanius, and also orders the union of the two Sees of Cimiez and Nice.

It is significant that there are no letters to the Church of Gaul from Simplicius, bishop of Rome, 468-483, or from Felix, 483-492, but the series begins again with Gelasius, A.D. 492-496, who seems inclined to favour Vienne at the expense of Arles. But the political troubles of the time, as we have before remarked, had created difficulties which Gelasius hardly knew and could not easily settle. With the Burgundians as far south as the Durance and Avignon, and the Visigoths actually at Arles, it was impossible for the Archbishop of Arles to administer the affairs of his province. Nor was Rome any longer the force it had been. The empire was no more, and Italy was in the hands of the mighty Ostrogoth Theodoric, and the Christians in Rome were in real want. Gelasius, therefore, thanks[2] Rusticius, bishop of Lyons, and Aeonius, the successor of Leontius at Arles, for the contributions they had sent for the poor of Rome, and he begs them to assist Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, who had gone to Gaul to redeem the Italians whom the Burgundians and Visigoths had taken back with them as captives of war.

With the action of Symmachus, A.D. 498-514, we must conclude this summary of the relation of the bishops of Rome to the Gallican Church. In A.D. 499 Symmachus seems to have been afraid lest the bishops of Vienne and Arles should arrange the affairs of the Church in Gaul between themselves, and he writes to Aeonius of Arles[3] to say that he and the Bishop of Vienne should send messengers to Rome, lest it should happen that in their controversies any rash decisions

[1] Cf. Babut, *ut supra*, p. 286.

[2] "Inter ingruentium," January 25, 494; Mansi, viii. 121.

[3] "Movit quidem," Mansi, viii. 208; *Concil. Gall.* i. 682. See also his letter to Avitus, "Non debuit caritatem," Migne, *P. L.* vol. lxii. 51.

should be made, and he restores to Aeonius the right of ordaining bishops in those neighbouring cities which had been withdrawn from Arles by Anastasius in favour of Vienne. Two years afterwards he wrote also to Avitus of Vienne telling him not to take it amiss that he had again injured Vienne for the sake of Arles, and saying that it was impossible to pass judgment without full information and without hearing both sides. In A.D. 503 Aeonius was succeeded at Arles by Caesarius, and ten years after, ten years in which Caesarius had laboured with apostolic fidelity for the affairs of his See, we find Symmachus writing to him in a way which seems inexplicable.[1] He bids him not to alienate the goods of the Church, not to confer the priesthood for money, and not to create untrained and unqualified laymen priests. Then soon after, at the request of Caesarius, he confirms the boundaries between Vienne and Arles which Leo had created, and tells Caesarius that he is to take the oversight of the Church in Spain as well as of that in Gaul, and that should matters of religion call for consideration he was to summon to him the Bishop of Aix and others of the neighbouring bishops, and adjudicate on them, while at the same time he was to inform the papal See of that which he had done.

As we look back on the policy of the bishops of Rome, we cannot but allow the wisdom of much which they insisted on. Only a strong outside power could have created the archbishopric of Arles against the opposition of Narbonne and Vienne, and so long as Gaul was linked with Italy as provinces of the empire, the Church of Rome not only gave good advice, but the Church of Gaul seemed ready to act upon it. But a moral influence was not such as would satisfy the ancient spirit of Rome. She must have the power to command, and her recourse to the emperors for secular power undoubtedly deprived her of much of that moral influence which she had formerly exercised.

[1] "Hortatur nos," Mansi, viii. 212, and "Qui veneranda patrum," p. 227.

If she did not threaten, yet the bishops of Gaul knew that they dare not disobey, and the humiliation of wise and saintly men like Hilary of Arles and Mamertus of Vienne may have satisfied the pride of Rome, but it certainly lost her much of the reverence which formerly had been shown. The love created by the tender care of the mother for the daughter Church, the respect ever held for the apostolic See by these Churches of the West, how could these feelings exist when the decrees of the bishops of Rome had now become rescripts of the empire, when bishops were not allowed to settle local disputes unless they immediately reported every detail to Rome, and when no liberty was permitted for the exercise of episcopal discretion? Gaul gained by the help which Rome afforded, but her devotion towards the successors of St. Peter was no longer the same, and if she had been saved from heresy, yet it was at the cost of that spirit of reasonable independence which ever brings into play the highest qualities of a Christian community.[1]

[1] Cf. Dr. Schnitzer's *Hat Jesus das Papsttum gestiftet?* Munich, 1910. He concludes by quoting and endorsing the words of Hugo Koch: "das Dogma, dass Jesus Christus das Papsttum eingesetzt und dass es darum von Einfang an einen Rechtprimat und Universalepiskopat in der Kirche gegeben habe, der von Petrus auf den Bischop von Rom übergegangen sei—dieses Dogma steht mit der Geschichte in unversöhnlichen Widerspruch."

CHAPTER XIII

PROSPER OF AQUITAINE AND THE SEMI-PELAGIAN CONTROVERSY

THE calamities that fell upon the Roman Empire in the first quarter of the fifth century—the horrors of barbaric invasion which, as far as the west of Europe was concerned, had long threatened, and had only been kept off by large standing armies and constant conflicts in the Rhine valley—horrors and calamities which then at last poured down upon the citizens, and of which no one in the first half of that century could foresee when they would end—the settlement of strange and uncivilised tribes, not merely on the distant frontiers, but in the very heart of the empire, the fair fields of Italy, and the fertile plains of Gaul,—the disaster, the ruin, the famine, and the despair which these calamities had produced tested to the utmost the faith of the Christians and the resources for comfort which the Christian Faith could provide. It was the widespread and, we may almost say, natural complaint of expiring heathenism, that the evils under which the empire then groaned and suffered were but the inevitable nemesis for the neglect of the ancient religion of the Republic. The advocates of the old faith pointed with indignation to the proselytising activities of Valentinian and Honorius, and the Christians, who on all sides heard these complaints, in their inexperience of their new faith found it no easy task to refute these charges. The shock also which

was felt by the proud Roman official when, in the autumn of A.D. 410, he heard that Alaric the Visigoth had captured and sacked the capital—the effect yet further of the return to Gaul as fugitives from Rome of so many of her children who had long been absent from her—the surprise and wonderment of the provincial, who probably had believed in the Eternal City more than those who had lived in it and seen the rottenness of its life,—tended to intensify the alarm, to deepen the despair, and to foster the elements which made for political disintegration. And for Gaul, for we must confine ourselves to Gaul, these calamities, as a previous chapter has shown, were neither momentary nor light. The three years during which the Vandals and their allies had roamed in unrestrained wanton cruelty throughout the province, leaving behind them nothing but black ruin and deadly famine, had no sooner passed away than Gaul found herself in the midst of political revolt and internecine strife. Then and before peace could be made on the suppression of Constantine, there rolled westward from Italy, sweeping up all that was worth the taking, the mighty, all-conquering armies of the Visigoths, with their camp enriched by the spoils of the capital. Atawulf, their leader, as we found, was no ordinary hero. He had come intent on settlement, despising the emperor who had sanctioned his plan, and filled with an ambition to blot out the very name of Rome and to establish in its place the name of the Goth.[1] He had made his way to Gaul through fire and sword, and for nearly three years held Narbonne, Toulouse, and Bordeaux, cities that were the very pride of the provincials, in his hostile grasp, and then when before the army of Constantius he retired to Spain he treated Aquitaine with vindictive cruelty.

[1] Orosius, *Hist.* vii. 43. Orosius met at Bethlehem, when on a visit to St. Jerome, one of the Theodosian veterans who was a native of Narbonne, and who told him he had heard Atawulf declare "ut obliterato Romano nomine, Romanum omne solum, Gothorum imperium et faceret et vocaret essetque ut vulgariter loquar Gothia quod Romana fuisset."

Four short years and again the Visigoths are in Gaul, and under Wallia their leader, and with the consent of the emperor, settle down in Aquitaine, an immigration the more unwelcome and harmful for the Catholic Church, or the little that was left of the Catholic Church, because the immigrants all professed the creed of Arius.[1] It is natural to ask, therefore, what had been the effect on the Church of Gaul and its organisation, of this succession of calamities which had so devastated the land and ruined the inhabitants. The object of the present chapter is to consider one of the products of this terrible visitation.

The times of the primitive Church had returned. The words of our Lord and His apostles had become again applicable in all their natural meaning. The Church, and by that, of course, we mean the individual members of it, had to think of social life and temporal things as in process of dissolution. The Christian's only joy, and that solely because he was a Christian, was that he could set his affection on things above. The chaos of human life was surely indicative of the approaching return of the Lord Jesus Christ.

There could, of course, be little or no ecclesiastical organisation where cities had been taken and plundered, and the country roads were filled by armed soldiers who roamed everywhere in search of spoil and booty. It is difficult to say exactly what organisation had existed in the Gallican Church in the fourth century. But, whatever it had been, that development was now arrested, if that organisation had not been destroyed. Marseilles seems to have been a refuge for churchmen, though it does not appear that at first churchmen were ill treated by the Visigothic king, except it may have been in the tumult of mere assault or in revenge for some defeat. We can only judge, however, from the instances we know of, and they, such as they are, allow us to judge of what went on in other districts, concern-

[1] Greg. T. *Lib. de glor. conf.* cap. 48; Fredegar. *Chron.* cap. viii.

ing which, unfortunately, no records remain. Two bishops of the south of Gaul, Heros of Arles and Lazarus of Aix, left their cities and took refuge in Marseilles.[1] Then shortly after they crossed over to Hippo, as if in despair of their country, and in A.D. 415 we find them taking part in the Council of Diospolis. Conjecture makes Constantius the Patrician unfriendly towards Heros, and there certainly may have been a reaction in Arles against the monastic movement which Heros undoubtedly desired to promote. But nowhere else do we hear of a bishop of so important a city forsaking his flock merely because he was unfriendly with the citizens or with the leader of the imperial forces. It is more likely that he fled before Atawulf and his Visigoths, when, after the capture of Valence, he crossed the Rhone and appeared outside the walls of Arles. The flight of Heros may therefore be placed in the year A.D. 412, first to Marseilles, then to Hippo, and afterwards to Palestine. At first it may have been only a temporary withdrawal, and that he intended to return had not Constantius' anti-monastic fervour prevented it. Meanwhile churchmen, through the very complaints of the heathen, were called upon to account for these calamities. What explanations could they offer, and how could they refute the statements of the old heathen party? Already, in A.D. 413, St. Augustine had taken up the challenge, and had begun his apologetic and historic work, the *De civitate Dei*,[2] which he wrote in order to show God's providential care and guidance of the affairs of the world. "God," wrote St. Augustine, "is One and a God to be dreaded, who from all time has governed and guided the affairs of the world according to His own will and for His own

[1] Prosper, *Chron.* A.D. 412. Prosper says Heros was driven out by the inhabitants and that Constantius filled the vacancy by one of his creatures, Patroclus. It may have been a protest of the locality against monasticism.

[2] Cf. Aug. *De civit. Dei*, l. 1 and *Ep.* Tillemont, vol. xiii. p. 609. The work was not finished until A.D. 426.

purpose, and if at times He hides from us the motive for His action, it is only for a season, and who will dare to say that He is unjust?" Calamities affect people in very different ways. We have only to trace the results of the great pestilence in western Europe in A.D. 1347 and 1348 to find a proof of this.[1] At times these calamities seem to destroy the religious spirit in a man and drive him into reckless worldliness, and at other times the very force with which the calamity has fallen upon him seems to act as a hammer to beat yet harder the moral fibre of which he was made, and to intensify the religious convictions which he had treasured. In the fifth century two men in Gaul became prominent as religious writers and moralists, welded into such, as far as we can judge, solely by the evils that had fallen upon them and the trials they had experienced.

Prosper of Aquitaine[2] and Salvian[3] of Cöln and Trier owe their earnest zeal and their fame as religious writers to the terrible calamities through which they had come. The sadness and the seriousness which mark their writings are the natural products of the sorrows which these calamities inflicted. Both of these writers found refuge in Marseilles, the fugitive from Aquitaine about A.D. 416, and the fugitive from Trier perhaps ten years later.

We know, unfortunately, very little concerning Prosper's private life beyond his zeal in behalf of St. Augustine's rigid doctrines of Predestination and Indefectible Grace, and the reflection of the man in his writings against the semi-Pelagians. There can be no doubt in our minds, however, as we read what he wrote, that his character and his mode of thought were the direct result of the troubles of his times. They mould

[1] Milman's *Lat. Christianity*, vii. 497, viii. 381 ; Gasquet's *The Pestilence*, ch. iv.

[2] The writings of Prosper of Aquitaine, his chronicle and the *De vocatione omnium gentium*, which used to be ascribed to Prosper, are to be found in Migne, *P. L.* vol. li. For a life of Prosper cf. Tillemont, vol. xvi.

[3] Salvian's works are edited by C. Halm in *M.G.H.A.A.* i. pt. 1.

his ideas. They colour all he wrote and did. Two poems, written probably soon after he had reached Marseilles and realised that he was in a place of safety, give us all we know of what he had experienced and suffered in Aquitaine. He looks back on the bitter trials he had endured, and in a poem full of absolute faith in God, which is entitled "On the Divine Providence,"[1] he gives us some few hints of what that experience had been. The poem was probably written at Marseilles A.D. 417. "If all the waters,"[2] he says, "of the ocean had been spread over the fields of Aquitaine, they could not have wrought such injury as that which the ten years' devastation by the Vandals and Goths had effected. The farms were cleared of their cattle and of the seed corn stored in the barns, the farmsteads had been burnt with fire, vineyards and olive-yards had everywhere been destroyed, and behind the chariots and serried ranks of warriors he (the poet) had been compelled to march,[3] the captive of war, covered with the dust of the road, driven out from the city which the Goths had burnt. Virgins vowed to God had been defiled, and the churches had been burnt with fire,[4] and Christian priests, regardless of their sacred office, had to suffer with the common people all the miseries of the invasion. Yet," writes Prosper, "God exists and is good,[5] and never fails to notice all that occurs, and He sends His judgments on the sins of men." So it has ever been from time of old, and from the Old Testament the writer draws incidents which tend to prove that the calamities which had fallen on Gaul were punishments for the sins of Gaul, and that, therefore, man's highest good was to place himself unreservedly and gladly in the hands of the Almighty,

[1] Migne, *P. L.* vol. li. p. 618.

[2] *Ibid.* "si totus Gallos sese effudisset in agros Oceanus," etc.

[3] *Ibid.* "tu quoque pulvereus plaustra inter et arma Getarum
carpebas duram, non sine fasce, viam."

[4] *Ibid.* "quare templa Dei licuit popularier igni."

[5] *Ibid.* "est igitur Deus et bonus est et quidquid ab illo effectum est, culpa penitus vacat, atque querela."

content to accept whatever He might be pleased to mete out to him. As far as the writer was concerned such resignation was evidently sincere, and the faith he advocates was that which he himself embraced. And yet the poem shows clearly that the sufferings which Prosper had endured had permanently saddened him.

There was also a personal sorrow which Prosper had to bear alone. He was a married man, though we do not hear of any children or of the loss of them. It was, however, a special grief to him to think of his wife. Self was lost in sympathy for the partner of his life, and in a short poem addressed to her and entitled "Of a Husband to his Wife," [1] he urges her to dedicate herself to God. He who once was wont to plough the rich lands of his extensive farm has now all he can do to keep for his own use but two of his oxen. "I do not fear exile," he tells his wife, "for the world is a home for all." Hunger has no terror for him because God's word is now his food. "I fear not poverty if only Christ is rich in me. Only do thou, oh trusted comrade of my life, cling to me in this warfare against sin, and let us both set forth before others an example of a blameless life. Be thou the guardian of him who is thy protector, return to him the help he offers to you, steady his faltering steps, make him rise by the assistance you give him as you lift him up, and let one mind be in us who are two souls."

So Prosper of Aquitaine and his wife found themselves in Marseilles, poor, indeed, but undismayed, to spend the rest of their lives in the service of God.

We will return to Prosper and his efforts for the

[1] Migne, p. 611, Poëma coniugis ad uxorem :

"qui centum quondam terram vertebat aratris,
aestuat ut geminos possit habere boves."

A certain *Confessio* is printed by Migne among the works of Prosper, and there is much in it that suggests his type of mind, but the language is allegorical, and cannot be taken as strictly historical of his actual experiences ; "quia in medio gentis alienae sum et regni sui limites barbarus dispositis servat excubiis" is historically suggestive, were these words not preceded by "revertar ad eum qui me emit ad vitam." Yet the language seems derived from incidents of the time, and seems to tell us of captivity and redemption by friends in imperial cities.

good of the Church, but it is well to couple Salvian with Prosper as another instance of the effect of the barbaric invasions on the Christians of that age. In both men the justice of God is recognised, and by both it is proclaimed. With Prosper, perhaps, we may perceive rather more of the spirit of Christian resignation. With Salvian there is righteous indignation at the sins of Roman Christians which had brought these evils on the country. The latter, as a writer, belongs to a somewhat later date. They were the Ripuarian Franks who had sacked and burnt his native city Cöln and Trier the city of his youth.[1] He had probably come to Marseilles during the fourth decade of this century, and soon after Aetius the Patrician with a strong arm had put down the Bagaudae and checked the incursions of these Franks. But the theme of his work *De gubernatione Dei* is much the same as that of the *De civitate Dei* of St. Augustine, the *De divina providentia* of Prosper, and the *Libri historiarum, adversus Paganos* of the Spaniard Orosius. It consists of seven books,[2] of which in the first he brings forward in support of his theme, of God's governance of the world, the opinions of ancient philosophers who had long ago proclaimed the same, and he does this to convince those Christians who have not yet entirely shaken themselves free from heathen ideas. Then in the second book he brings forward examples and incidents in Holy Scripture in order that he may establish on a yet stronger basis the doctrine of God's perpetual care for the destiny of man and especially for the Jewish nation. Then for the rest of the work he seems to cast off the desire for any method, and his invective against the sin which was so

[1] Salvian, *De gub.* vi. 239, and 72 and *Ep.* 1.

[2] Salvian's *De gubernatione Dei* is addressed to his friend Salonius, the son of Eucherius, bishop of Lyons. Salonius was trained with his father on the Isle Ste. Marguerite, and is said to have been a bishop, though his see is not known. A Salvian or Salonius appears in the list of bishops of Geneva, but there seems very little authority for the name there. This man died soon after A.D. 411, and may have been the Salonius whose name appears among the signatures of the bishops present at the first Council of Orange, cf. Mansi, *Concil.* vi. 434.

prevalent gathers up incident after incident from the events that had lately occurred in Gaul. The morals of the Gallo-Romans he paints in very dark colours. The information he gives us as to the characteristic features of the invading tribes is valuable, and he records it that he may throw into prominence the careless, sinful life of the Romans. The Goths are treacherous, but they are chaste.[1] The Alans are not chaste, but they are less treacherous. The Franks are untruthful, but they are hospitable; the Saxons are carried to extremes by their cruelties, but they are wonderfully chaste. The taxation of the poor and the exemption of the rich, an evil which had so much to do with the Revolution centuries afterwards, creates in him supreme indignation.[2] "Where," he exclaims, "or among whom is such an evil to be found but among the Romans in Gaul? The Franks know not such. The Huns are innocent of such evil deeds. You cannot find such among the Vandals or the Goths."

The passion for amusement has destroyed the spirit of religion. The shrines of God[3] are forsaken while the circuses are crammed with sight-seers. Men love the gibes of the actor more than the Word of God. The temple of God is despised that men may run off to the theatre.

His countrymen seem deaf to the cries and blind to the evils around them and are only intent on pleasure. Without the walls[4] is the cry of battle, and within the shout of those who contend in the games. The groans of those who die in battle are mingled with the laughter of those who revel, and one can hardly distinguish between the wail of those who have fallen in the conflict and the echo of the people's plaudits in the circus.

Then he shows us of the ruin that prevailed. "This,"[5] he continues, "does not go on in Mainz because it is

[1] Salvian, vii. 15. [2] *Ibid.* v. 36. [3] *Ibid.* vi. 37.
[4] *Ibid.* vi. 71. [5] *Ibid.* vi. 39.

ruined and destroyed, it does not go on in Cöln because it is full of the foe, it does not occur in that most excellent city of Trier because it has been laid low by a fourfold destruction. Yet the few nobles that survive demand of the emperor the restoration of the public games as if that was the most pressing remedy for the ruined town. The Roman world laughs as it dies.

In A.D. 439 the Roman general Litorius[1] made an attempt to capture the Visigothic capital Toulouse, and suffered defeat at the hands of Theodoric. Salvian gives us quite incidentally an unexpected insight into the religious opinions that were then prevalent. He tells us that Theodoric, though an Arian, spent the whole night before the battle in earnest prayer to God, while Litorius, if ever he had accepted Christianity, had recourse openly to heathen rites, and performed sacrifices to gain for his army the favour and assistance of the ancient and discarded gods of the empire.

In another work, to which Salvian gave the title[2] *Ad Ecclesiam*, and in which he addresses the churchmen of his time under the name of Timothy, he denounces the greed of the age. It was true that the Church had suffered greatly, but he insists on the treasure which all Christians have in the heavens and with which they should try and console themselves. He would have Christians regard this their loss with Christian resignation, endeavouring to pay it as a duty which they owed to God, and not as a sacrifice offered by them to God, a view which shows how he was influenced by Prosper and the little circle of serious Puritans that lived with him in Marseilles. He especially exhorts the clergy, who should be an example to the flock, to give up levity ;[3] and because their position brings them into such close contact with sacred things, God wishes them to be an example to others, so that they may bind

[1] Salvian, vii. 44.
[2] The title given in *Timothei ad Ecclesiam*, libri iii.
[3] *Ad Eccles.* ii. 38.

them, not only to the one rule of life of the new law, but also by the severity of the old law.

These were the minds and temperaments of Prosper and Salvian, the refugees from conquered and half-ruined Gaul, made and moulded by the very evils of the time in which they lived. Fatalists they certainly were not. The spirit of resignation in them was born of the deepest and strongest faith in God's love for man. But so deeply had the iron entered into their souls that they naturally took an unusually serious view of life. The world was in a state of chaos if not of dissolution. Events had brought that home to them. Of what avail was aught else but the grace and protection which God alone could afford them? Their lives were in the hollow of God's hands, and they were safe even while they suffered.

Four letters of Salvian survive which show his affection and his humanity. He writes to a friend on behalf of a lady at Cöln[1] who was in great want, and her son had been captured by the Franks and she was left without any means of livelihood. To his wife's parents he writes in warm and amiable banter. To Eucherius, bishop of Lyons (435-450) he writes as a friend indignant that he had sent him a message through another and not a single line of writing. His letter to Agraecius is only a fragment. He was probably the bishop whom Sidonius[2] twice addresses, and may have been the Bishop of Sens of that name (A.D. 455-487).

But Salvian now passes out of sight. We know no more of him, and his writings are chiefly valuable because they help us to understand Prosper the better, and to realise more vividly the condition of Gaul when he lived there.

When Prosper went to Marseilles he found there a considerable amount of religious activity. John Cassian had established his monastery,[3] and soon after Prosper's

[1] *Ep.* i. p. 158.

[2] Sid. Apol. *Ep.* vii. 5 and 9.

[3] Cf. chapter x.

arrival had created a deal of religious interest by the publication of his work on the *Institutes of Monastic Life* which he had written at the request of Castor, bishop of Apt,[1] and for the use of the monks, not only in his monastery at Marseilles, but for those who were under the direction of Bishop Castor. There was also much unrest and anxiety among the clergy of Marseilles on account of some of the recent tractates of St. Augustine. The great Bishop of Hippo had found himself the protagonist of Pelagius and his companion Caelestius. The heresy which goes by the name of Pelagianism, and which purported to be the teaching of these two men, had been condemned in A.D. 412 by the Council of Carthage,[2] and St. Augustine felt compelled to write much on the Catholic doctrine of Grace, Free Will, and Original Sin.

In a sermon which he preached at Carthage[3] on 27th June 413, he stated plainly that infants were competent to receive through baptism the remission of that sin which they had contracted through their birth, and he was equally clear that in consequence of his sin Adam transmitted to all his descendants that fault and corruption of nature which would result in physical death.

Men's ideas were still crude on these subjects in the early decades of the fifth century, and much was said in conversation which on maturer thought would have remained unsaid.

There was living at Marseilles at the time a layman Hilary, whose interest in this controversy was very great, as was also, because of what he had already done and written, his interest and admiration for St. Augustine. On his way from Marseilles to Hippo, whither he was going to see St. Augustine, Hilary happened to stay at Syracuse, in Sicily, and there he heard some monks declaring that entire sinlessness was possible for man, and denying absolutely the doctrine

[1] Cf. Cass. *Opp.* vol. xiii. Vienna *Corpus*, Petschening's edition, part ii. p. 3.
[2] Labbe and Cossart, *Conc.* ii. 1510. [3] Aug. *De gestis Pelagii*, § 25.

of Original Sin. Hilary, therefore, felt it necessary to report these remarks to St. Augustine,[1] and he asked from him some further arguments by which he might refute assertions such as these.

As the controversy developed, and it is unnecessary here to go into the varied phases of the Pelagian controversy, St. Augustine's views concerning Grace had been growing more definite and perhaps harder. He began to look on Grace as irresistible, and therefore indefectible, with the natural sequence that he began to favour the opinion of God's absolute predestination of man irrespective of his foreseen character, and as a natural sequence the irresistible character of Grace, and these later views he announced about A.D. 418 in a letter[2] he wrote to a Roman priest Sixtus.

A letter from such a theologian was naturally not kept secret, and in Rome and in other parts of Italy much discussion took place, for men felt that the teaching of St. Augustine seemed to destroy the reality of Free Will. Valentinus, the abbot of a monastery at Adrumetum, wrote on this account to St. Augustine[3] for some further explanation, and in reply the bishop begged him to read his letter which he had written to Sixtus over again, and to remember that it was written to controvert the teaching of Pelagius that Grace was the reward of merit. St. Augustine, however, soon after wrote as a sequel to his letter to Sixtus his tractates *De gratia* and *De libero arbitrio*, in which he said that we must not doubt the reality of Free Will or the need of Grace, and these were soon followed by his tractate *De correptione et gratia.*

The Church in Gaul, like the Church in Italy, was also troubled by these controversies. Cassian at

[1] Aug. *Ep.* 156, *De gest. Pelagii*, § 23.

[2] Aug. *Ep.* 194. As it is not my aim to trace the history of the Pelagian controversy, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the masterly summary of it by the late Dr. Bright in the preface to his edition of the *Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine* (Oxford, 1880), and to the earlier and much fuller narrative of Tillemont in vol. xvii. of *Mémoires pour servir*, &c.

[3] Cf. Aug. *Epp.* 225 and 226.

Marseilles, and Hilary, bishop of Arles, could not accept the views of St. Augustine on Predestination. It seemed to them a novel doctrine and one so far unsupported by the voice of the Church. They believed in the doctrine of the Fall of Man, and certainly believed in and acknowledged the necessity of real Grace as essential to man's recovery, and they also allowed that this grace must be praevenient for such acts of will as resulted in Christian good works. There was, however, a general uncertainty as to whether nature unaided could take the first step towards its own recovery by desiring to be healed through faith in Christ. The first of the tractates of St. Augustine which had troubled them was that *De dono perseverantiae*, addressed to Paulinus, and the hesitation and distrust which this had created was yet further increased by the tractate *De correptione et gratia.*

There was, however, at Marseilles another earnest and anxious Christian, Prosper, who, like Hilary, not only heartily welcomed the teaching of St. Augustine, but felt it his duty to come forward as the champion of his views and the defender of the great theologian against the leading bishops and theologians of southern Gaul. It is from these two and especially through the writings of Prosper that we are made aware of this theological ferment in Gaul. We have already seen how Hilary had conveyed to St. Augustine the sayings of the monks of Syracuse. In Gaul Prosper of Aquitaine now takes up that position of defence of the doctrine of Grace which has ever since made him famous in the history of religion. The Church in S. Gaul was remarkably vigorous and disinclined to accept dictation from outside,[1] and it is possible that the enthusiastic efforts of Prosper may have done somewhat to strengthen this spirit of independence.

Hilary, who had now returned to Marseilles, had

[1] Cf. chapter xii. and the struggle of Hilary of Arles against the papal claims.

informed St. Augustine of the view of the Gallican clergy, and to enforce his complaint he induced Prosper, who did not know St. Augustine, and who never met him, to write to him to explain the view of these south Gallican clergy. In reply St. Augustine said that he had found that similar views were held by some clergy in Africa, and he was at that very time discussing the question with Vitalis, bishop of Carthage,[1] and soon after he wrote his two tractates *De praedestinatione sanctorum* and *De dono perseverantiae.* The opinions of the Gallican clergy differed from the teaching of Pelagius, in that they were thoroughly orthodox concerning the necessity of grace for all ordinary efforts, and were only doubtful in regard to that one point that they did not clearly assert that the beginnings of faith cannot arise from man's unaided free will.

Meanwhile Cassian in his monastery at Marseilles had been engaged on his second great work in support of monastic life, his *Conferences* or alleged instructions supposed to have been given him by the Egyptian abbots whom he had visited in the earlier days of his life. His XIIIth Conference described the discourse alleged to have been given by Abbot Chaeremon on the Protection of God.[2] This Conference was certainly written for a purpose that he might guard his monks and the Church at Marseilles generally against a serious possible error, viz., the implicit denial by the followers of St. Augustine of the need of effort on the part of man.

In the previous Conference No. XII. Abbot Chaeremon[3] had been described as considering the question of moral chastity, and some of those who had heard him were supposed to be much disturbed, because, while he had aroused in them a longing for holiness and purity, he had also confessed that man, however earnestly he may strive after purity, cannot

[1] Aug. *Ep.* 217.
[2] Petschening edn. vol. ii. p. 361, "De Protectione Dei."
[3] Cf. as above Conf. xii. p. 334.

attain unto it unless he had acquired it by the gift of God's grace, and not by the efforts of his own unaided will.

In his XIIIth Conference, therefore, Cassian had returned to this subject, and described another Conference with Chaeremon, in which he answered all the questions and an objection that had been put to him, and then took up again the question of man's efforts and God's grace, and this question he considered under thirteen heads.

The first of the questions which were put to him had reference to the merits of a man's good deeds.[1] May they not be ascribed to the industrious efforts of him who performed them? The answer was, that without the help of God not only was perfect chastity unattainable, but every other good deed was equally beyond man's power. To this the objection was raised that the Gentiles are said to have practised chastity, and that without having previously received God's grace.

Cassian answered this by saying that the chastity of the philosophers was not real, but only imaginary, and that without the grace of God we are powerless to accomplish any sustained effort towards moral perfection.

He then considered God's purpose concerning us and His daily providence, and here he had to face the problem of God's grace in reference to man's free will, and he said that God's providence not only accompanies His kindness towards His creatures, but actually and constantly precedes it—my God will prevent me with His mercy—and when He sees in us some beginnings of a good will He at once enlightens and strengthens it.[2]

Then in the eighth section[3] of his discourse he considered the power of our own good will in relation

[1] Conf. xiii. § 2. [2] *Ibid.* § viii. 4.
[3] *Ibid.* Conf. xiii. 8. 4 p. 371.

to the grace of God, and pointed out that in Holy Scriptures we are aware of two facts, the grace of God and the freedom of man's will, because even, said Cassian, of his own motive a man can be led to the quest of virtue, but always stands in need of the help of God to attain unto it.

So, however free the will of man may be, yet it is weak and needs help, and the question at once arises, Does God's grace precede or does it follow a man's good will?

It was on this point that Cassian and many of the churchmen of southern Gaul parted from the rigid teaching of St. Augustine, and in such departure came under the stricture of Prosper. Cassian advocated a middle course. The problem resolved itself into two questions—Does God have compassion on us because we have shown the beginning of a good will, or does the beginning of a good will follow because God has already had compassion on us?[1]

There were many ready to advocate both of these theories, and as the controversy increased in bitterness, so men fell into error through the excess of their zeal and the extravagance of their language. If we say that the beginning of free will is in our power, what about St. Paul and St. Matthew?[2] If we say that the beginning of good will is always due to the inspiration of the grace of God, what about the faith of Zacchæus? Yet it was accepted as a fact that God's grace and man's free will were not in opposition, but in harmony, and we ought to be able to show this to be true. Perhaps good will should not be always attributed to grace, nor yet should it be always attributed to man himself.

So it was that with such questions in every churchman's mouth Prosper found delight in the rigid

[1] Conf. § xi.

[2] *Ibid.* "si enim dixerimus nostrum esse bonae principium voluntatis, quod fuit in persecutore Paulo, quod in publicano Matthaeo quorum unus cruori ac suppliciis innocentum alius violentiis ac rapinis publicis incubans adtrahitur ad salutem?"

definitions of St. Augustine's tractates, *De dono perseverantiae* and *De praedestinatione sanctorum*. He welcomed them because in them he found rest and peace.

In A.D. 428, however, Prosper again wrote to St. Augustine, for he felt that while Pelagianism could not be laid to the charge of the clergy of Marseilles, yet from this Conference of Cassian might very easily be deduced such error as would probably lead men into Pelagianism. He was afraid also lest such controversy should cause schism, and that the clergy of southern Gaul should be cut off from the Catholic Church.

In his letter to Augustine[1] he mentions St. Hilary of Arles, and so his letter cannot have been written before the end of the year 428, when Hilary succeeded Honoratus as bishop there, and he refers to Hilary in terms of the highest praise,[2] and begs of St. Augustine that he will make quite clear the danger that lurks in the error that Cassian[3] and his friends upheld, and show how that praevenient and co-operating grace do not make void man's free will. He also would have him point out that whether God's foreknowledge so abides according to what is decreed that the things which are decreed may be regarded as foreknown, or whether these vary according to man's temperament, and for various other causes, yet while there are different vocations for those who are saved without any effort of their own, yet the fact may seem to exist as the sole decree of God.[4]

Prosper had, for some years, been recognised as the exponent in Gaul of the views of St. Augustine, and in the following year, A.D. 429, in reply to a certain Rufinus whom he seems to regard as a friend, he ventured on a short tractate of his own on *Grace and Free Will*.[5]

[1] Migne, *P. L.* vol. li. p. 67.

[2] *Ibid.* "unum eorum praecipuae auctoritatis et spiritualium studiorum virum sanctum Hilarium Arelatensem episcopum."

[3] *Ibid.* § 7.

[4] *Ibid.* § 8.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 77, Ep. ad Rufinum "de gratia et libero arbitrio."

This was followed in the next year and while St. Augustine was still alive, and therefore before August 431, by his long poem "De ingratis,"[1] in which he recapitulates the story of the Pelagian heresy, and the error of those who will not accept the teaching of St. Augustine. The poem consists of four parts, and Prosper will allow no hesitation or half-way position. There is little fresh history in the poem, but there is much strong invective and some very dogmatic theology. It is clear that Prosper resents the independence of the clergy of south Gaul. He wishes to silence them by authority. If he cannot obtain their condemnation by St. Augustine, whom he calls *beatissimus papa*, he will have recourse to the Bishop of Rome. So Prosper in his zeal against Pelagian tendencies becomes the first papalist. He certainly shows a deference to Rome far beyond that which his great teacher, the Bishop of Hippo, had shown. If the temporal power[2] of Rome was waning, yet he consoles himself that the Rome of St. Peter with its pastoral care can effect more than ever the forces of the empire had accomplished. Rome pronounces on this or that doctrine as the guide of Christendom, and the Church should everywhere acknowledge that direction.

From the question of authority Prosper then goes on to consider the history and the doctrines of Pelagius, and the decisions of the Church in condemnation of him. For Pelagius he has no respect. He is *coluber Britannus*[3] who proclaims again the venomous dogmas which the serpent had instilled into our first parents.

[1] Migne, *P. L.* vol. li. pp. 91-152.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 39-42:

"pestem subeuntem prima recidit
sedes Roma Petri; quae pastoralis honoris
facta caput mundo, quidquid non possidet armis
relligione tenet."

[3] *Ibid.* part ii. *l.* 271:

"dic unde probes quod gratia Christi
nullum omnino hominem de cunctis qui generantur
praetereat, cui non regnum vitamque beatam
impertire velit," etc.

Then he refers, not indeed by name, but clearly to the teaching of Cassian, Hilary, and other leaders of the Church in south Gaul. This teaching is for Prosper heresy, the heresy of the half-way, the heresy which declares that man is by nature morally sick, and rejects alike the doctrines that he is morally dead or morally in perfect health. It is a heresy which practically rose and fell in Gaul, and which the extreme zeal of Prosper brought into prominence. It goes by the name of semi-Pelagianism,[1] and may be defined as that doctrine which would assert that grace ordinarily depends on the working of man's free will and may be lost—which rejects the doctrine of absolute predestination, but acknowledges a predestination based on foreseen merits and perseverance—which asserts strongly man's need of grace, and regards election as conditional—and which holds firmly man's freedom of will, but ascribes man's salvation entirely to God, because without God's grace man's efforts would be unavailing.

Such moderation Prosper could not allow. If men could not accept the teaching of Pelagius, they should, he thinks, reject also their own errors, and confess that human nature has been wounded by sin, and that man could never of his own free-will rise to do good works, and whenever he thus strove on his own initiative he found himself invariably involved in new errors.

So to Prosper the semi-Pelagianism that prevailed in Marseilles and the south of Gaul was equally to be condemned and withstood with Pelagianism, and all who were true to the Catholic faith should labour to drive it away. St. Augustine died in the late summer of A.D. 430, and in the winter of A.D. 430-431 some Gallican priests of Marseilles and its neighbourhood drew up from the writings of the great African theologian a list of fifteen statements or deductions which

[1] Migne, *P. L.* vol. li. p. 94. The opening lines of part i. :

"dogma quod antiqui satiatum felle draconis
pestifero vomuit coluber sermone Britannus."

brought into prominence the rigid and extravagant views of St. Augustine concerning predestination. This effort on their part was done in order that others might be deterred from accepting St. Augustine's teaching. These deductions are preserved to us in Prosper's answers to them,[1] appearing at the head of each paragraph of his reply, and generally in his replies Prosper attempts to tone down the hard language of his great teacher by distinguishing between predestination in regard to good and simple prescience in regard to evil. But if Prosper felt it incumbent on himself to assert these extreme views of St. Augustine, and to brand as heretics all who could not accept them, he could hardly expect that those who were thus accused by him would not attempt to defend themselves.

From out of the more distant monastery of Lerins, where Honoratus, Hilary, and Eucherius had been trained, there came forth another series of objections[2] to St. Augustine's teaching, written in the year A.D. 431, and by one Vincentius, who can hardly be other than the author of the *Commonitorium*. Nor was Prosper daunted by the storm he was raising. He hastened at once to answer Vincentius, and his task was no easy one. Vincentius had drawn up sixteen statements of St. Augustine which he considered erroneous, and which were largely the result of the logical extravagance of theological thought in some of St. Augustine's tractates. From among these statements we will only mention three, enough to show how justified the Church in Gaul was in its protest against the extreme Augustinian doctrine.[3] He asserted that Augustine had taught, first, that our Lord Jesus Christ did not die for the salvation and redemption of all; secondly,[4] that

[1] Migne, *ut supra*, p. 155, St. Augustine is referred to as of "sanctae memoriae."

[2] *Ibid.* p. 177, Vincentius, the author of the *Commonitorium*, was at Lerins at the time; cf. Gennadius, cap. 64.

[3] *Ibid.* chap. i. "quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus non pro omnium hominum salute et redemptione sit passus."

[4] *Ibid.* viii. "quod nolit Deus ut omnes Catholici in fide perseverent sed velit ut magna exinde pars apostatet."

God does not wish that all Catholics should persevere in the Catholic faith, but that a large portion of them should apostatise; and, thirdly,[1] that it was God's will that a large portion of the saints should fall away from the holiness which had been placed before them.

Prosper, indeed, wins our admiration not only by the courage he displayed in thus, almost single handed, exposing and combating the certainly defective teaching of the Church in the south of Gaul but also by his indefatigable industry in the pursuit of his great object to free the Church of his native country from the stain of heresy. He had lost the help of St. Augustine, but he was not dismayed. From Hippo he turns his eyes to Rome. There were bishops of Rome for whose judgment the increasing influence of the name of Rome gave greater and yet greater weight. If no one of those bishops appealed to Christendom with the splendid personality of St. Augustine, yet they were the mouthpiece of the See which alone in the west of Europe could be called apostolic, and to which the emperor had granted special authority and privileges. He had, indeed, before he had entered on his controversy with Vincentius, drawn up a catena[2] of dogmatic statements of former bishops of Rome to use in the progress of this controversy, and early in A.D. 431 he and his companion Hilary went to Rome[3] to solicit from Coelestine his aid in the suppression of this evil. Coelestine had already shown much interest in the evangelization of the far West, and in the orthodoxy of the far distant Church in now isolated Britain. He had sanctioned or at least approved of the missions of Germanus,[4] bishop of Auxerre, to assist the Church in Britain to resist the teaching of Pelagian advocates

[1] Migne, ix. "quod velit Deus ut magna pars sanctorum a sanctitatis proposito ruat."

[2] *Ibid.* p. 205. Arnold (*Caesarius von Arelate*, p. 536) thinks these opinions were put together by Prosper when he was in Rome.

[3] Cf. Caelestine, *Ep.* i.

[4] Prosper, *Chron.*, A.D. 429; Beda, *Eccles. hist.* i. 17; Prosper, *Contra Collatorem* § 58, p. 271.

there, and he had sent forth Palladius[1] to preach the gospel in far-off Ireland. Now he came to the help of Prosper, and on May 15, 431, addressed a letter "Apostolici verba"[2] to certain bishops of the Church in Gaul. He mentions six by name: Venerius of Marseilles, Leontius of Fréjus, Auxonius of Viviers, together with Marinus, Arcadius, and Fillucius, and exhorts them and other Gallican bishops to forbid presbyters from discussing undecided points of doctrine and preaching against the truth. Augustine of holy memory, he says, was a man in full communion with the Apostolic See, and that which he taught was not to be indiscriminately denounced by men far his inferiors. The presbyters who were referred to and condemned without being named, were clearly Cassian, Vincentius, and perhaps Sulpicius Severus. It is significant that no mention is made of Hilary, bishop of Arles, and Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, two of the most influential and learned of the bishops of southern Gaul, and friends of Cassian. The views, however, of the clergy of Marseilles still prevailed. They were not going to accept the extreme views which Prosper regarded as alone orthodox. So in A.D. 432 Prosper wrote another tractate, *Contra Collatorem*,[3] an open attack on Cassian himself. He takes up on this occasion the XIIIth Conference of Cassian, and singles out from it twelve propositions, of which he says the first—*i.e.* that from God alone comes the motive and origin, not only of all good works, but also of all good thoughts—alone was orthodox and all the others erroneous. He states honestly that his tractate was in defence of St. Augustine, and towards the end he repeats this statement and expresses a wish that Cassian will not continue obstinately in his error, but will definitely range himself on the side of the orthodox writers of the Church. His writings are contrary to those of St. Augustine and popes

[1] Beda, *ut supra*, i. 13; Bury's *St. Patrick*, p. 54.
[2] Cael. *Ep.* i. Mansi, iv. 454.
[3] Prosper, *ut supra*, p. 214.

Innocent, Zosimus, Boniface, and Caelestine,[1] and they condemn him, and he trusts that the good work which Caelestine had begun by those letters to the bishops of South Gaul will be continued and brought to a successful issue by his successor Pope Sixtus. The tractate *Contra Collatorem* was thus not written until after May 432, when Sixtus succeeded Caelestine. To it Cassian made no reply. He was certainly not young, and he had been worn out by his early monastic austerities of life which he had practised in the Egyptian monasteries, and which he had endeavoured to introduce at Marseilles, and it is possible that he felt that his end was drawing nigh. In the following year Cassian passed to his rest.[2]

One more tractate and Prosper himself withdraws from our notice and dies apparently soon after. Two priests of Genoa, Camillus and Theodorus,[3] had informed him that the clergy of Genoa had followed the example set by the clergy of Marseilles, and had drawn up a series of extracts from the writings of St. Augustine which they had found difficult to accept. During the autumn of A.D. 432, or perhaps in the following year, Prosper replied to this appeal and, as was his wont, explained their difficulties by reference to the general teaching of St. Augustine. The tone of his reply is much gentler than that in some of his earlier letters, and he incidentally states that Simplicius,[4] bishop of Milan, had himself been troubled by these abstruse and difficult statements, and had indeed written to St. Augustine for advice as to how best he could explain the question of predestination as instanced by the election of Jacob and the rejection of Esau.

[1] Prosper "ut quod operatus est in Innocentio, Zosimo, Bonifacio, Caelestino, operetur in Xysto."

[2] The date of his death is uncertain. Gennadius says: "vivendi finem fecit Theodosio et Valentiniano regnantibus," *i.e.* not later than A.D. 435.

[3] Prosper, p. 187.

[4] *Ibid.* Reply to 3rd question: "sed in ipso episcopatus sui exordio a sanctae memoriae Simpliciano Mediolanensi antistite de Jacob electione et de Esau rejectione consultum."

Important as were the labours of Prosper in his insistence on the definite acceptance of the doctrines of praevenient, as well as co-operating grace as essential to all good works and purity of life, yet the question of man's responsibility was too serious and difficult to be lightly put on one side. The independent minds of the Gallican bishops were not prepared to surrender to the mere dogma of St. Augustine or the order of Caelestine. The controversy was not closed with Prosper's death.[1] It slumbered, indeed, but was not extinguished. The Gallican Church never specifically accepted the teaching of St. Augustine, and yet the labours of Prosper were not in vain. The position Cassian and his followers had taken up was not defensible. It was unsound and may be regarded as heretical, and the efforts of the refugee from Aquitaine were so far successful, that from this time onward such a position has been regarded, as Prosper desired that it should be, as dangerous, if not erroneous.

But Cassian of Marseilles and Hilary of Arles had many followers. Eucherius of Lyons, Valerian of Cimiez, and Salvian of Marseilles were all sympathetic if not definitely semi-Pelagian. They taught the Church of southern Gaul at least to be cautious in accepting on this subject the dogmatic statements of St. Augustine.

In the year of Cassian's death, A.D. 433, Maximus, the Abbot of Lerins, was chosen to be Bishop of Riez, and in his place as abbot his pupil Faustus,[2] a monk of Lerins and a Briton, was chosen. Of his early work as abbot we know practically nothing, though we find in A.D. 449 that he joined with his monks in resisting the demands of Theodore, bishop of Fréjus, in regard to the discipline of the monastery, a controversy not settled until the Synod of Arles had called upon Ravennius, the archbishop, to settle the dispute.

[1] The date of his death is uncertain. He carried his *Chronicle* down to the year A.D. 455; Marcellinus, *Chron.*, A.D. 463, refers to Prosper as though he were still alive.

[2] Cf. Sid. Apoll. ix. 9; Gennadius, cap. 86; *Coll. Concil. Gall.* i. 579.

Faustus, Bishop of Riez.

About the year A.D. 452 Faustus succeeded Maximus as Bishop of Riez, and from that time until his death he took a leading part in the affairs of the southern Gallican Church. His early training had made him favourable to those views which are known as semi-Pelagian, and though he never gave up the modified form in which he held them, he was generally recognised as a successful administrator of his diocese. He is praised and honoured by Sidonius Apollinaris, and in A.D. 464[1] his name appears among those of the Gallican bishops who wrote to Pope Hilary in favour of Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, and his right to consecrate a bishop of Die.[2] In A.D. 474, also, his name appears with Graecus, bishop of Marseilles, Basil of Aix, and Leontius, archbishop of Arles, as ambassadors appointed by the Emperor Nepos[3] to treat with Euric the Visigothic king concerning the cession of Auvergne and the conditions under which he would accept peace.

About the year A.D. 473 a priest, Lucidus,[4] who had become suspect of various errors concerning the problem of predestination, wrote to Bishop Faustus for his advice. He was afraid that he would be summoned before a synod of the Church to answer for his views, and felt that possibly he might be excommunicated by it. Faustus, in reply, told him the course he should take, and requested from him an immediate acceptance of the teaching and advice which he had given him, threatening that if he did not he would show the letter he had written to the Council before which he was to be summoned. This Council or Synod of Arles was held in A.D. 474,[5] and since Lucidus hesitated to reply, Faustus produced the letter, and the signatures of the bishops who read it and endorsed Faustus' advice show that they acknowledged the orthodoxy of Faustus'

[1] Sid. Apoll. *Carmen*, xvi. 72.
[2] Hilary, *Ep.* xi.; Mansi, vii. 938.
[3] Sid. Apoll. vii. 7.
[4] Faustus, *Op.*, Engelbrecht's edn. Vienna *Corpus*, vol. xxi.; *Ep.* i. Ad Lucidum presbyterum, p. 161.
[5] Cf. Hefele, *Hist. Councils*, iv. p. 20; Mansi, vii. 1007.

teaching. After a short delay Lucidus himself signed this letter. The articles which Faustus had bidden Lucidus condemn were six in number,[1] and were the following :—

1. That man was born without sin, and by his own effort alone could be saved, and could free himself from sinful ways without the grace of God.
2. That a man who, with sincere faith, had received the grace of baptism and had professed the Christian life, and afterwards through temptation had fallen away, perished in the original sin of Adam.
3. That a man through God's foreknowledge might be destined to death.
4. That a man who perished had not received of grace that he might be in the way of salvation.
5. That man made as a vessel unto dishonour can never arise to become a vessel unto honour.
6. That Christ did not die for all, and does not will that all should be saved.

It is clear from this action of the bishops at Arles that Pelagianism had again in some form risen up in the south of Gaul, and not only was the reference to Faustus a proof that he was recognised as orthodox, but also the application to him of Lucidus shows that he was known to sympathise with those who held semi-Pelagian views. Immediately after this Council Leontius of Arles wrote to Faustus, and asked him, on account of the errors produced by the bold statement of predestination by some of the extreme adherents of St. Augustine, to write at greater length on this subject, and in obedience to this request Faustus produced about A.D. 476 his work *De gratia*.[2]

The errors, however, still prevailed, and soon after, at the Synod of Lyons, Faustus was appealed to to reissue his book on *Grace*, and to insist in it on the fact that the exertion that we display in resisting evil is

[1] Cf. above, Faustus, *Op.* p. 162.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 3, preface "quod pro sollicitudine pastorali, beate papa Leonti, in condemnando praedestinationis errore," etc.

in itself a proof that we are already responding to the grace which we have received.[1]

The story of Faustus' life we know very imperfectly, and it is difficult to understand why and by whom he should have been exiled from Riez. Yet about A.D. 477,[2] and probably by Euric the Visigoth, he was removed to some very distant part of Gaul, and seems to have remained there until Euric's death in A.D. 485. Riez was a town in Narbonensis secunda, south of the river Durance, and belonged rather to the Burgundian Gundobad than the Visigoth Euric. But the fact remains and cannot be explained.

In the year A.D. 501 [3] Caesarius, who had been Abbot of Lerins, became Archbishop of Arles, and under him steps were taken which definitely freed the Church of Gaul from the stain of semi-Pelagianism. In the early part of the sixth century some Scythian monks who had been reading Faustus' book on *Grace* considered that there were traces in it of a modified Pelagianism.[4] They appealed, therefore, to Pope Hormisdas (A.D. 514-523), and through their unruly conduct brought about their imprisonment. Hormisdas definitely stated concerning their appeal, that while the book had not the authority of the Church it might certainly be read, a decree which testifies to the orthodoxy of the late Bishop of Riez.

Yet there was a certain stain on the Church of southern Gaul. Its opposition to St. Augustine had exposed the bishops there to the charge of real sympathy with some of the views of Pelagius, and Caesarius himself found that he was among those whose views were regarded with suspicion. In A.D. 529 Avitus, archbishop of Vienne,[5] summoned a synod of bishops

[1] Faustus, "in quo quidem opusculo post Arelatensis concilii subscriptionem novis erroribus deprehensis adici aliqua synodus Lugdunensis exegit."

[2] Cf. *Ep.* ix. to Ruricius, "inter haec positi bona praesenti insultamus exilio et patriam nos non amisisse sed commutasse cognoscimus."

[3] Arnold, *Caesarius von Arelate*, p. 115.

[4] Migne, *P. L.* lxiii. 489; *P. G.* lxxxvi. 1. 92; Mansi, viii. 493, Justum est, ut qui.

[5] Mansi, viii. 712.

to Valence. Caesarius had lately written a book, *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, which Pope Felix IV. had commended, but which is now lost, and this book and its subject were set down for discussion at Valence. Caesarius was at the time in correspondence with Felix IV. (526-530), and in A.D. 530 he called together a synod of the bishops of his province to take part in the consecration of a church of Orange which Liberius the Patrician had built.[1] Fourteen bishops came to assist him in the act, and afterward Caesarius produced the reply he had received from Pope Felix. The letter contained twenty-five clauses, of which eight had reference to the doctrine of the fall of man and the need of grace. These clauses were largely adaptations from the writings of St. Augustine, but Felix followed the example of his predecessors, Coelestine and Leo, and omitted all reference to the question of predestination.[2] All who were baptized were able, by Christ's aid and co-operation, if they choose to work faithfully, to fulfil the conditions under which man can attain to eternal salvation.

The first two articles have reference to the fall of man—

1. The sin of Adam has injured not only his body, but also his soul.

2. The sin of Adam has not only ruined his own body and soul, but has also brought ruin to his posterity.

The remaining six articles concern the doctrine of grace.

3. Grace is granted to us not only when we pray for it, but has already energised us to pray for it.

4. God does not wait for us to desire to be cleansed from sin, but He through His Holy Spirit has already influenced us to desire sanctification.

5. The seeds of faith, just as much as their growth in us, are implanted in us by grace, and are not natural.

---

[1] Hefele, vol. iv. p. 152.

[2] Cf. Arnold, *ut supra*, p. 533, *Das Zweite Konzil der Orange.* See. Mansi *ut supra.*

6. The grace of God is not granted to us because we seek and knock, but has anticipated that action to induce us to seek and knock.

7. We can do nothing that makes for our eternal salvation without the grace of God.

8. It is wrong for us to say that while some attain to the grace of baptism by the mercy of God, others attain to it of their own free will, though that has been weakened by Adam's sin.

It is probable that the letter and the dogmatic statements sent to Caesarius by Felix were revised by Caesarius before he placed them before the bishops assembled at Orange. The doctrinal statements, however, were endorsed by these bishops, an act which proclaimed definitely the orthodoxy of the Church of South Gaul and an end of the semi-Pelagian controversy. This formal acceptance of Caesarius' adaptation of the proposals of Felix was sent back to Rome and received, 25th January 531,[1] the sanction of Boniface II., who had in the meanwhile succeeded Felix as bishop of the capital. The canons were declared to be agreeable to the Catholic rule of the Fathers, and thus the suspicion of heterodoxy which for a century had hung over Gaul was removed through the efforts of Caesarius. The signatures of the bishops were followed by those of Liberius, and several of the civil officers of the Frankish kingdom which had replaced the rule of the Visigoths, and the bishops of the province of Vienne joined in the effort which ended with the disappearance of semi-Pelagianism.

[1] Mansi, viii. 721.

CHAPTER XIV

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS

It has been remarked by a learned French historian[1] that the bishops in Gaul in the fifth century were either monks or noblemen. As an emphasis on the large proportion of bishops who were men of high social position this statement is certainly true, and the subject of this present chapter is an instance of this fact. The ascetic spirit which, under the name of monasticism, came into prominence at the end of the fourth century, made war on the easy-going Christians of Gaul, and as we know created serious disturbances in Tours,[2] Arles, and other places. The Church had to defend herself against the criticism of the ascetic lay movement, and at first the two sections of Christians were opposed to each other. The subject of the present biographical sketch offers us evidence of the union of these two elements in the Church, writing as he does of monasticism from the outside, and yet in terms of respectful sympathy.[3] Caius Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius[4]—the brilliant letter-writer, the skilful panegyrist of those who, in rapid succession,

[1] Flauriel, *Histoire de la Gaule méridionale*, i. 403 "de ces évêques les uns sortirent de la vie monastique, les autres furent pris dans la haute société."

[2] For Bricius of Tours cf. Greg. T. *H. F.* x. 31; Sulp. Sev. *D.* iii. 15. For Heros of Arles cf. Prosper, *Chron.*, A.D. 412.

[3] Sid. *Ep.* vii. 16 and 17.

[4] Such was the position of Sidonius in the history of Gaul in the fifth century that the literature concerning him is naturally considerable. For practical use, because of its convenient size, Teubner's edition of his works, edited by P. Mohr, will be found excellent; but the best edition is that of Luetjohann, vol. viii. of *Mon. Ger. Hist.* Baret's edition, *Œuvres de Sidonius Apollinaire*, Paris, 1879, offers us the letters in chronological order, and will be found suggestive; and L. A. Chaix,

became emperors of the West, the friend and acquaintance apparently of every one in Gaul who was worth knowing, the courageous and patriotic Bishop of Clermont, the faithful husband and the devoted father —has been so great an attraction to writers on this period of European history, and has been so often described, that it is unnecessary in this chapter to deal with him except in relation to the Church in Gaul. We propose, therefore, to consider the story of his life chiefly as illustrative of the social state of the Church in the fifth century—the Christian at the imperial court and the bishop in the diocese of Clermont.

Sidonius Apollinaris, to use the name generally given to him, was what his age had made him, and it is impossible to understand him except in relation to the revolutions, the wars, and all the anxiety and suffering which that age produced. Heathenism had not yet been exterminated, though the emperors were doing all they could to abolish it. The invasion of barbarians had brought in a fresh wave of heathen thought, and the Christian faith had to struggle hard against the charge that the evils of the age were all due to it. Nor had the schools in Gaul been as yet captured by the Christians. At Bordeaux,[1] Arles, Lyons, and Autun there were seminaries and universities for the Gallic nobles that were still heathen in sentiment, and their influence far outweighed the simple Christian instruction which a bishop would give to his flock or provide for his younger clergy at his own house.

Saint Sidoine Apollinaire et son siècle, Clermont Ferrand, 1867 is useful. In 1836, J. F. Grégoire and F. Z. Collombet published at Lyons *Œuvres de C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius*, with a translation and notes—a helpful edition, but the translation cannot always be relied on. Ampère, *Hist. littéraire de France avant Charlemagne*, vol. ii., Paris, 1870, is interesting and excellent; and the student should certainly read Mr. T. Hodgkin's chapter on the "Poems and Letters of Apollinaris Sidonius" in vol. ii. p. 291 of his *Italy and her Invaders*, and the chapter on Sidonius in Dill's *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, 1898. A very thorough little work has lately been published by Paul Allard, *St. Sidoine Apollinaire*, in Lecoffre's *Les Saints*, 1910.

[1] Cf. Jullian, *Les Premières Universités françaises: L'école de Bordeaux au IVe siècle*, 1893; Boissier, *La Fin du paganisme*, 1907, vol. i. lib. xii. p. 143; Ausonius, *Ord. N.U.* viii.

Sidonius Apollinaris was born at Lyons, 5th November A.D. 431. His ancestors had been connected with Lyons and Arles and held large estates near Nîmes. His grandfather[1] Apollinaris was the first of the family to become a Christian, and had been civil lieutenant in the suite of Constans, whom his father the usurper Constantine sent in A.D. 409 into Spain. His father seems to have assisted the patrician Constantius[2] in the restoration of order after the Visigothic invasion, and was tribune and secretary of state to the Emperor Honorius, and in A.D. 448[3] became prefect of Gaul under the Emperor Valentinian III. Sidonius was taught poetry by Hoenius,[4] philosophy by a teacher named Eusebius, and law by Probus, the son of the Consul Magnus. His mother was a member of the wealthy and noble family of Avitus whose estates were largely in Auvergne. The year after his father had been made prefect the family had naturally to go and take part in the festivities connected with the entry on his office, in January 449, of the Consul Asterius. These festivities took place at Arles, where at the same time was held the yearly diet of the seven provinces of southern Gaul. In a letter he wrote to a friend, Namatius, at a somewhat later date, Sidonius tells him how the ivory tablets[5] with portraits of the new consul which were wont to be distributed among the crowd had run short, and that the people were clamouring loudly for amusement. To please them Nicetius was put forward, a man of some rank and education, to pronounce a panegyric in honour of the consul. Instead, however, of giving the panegyric, Nicetius delivered an address on a new law which had not as yet been promulgated in Gaul. The incident was not lost on the young Sidonius, and his ready oratory in later years was doubtless due to the admiration for it which this incident had produced.

[1] Sid. *Ep.* iii. 12.
[2] Zosimus, vi. 4, and Sid. *Ep.* v. 9.
[3] *Ep.* vii. 6.
[4] Sid. *Carm.* ix. 309, *Ep.* iv. 1.
[5] *Ep.* viii. 6.

In A.D. 452 he married Papianilla,[1] a lady of the family of Avitus, and therefore some connection of his own mother, and she brought him as her dowry the estate of Avitacum[2] near Clermont, a home which Sidonius grew to love more and more, and especially, he says, because it was his wife's property. His family consisted of a son Apollinaris, and two daughters, Severiana and Roscia.

The Gallo-Romans must have for long perceived that they had little to expect from Italy and her emperor, and that in the formal dealings of the emperor with the barbarian invaders the interest of the provincials would readily be sacrificed in order that peace might be obtained in Rome. As early as A.D. 418 a large portion of Aquitaine had been assigned to the Visigoths,[3] and the Burgundians had been settled in the neighbourhood of Geneva.[4] And ever since these provincial Romans had been compelled to witness continual encroachments on their estates on the part of both these races, encroachments which were seldom checked by the imperial forces. So their lives were spent in close relationship to these barbarians. At times, when they went to ancient Roman cities like Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Narbonne, they realised that these centres of Roman culture had become entirely Visigothic, and at times they met in the streets of Vienne and Lyons the giant Burgundian[5] who treated them with proud disdain. Why then should not the Gallo-Romans make friends with the Visigoths and arrange with them in defence of their local interests? The opportunity came in the year 455. In the early summer the Emperor Valentinian III.

[1] Sid. *Ep.* v. 16; Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 21.

[2] *Ep.* xi. 2, 3; *Carm.* xviii.

[3] Prosper, *Chron.*, A.D. 419, "Constantius patricius pacem firmat cum Wallia, data ei ad habitandum secunda Aquitania et quibusdam civitatibus confinium provinciarum."

[4] Prosper, A.D. 435.

[5] Sid. *Carm.* xii. He tells Catullinus that his eyes and nose are happy not to be there where the seven-foot Burgundian patron, who saturates his hair with rancid butter, proudly monopolises the pathway.

had been assassinated as an act of revenge for his murder of Aetius, and after the two months' reign of Maximus, Visigoths and Gallo-Romans and the Roman garrison at Arles proclaimed,[1] on July 10, 455, at Beaucaire near Arles, Avitus, a Gallo-Roman nobleman, and father-in-law to Sidonius, as Emperor of the West. It is probable that there had been some understanding between Theodoric the Visigothic king and Avitus, but that ended with the latter's death and certainly did not affect the resistance which Sidonius afterwards offered to the advance of the Visigoths into Auvergne.

The new emperor was naturally obliged to move on towards Rome, and at once started on his journey taking with him his son-in-law Sidonius. His victory in Pannonia gained for Avitus general acceptance in Italy where hitherto he was quite unknown, and on January 1, 456,[2] Sidonius was called upon to pronounce a panegyric in honour of the new emperor in the presence of the Roman Senate. It was the beginning of his political life, for he was only twenty-four years of age, and it was a severe test of his literary studies. His success not only gained for him the applause of the Senate, but also obtained a vote from that body of a statue in bronze[3] to be placed in the Forum near to the monument of the Emperor Trajan. It is certainly clear that the oratory of the young poet had satisfied the critical ears of the citizens. Avitus, however, had calculated without Ricimer, and his understanding with the Visigoths must have assured him of the latter's hostility. The victory also which Ricimer had just gained over the Vandal fleet, a victory which won for him the applause of the Roman citizens, because it had reduced for them the price of wheat, enabled him to plot for an emperor who should be entirely his own.

[1] Idatius, *Chron.*, A.D. 455, "... Avitus Gallus civis ab exercitu Gallicano et ab honoratis primum Tolosae, dehinc apud Arelatum Augustus appellatus." His declaration at Toulouse must have been with the approval of Theodoric II.

[2] Sid. *Carm.* vi. and vii.

[3] Sid. *Carm.* viii. 8-10, addressed to Priscus Valerius, and *Ep.* ix. 16.

Avitus, therefore, apparently without a struggle, was deposed and was allowed to retire homewards. As he approached Placentia he was captured by the agents of Ricimer and forcibly consecrated a bishop, and as he journeyed towards Clermont he died or was murdered near Brioude, in South Auvergne, and was buried near the tomb of St. Julian of Eclana.[1] Meanwhile Majorian had been proclaimed as emperor by Ricimer, and had followed Avitus towards Gaul in order to secure the allegiance of the West. But Lyons had received a barbarian garrison, perhaps Burgundian, and was not prepared to acknowledge Majorian.[2] The resistance to Majorian had probably begun before the death of Avitus was known, and Sidonius, who had followed his father-in-law back to Gaul, took an active part in the negotiations before Lyons. But the Gallic city could not resist the army of Majorian, and was soon obliged to surrender,[3] and its attempt at resistance resulted in the loss of its privileges, the maintenance by it of a large hostile garrison, and a great increase of taxation. It was now the opportunity for Sidonius to plead on behalf of his native city.[4] He had taken part in the capitulation and had appealed to the clemency of Majorian, and through the mediation of the imperial secretary, Peter, who was in charge of the forces destined for the reduction of Gaul, was received into favour. Then Sidonius for the sake of Lyons set himself to win Majorian. In January 457, at Lyons, he delivered a panegyric[5] on Majorian in which he had much to say in praise of Ricimer, and such was the success he gained by this

[1] Joannes Antiochenus, *Frag.* 202; Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 11.

[2] Idatius suggests that war had really broken out between Majorian and the Visigoths; ". . . nuntiantes Majorianum Augustum et Theudoricum regem firmissima inter se pacis jura sanxisse." Cf. Sid. *Carm.* iv. 11, 12.

[3] Aegidius had been sent by Ricimer in 456 to Gaul as *Magister militum* and in 457 was chosen leader by the Franks. He declared for Majorian and was in command of the imperial troops at the capture of Lyons. Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 11; Fredegar. *Epit.* 11.

[4] Sid. *Carm.* v. 572-586, and xiii. 23, 24 "ut reddas patriam simulque vitam Lugdunum exonerans suis ruinis."

[5] Sid. *Carm.* iv. and v.

poem that Majorian granted all that he had asked for, restored their privileges to the citizens of Lyons, relaxed the heavy taxation he had laid upon them, and raised Sidonius to the rank of a comes of the empire.[1]

During the year A.D. 458 Sidonius seems to have remained in Lyons with perhaps occasional visits into Auvergne, while Majorian early in the year returned to Italy. In the spring of the next year the emperor again came to Gaul, and Sidonius was apparently summoned to attend on him at Arles. His fame as a poet and letter-writer had now made him prominent, and the envy he had created by his popularity made men regard him with aversion, as being not only a panegyrist but also a satirist. Some time later on in the year 459 he wrote to his friend Montius an account of his experience at the court of Majorian.[2] In a light and humorous mood, and with a certain tinge of personal vanity, he told him how men avoided him or offered him a hollow friendship, and how among those who seemed to be annoyed at him was the praetorian prefect Paeonius, a man of low origin and of great conceit, and who was firmly convinced that Sidonius was the writer of certain lampoons which had been written concerning him. The sentiment of his court concerning Sidonius was known to the emperor, and an incident occurred during this sojourn at Arles which Sidonius evidently delighted in. The emperor had invited him and others to a banquet, towards the end of which the emperor went round and said a word or two to his guests. Paeonius he seemed to have ignored, and addressed a remark to Athenius. Perhaps the oversight was intentional, but Paeonius was piqued at the slight, and took upon himself to answer for Athenius. The emperor, in the same happy mood which had distinguished him all through the banquet, smiled at the act of Paeonius, and

[1] Sid. *Ep.* i. 11 "audio, ait imperator, comes Sidoni, quod satiram scribas."
[2] *Ep.* i. 11.

this was for Athenius a revenge greater than the insult. The shy old man was, however, not in the least disconcerted, and since he had seen with secret vexation that Paeonius was placed before him, he replied, "'I am not astonished, Lord Augustus, that Paeonius has taken the trouble to displace me at your table since he does not hesitate to answer for me.' Then the emperor turned towards Sidonius and said, 'I understand, Count Sidonius, that you are a satirist,' and 'I too,' I replied, 'understand it also.' He then laughed and said, 'Yet at least spare us.' 'When I cease to do things that are forbidden I spare myself,' was my answer. 'And what shall we do then,' said the emperor, 'to those who accuse you?' 'Whoever they may be who attack me publicly, if they are able to convict me I ought to suffer the penalty I deserve, but if I succeed in proving my innocence I ask your clemency that I may be permitted without breaking the law to write that which I like concerning my accuser.' Then the emperor turned to Paeonius, who seemed to be in doubt, and asked him by a sign if he agreed to that. Paeonius, however, was silent, and the emperor, pitying his embarrassment, said to me, 'I grant your request on condition that you put it to me promptly in verse.' 'I accept the terms,' I replied, and turned round as if to ask the waiter for some water, and before the emperor had time to go the length of the table I placed myself again on the couch. Thereupon the emperor said, 'Have you composed in verse your request to be allowed to write satires without being punished?' and I replied,[1] 'O mighty prince, decree, I beg, that he who accuses me of writing satires be compelled to prove the charge or to pay the penalty for a false charge.'" It is evident that Sidonius delighted to record his victory, for he had certainly gained from the incident.

For the next ten years Sidonius seems to have

[1] "Scribere me satiram qui culpat, maxime princeps,
hanc rogo decernas aut probet aut timeat."

remained in Gaul, a private citizen, interested in his country and in his private estate in Auvergne. Majorian, on the contrary, returned that year to Italy, and within two years was deposed, and on August 2, 461, was murdered at Tortona,[1] and Severus elected in his place.

It is from his letters to his many friends that we can trace the movements of Sidonius during this period. He had gone to his estate at Avitacum near Clermont[2] and to his friend Domitius gives a description of it[3]: "You wish to know what sort of a place it is to which I invite you. We are at Avitacum,[4] the name of the estate which came to me through my wife, and is therefore more precious to me than that which my father left me. Here we live, I and mine, in direct concord and under the protection of Heaven, unless you are prepared to assign our happiness to any other cause. To the west of us rises a mountain which is on all sides fairly precipitous, and which rears itself as from a double foundation of low hills separated from each other by the space of four furlongs. But while a fairly large lawn stretches out from our entrance hall, the line of hills follows on either side this valley of grass right up to our house, which offers to them its two sides to the north and the south. At the south-west

[1] Idatius, sub anno 460; Procop. *De bello Vandalico*, i. 7; *Fasti Vindob.* p. 305; *M. G. H.* vol. ix. *Chronica minora*, part i.

[2] It was on one of these excursions from Lyons to Auvergne that Sidonius saw from the high ground near to Lyons some labourers desecrating one of the ancient burial-places of the city, and one where the tomb of his grandfather had been erected. The cemetery was no longer used and the labourers were digging a trench through it to carry off the surface water. Sidonius (*Ep.* iii. 12) relates the incident to his paternal cousin Secundus, and tells him how he rode on quickly, got off his horse and gave the men a sound whipping. He then went to the bishop Patiens and reported his act and demanded pardon, and seemed surprised that the bishop praised his act as one due to the memory of his ancestors. The act of the labourers was certainly illegal, cf. Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 23, and was forbidden by the Law of the XII. Tables. Lex Ripuaria xcvii. and Lex Salica lvii. "signis corpus jam sepultum exfodierit et expoliaverit, Wargus sit, hoc est, expulsus de eodem pago." Cf. *Ep.* vi. 4. Could this have occurred after Sidonius had become bishop of Clermont, "confiteor errorem . . . cum nil amplius ego venia postularem"?

[3] *Ep.* ii. 2.

[4] On Avitacum cf. Crégut, *Avitacum: Essai de critique*, Clermont, 1890, and his *Nouveax éclaircissements sur Avitacum*, 1902.

there is a bathing-place at the foot of wood-covered rocks, so that as one cuts the trees that shade it, there is wood at hand for the furnace which heats the water. This bathing chamber is of equal size with the toilet chamber which adjoins it, except that there is the semicircular basin into which the warm water falls from leaden pipes carried in the thickness of the wall. In the bathing chamber there is abundant light which increases still more the modesty of those who bathe. Close by is the cooling chamber, a huge place, and one could easily regard it as a public reservoir. The roof that covers it is conical in shape, and the four walls are covered with well-fitting grooved tiles. This chamber is square and of convenient expanse, and of such proportion that the domestics are not inconvenienced in their work, and it can hold as many chairs as the pool can receive of bathers. Where the vaulting begins the architect has placed two windows, so that one can see clearly the good taste with which the ceiling has been built. The interior face of the wall presents a surface of extreme whiteness. There is no obscene painting, no disgraceful nakedness which all who pretend to admire as art dishonour the artist. You do not see there any actor in stage dress and with a ridiculous mask, pretending to imitate Philistio . . . one finds there in a word nothing which can alarm one's sense of modesty. Certain verses, nevertheless, may arrest the attention of those who enter, but they are of that harmless nature that no one wants to read them again, and no one feels any disgust in having read them once.

"If you enquire also about the marble of which the house is partly constructed, it is not foreign from Paros, Carystos, Proconnesos, Phrygia, Numidia, or Sparta, or such that would take away the natural freshness of the country material. Outside and to the east of the house is a pool, or if you like the Greek term better, a baptistery which contains about twenty thousand hogs-

heads of water. It is hither one betakes oneself from the hot baths through vaulted passages made in the wall. In the middle of the reservoir there rise up, not pilasters, but little columns which architects regard as the ornaments of the house. Six pipes arranged around the pool bring the water from the top of the mountain, and their ends are shaped into the head of a lion with such skill that people who enter without forethought might really believe that they saw their jaws ready to devour them, their eyes flashing with anger, and their manes actually bristling. Beyond this one comes to the apartments of the ladies, and the larder is close by, which is separated by a partition only from the place where they spin the linen. Below the portico, which is supported rather by simple circular poles than by pompous columns, one comes upon a lake on the eastern side of the house. Near the vestibule there opens out a long covered alley, not interrupted by any partition wall. It offers you no point of view, and looks as if it might be called a hippodrome or at least a closed gallery. It expands somewhat at the end and forms a salon of delightful freshness. The chattering troop of clients and attendants hurry along it when I and mine have gained our bedchamber, to throw themselves on the couches placed purposely there. From this gallery one goes into the winter apartment, where a fire sometimes quite large covers the arch of the chimney with soot. But for what purpose do I go into these details since I do not invite you to come and warm yourself here. It will be much better to tell you of things seasonable to your summer visit."

And so Sidonius continues, always dilating on the views, the beautiful green of the fields, and the charm of the situation in the heat of the summer. He gives us, however, no plan of his house, and merely refers to the interior as he carries one on to enjoy this object of beauty or gaze on that delectable retreat. Nor is it certain where Avitacum was. It has been identified

with St. Amant on the Veyre, and also with Chambon under the Puy de Sancy, both a few miles south-west of Clermont.

During these years of freedom from public affairs he seems to have made a tour in the south and west of Aquitaine, of which we must judge the route from the description of the places which he gave his friends. From Avitacum he went to see Pontius Leontius at his castle of Burgus at the junction of the Dordogne with the Garonne, and at Narbonne he sent him back, by way of thanks, a poem describing the gardens and the situation of his friend's country seat.[1] At Narbonne,[2] or possibly at Toulouse, he saw the Visigothic king Theodoric II., and, of course, must write off a description of him to his cousin Agricola.[3] "More than once," he writes, "you have asked me to tell you of the appearance and manners of Theodoric, king of the Goths, whose culture popular report estimates highly. I gladly obey your command, eager as I am to satisfy your curiosity so reasonable and commendable, and especially since it gives me an opportunity of writing to you. Theodoric is a prince indeed quite worth knowing, even by those who have not the privilege of his intimacy, for God and nature have combined to endow him with many happy gifts. His manners are such that the envy which ever surrounds the throne cannot refuse its meed of praise. In size he is well proportioned, above the average in height, but not one you would call especially tall. His head is round and covered with curly hair, which is thrown off a little from his forehead. His veins are prominent, but do not detract from the beauty of his neck. A heavy arc of eyebrows crowns his two eyes. When he closes his eyelids the length of his eyelashes brings them nearly to the middle of his cheeks. His ears, according to the

[1] *Carm.* xxii.

[2] This visit must have been after A.D. 462, when Theodoric took Narbonne, and before 466, when he died.

[3] *Ep.* i. 2.

custom of his nation, are covered with hair which hangs down in long tresses. His nose is agreeably arched. His lips are thin and delicate, well proportioned to his mouth, and somewhat dilated at the corners. If by chance his teeth show themselves in their graceful alignment they offer a whiteness which rivals the snow. He daily shaves his upper lip. His chin, throat, and neck are not thick and fat, but of a delicate colour, and offers the sight of a skin which rivals milk for whiteness, and which seen close at hand shows the warm hues of youth, for the blush which often suffuses his cheeks is the result of modesty and not of pride.

"You ask me also what his public and daily occupations are? With a fair number of his court he goes ere break of day to the assembly of his priests and prays with considerable attention, but since he speaks in a low voice one can notice that this is rather a formal matter than the habit of religion. The rest of the morning is occupied with the administration of his kingdoms. On festive occasions, for his ordinary meals do not differ from those of others, one never sees a breathless slave placing on the groaning tables a large mass of silver plate. He is sparing of speech, for when one keeps silence one can meditate on more serious things. The coverings of the couches and the table consist of purple and fine linen. The value of the dishes consist rather in the skill of the cooking than in the cost of the article cooked. The table utensils are valued rather for their cleanness than their weight of metal. The guests have often to complain of the few toasts which are offered to them rather than that they are obliged to refuse the courses and entrèes because they have drunk enough. In a word, one notices here the refinement of the Greeks, the abundance of the Gauls, the smartness of the Italians, all the ceremony of a public feast, and all the comfort of a private dinner, and the order and regularity which marks the palace of a king."

At Narbonne he stayed with his friend Consentius in his house, which Sidonius designates as Octavianus Ager and then he went to his friend Tonantius Ferreolus, the prefect, who had a château near Nîmes, and where his cousin Apollinaris had also in the immediate neighbourhood a country seat. Here he composed a poem in praise of Consentius,[1] and in 500 lines describes with a wealth of classical illustration, but without a hint of any Christian sentiment, the deeds and travels of his host.[2] In a letter, however, written probably soon after, and in which he refers to Consentius' skill at poetic composition, which afforded delight to his friends at Narbonne and Beziers, he records the boisterous hilarity that prevails, which, however, he says, had a limit, since by the grace of Christ he lived already in secret a holy life, nor did he hesitate in public to submit to this salutary joyousness a head that was religious and a heart that was pious.

But he is also struck with the literary tastes of his friend Tonnantius Ferreolus,[3] and in a letter to Donidius he describes the library at Prusianum on the Gardon, near Nîmes. There were books always to hand. There were the inclined tables as at the schools of the grammarians, and the rows of benches and the cupboards, as at the Athenaeum at Lyons, filled with books from the circulating libraries. There were the tables arranged with books of piety for the ladies and the seats for men placed before the latest works on Latin eloquence. There are works of Augustine and Varro, Horace and Prudentius, and that which most interested men of our faith, *Adamantius Origen*, in the excellent translation made by Turranius Rufinus. It is probably at this period of his life that there occurred the scene at Vienne which Sidonius relates to his friend Eriphius,[4] and which gives us an insight into the Church life of the century. He had been invited to join in the

[1] *Carm.* xxiii.
[2] *Ep.* viii. 4.
[3] *Ep.* ii. 9.
[4] *Ep.* ii. 17.

festivities in commemoration of St. Just, held at his tomb in Vienne, 2nd September. Eriphius, who was a *vir illustris*, was unable to attend on account of sickness, and Sidonius had promised to give him an account of all that had taken place. The solemn anniversary began with a procession which started forth before the day had begun to dawn. It was a holiday for the town, a *dies bona*, as Sidonius calls it. The procession of Christians was immense, and consisted of both sexes, and the basilica, large as it was, could not contain the crowd, nor yet the verandahs, though furnished with numerous portals. When the preparatory matin offices had been said and the monks and clergy had sung alternately and with remarkable sweetness the psalms, all the worshippers went their way in different directions, and yet they took care to be not far off, so that they might be ready for Tierce when the bishop celebrated the Divine Office. "The narrowness of the locality and the size of the crowd, and the great quantity of torches that had been lighted, impressed us with a sense of stuffiness, and the heavy atmosphere of the night, since it was still but little past the summer, weighed upon us in spite of the temporary refreshment of the morning coolness. So while the different sections of the society withdrew in every direction, the chief citizens began to assemble near the tomb of the consul Syagrius, which was but a stone's throw from the church. Some of us settled down under the shade of the creepers which had covered over the vine trellises; we with others lay on the green grass surrounded with the fragrant perfume of the flowers. The conversation was pleasant and animated, and, what was more agreeable, it was not concerning politics or taxation. There was not a word which would compromise any one. Whoever was able told in his best style some interesting story, and was certainly listened to with attention. Occasionally the narrative was interrupted by the sudden ebullition of mere good spirits. Then, wearied by the length of our

waiting, we wished to do something, and soon we found ourselves divided off into two companies according to our ages, and while others asked for dice we demanded the game of ball. I was the first to start the game, for, as you know, I am as fond of football as I am of books. On the other hand, my brother Domnicius, a man full of good and kind spirits, took the dice table and began shaking and tossing the dice, as if he would by the noise call the players to his side. As for myself, I enjoyed myself immensely with the crowd of young scholars, endeavouring as I did in this way to give new life to my limbs so long grown stiff through lack of exercise. The illustrious Philimatius joined us and took part in numerous games of ball. He was very skilful at this when he was young, but now, as he was often pushed by the rush of the young players from the centre of the ground where he should stand firm and erect, and as he could not avoid trying to catch the ball when it passed him or fell near him, he was often thrown headlong and found it difficult to pick himself up. He therefore was the first to show signs of fatigue, and a desire to move away from the scene of the game, breathing hard as he did and very hot. This exercise also had brought out a profuse perspiration, and he was painfully exhausted. I gave up also in order that I might avoid suffering as he did, and at the same time show him some sympathy. We sat down together, and soon the perspiration made him ask for water to wash his face with. They gave him at the same time a thick towel which, after having been washed from previous dirt, hung from a cord from the knocker of the swing door of the small house of the church door-keeper. While he leisurely dried his face he said, 'I wish you would dictate a stanza on the heat which this game threw me into.' 'Certainly,' I replied. 'But,' he added, 'you must put my name into your lines.' 'Very well,' I said, 'take it down from my dictation: The other day, when coming from the bath,

or heated by the chase, his face was wet with sweat. Philimatius found this towel to dry his face, and the moisture was sucked up by it as liquor by the throat of a drunkard.' Scarcely, however, had our Epiphanius copied down my words when the hour was announced, and the bishop[1] came out of his private house, and we arose to follow him to the church."

In A.D. 465 Ricimer caused Severus to be poisoned, and for a time there was no emperor, but ultimately Anthemius, the son-in-law of the late Eastern emperor Marcian, was chosen by Ricimer, and formally nominated by the Eastern emperor Leo,[2] and on April 12, 467, Anthemius was welcomed as emperor by the people of Rome. Sidonius seems to have been at Lyons, but such was his literary fame that he received that autumn an imperial sanction[3] to go to Rome in the service of the new emperor. The condition of the empire in the provinces of Gaul had been materially changed by the accession in A.D. 466, of Euric to the throne of Theodoric II., and his ambition to expand towards Auvergne had begun to fill the mind of Sidonius and other Gallo-Roman nobles with alarm. It was becoming clear to them that the Burgundians on the east and the Visigoths on the west were determined on a policy of aggrandisement, and the imperial authorities were less and less inclined to assist the provincials in a resistance which they knew they could not themselves successfully accomplish. It is probable, therefore, that Sidonius was not unwilling to go to Rome. He could, at any rate, remind the empire of the fair provinces that were threatened with extinction. As soon as he got to Rome he was called upon to witness the marriage of Ricimer with Alypia, the daughter of Anthemius, and on January 1, 468, twelve years after he had won the

[1] Mamertus became bishop of Vienne in A.D. 463.

[2] Sidonius went to Rome as one of the commission to report the treason of Arvandus, but he clearly had the thought of a panegyric in his mind, and so probably had the authorities at Rome. He refers to Anthemius as "Graecus imperator," i. 7.

[3] Sid. *Ep.* i. 5 and 9.

applause of the Senate by his panegyric on his father-in-law the Emperor Avitus, he again showed his skill in a panegyric he pronounced in favour of Anthemius.[1] On this occasion, and through the influence of Caecina Basilius, he was appointed prefect[2] of Rome and chief of the Senate. In Gaul at least two officers, Arvandus[3] the prefect, and Seronatus[4] the chief of the revenue department in Auvergne, had been dealing with the Visigoths and Burgundians, and their treason and exactions were the cause of an embassy of complaint, which probably went to Rome with Sidonius, and from him received much assistance. Both these men were arrested and taken to Rome, and in 469[5] were probably executed there. But Sidonius was tired of political life, and the extended period of retirement he had enjoyed made him the more anxious to withdraw again to his beloved Auvergne. Friendly as he was with all classes of educated people, his friends among the Gallican bishops seem to have increased in number. So, after his year of office as prefect of the city, Sidonius once more, in A.D. 469, returned to Lyons and soon after went back to Avitacum.

In A.D. 471 the See of Clermont became vacant through the death of Eparchus, and Sidonius was chosen to succeed him.[6] We know nothing of the election or even of the exact date when it occurred. But we find him in his letters to neighbouring bishops in A.D. 472 asking for their prayers for him in the great work he had now taken up. He had already entered upon his episcopate, and we may fairly assume that he was consecrated by his friend Patiens of Lyons and Lupus of Troyes.

[1] Sid. *Carm.* i. and ii.

[2] *Ep.* i. 9; ix. 16.

[3] Cf. Claud. Mamertinus, lib. i. and *Ep.* i. 7.

[4] *Ep.* ii. 1, v. 14, vii. 7.

[5] Cassiodorus, A.D. 469, says that Arvandus was exiled by Anthemius, and this has been interpreted as evidence of the success of Sidonius' appeal against the death sentence. Cf. *Ep.* i. 7.

[6] Cf. *Ep.* vii. 9, 14. All we know of this comes to us from Sidonius' sermon at Bourges: "Sidonius ad clericatum quia de saeculari professione translatus est, ideo sibi assumere metropolitanum de religiosa congregatione dissimulat." Cf. also *Ep.* iii. 1.

Auvergne was at this time in immediate danger of invasion. Euric was clearly determined to occupy the whole of it and had already attacked the settlement of Bretons near Bourges.[1] In A.D. 473 Riocat,[2] a Breton bishop, was on his way from Riez, where he had been staying with Faustus,[3] and wished to proceed to Armorica, taking with him various writings of Faustus. But the Visigoths were in the field between Clermont and Bourges, and Riocat was forced for the sake of safety to retire to Clermont, where he stayed for several months until the road was once more open to him. Meanwhile the people of Clermont were called upon to resist the attacks of the Visigoths on Clermont itself, and they found in their new bishop one who inspired them with courage and with patience. During the winter of A.D. 474, Clermont was so beset with Visigoths that it was practically besieged. The Visigoths were outside, and communication with the rest of Gaul was more and more difficult. Sidonius was anxious for some sign of a movement from Lyons to their assistance, and

[1] In *Ep.* iii. 9 we find Sidonius as an Arvernian senator writing to Riothamus, the leader of this British settlement in Berry on behalf of an Arvernian, whose slaves the Bretons had enticed away. This must have been before A.D. 469 when the Bretons were defeated at Deol by Euric. In A.D. 472 the Visigoths were masters of all Berry.

[2] *Ep.* ix. 9. Riochat he describes as a bishop and a monk: ". . . igitur hic ipse venerabilis apud oppidum nostrum cum moraretur donec gentium concitatarum procella defremeret."

[3] Of Faustus we have already in a previous chapter given an account. Avitus in a letter to Gundobad (Peiper's ed. p. 30) calls him a Breton, "*ortu* Britannicus." He was born about 410, and after some years' training at Lerins became in 433 abbot of that monastery. Engelbrecht (*V. C. E. S.* vol. xxi. p. vi.) considers that he came from the island of Britain and not from Armorica, since Avitus, bishop of Vienne, seems to wish to mark him off from Gaul by that designation Britannus. About A.D. 452 he became bishop of Riez in succession to his friend Maximus, and was regarded as among the most learned bishops of Gaul of that period. In A.D. 477, and perhaps on account of his strenuous opposition to Arianism, he was exiled by Euric to some distant part of Gaul and was certainly dead before A.D. 500. Sidonius held him in great esteem, and refers (ix. 3) to his preaching and (ix. 9) to his work *De gratia*. Sidonius' brother was educated by Faustus (*Carm.* xvi. 72). During the retirement which preceded his ordination Sidonius went to visit him at Riez (vii. 6), and in the *Carmen Eucharistion* (xvi.) connects Faustus with Hilary, Eucherius, Honoratus, Lupus, and Maximus. In *Ep.* ix. 3 he refers to the correspondence between himself and Faustus, and considers it safer that it should temporarily cease because of the suspicion of the civil powers, *i.e.* Visigoths and Burgundians, since the roads are filled with sentinels who might capture the messengers and question them closely.

urged his brother-in-law Ecdicius,[1] to come to the relief of Clermont. The advent of such an Arvernian patriot and nobleman, who had great hopes of being raised to the rank of patrician, would show the people of Clermont that the Empire had not forsaken them. At last, Ecdicius with a handful of warriors came and with such courage and boldness, that the Visigoths retired before him, and Sidonius, the better to encourage the citizens of the town, boasts of his feat of arms.[2]

There was, however, a party in Clermont that was in favour of an understanding with Euric as the only way of saving the city from a sack, and against this party Sidonius strenuously opposed himself. To combat it the better he invited Constantius,[3] a priest of Lyons, with whom he had been for long on intimate terms, to come and conduct a sort of religious revival, and the preaching of Constantius certainly, for a time, allayed the anxiety. In the spring of A.D. 475, Sidonius wrote to Mamertus,[4] bishop of Vienne, to tell him that he was introducing into Clermont the system of Rogation processions, which the latter had a few years before established at Vienne. He had introduced it that God might be implored on behalf of Clermont, and that the danger which daily became more threatening might be averted. But in the midst of these courageous efforts for self defence Sidonius heard of other measures which gave him greater cause of alarm. The then emperor, Nepos, had sent Licinianus to negotiate terms of peace with Euric, and Sidonius knew too well the conditions

[1] Ecdicius, the brother of Papianilla, was an Arvernian nobleman who had considerable influence with the Burgundian leaders (iii. 3). He was made patrician by Nepos (*Ep.* v. 16). In *Ep.* ii. 1, Sidonius couples his absence from Auvergne with the extortions of Seronatus and longs for his return. His letter iii. 3 brought him to the relief of Clermont in the earlier stage of the siege, cf. also *Carm.* xx.

[2] It was on this occasion, since Ecdicius had opened up communication between Lyons and Clermont, that Patiens, bishop of Lyons, collected food and supplies from the Saône and Rhone valleys and sent them for the famishing Arvernians at Clermont.

[3] Constantius, a priest of Lyons, was a very trusted friend of Sidonius, cf. i. 1, iii. 2, vii. 18, viii. 16, ix. 16. His first collection of letters, *i.e.* the first eight books, he drew up at the request of Constantius.

[4] Cf. *Ep.* v. 14, vii. 1.

on which Euric would insist. He made therefore a hurried visit to Lyons and Vienne, and though he could write to his wife to tell her that her brother, Ecdicius,[1] had at last been made patrician, he could gain no information as to the progress of the negotiations with Euric. Twice he wrote to his friend Magnus Felix, the patrician,[2] to ask for news, and his silence filled him with the worst fears. Then he heard that Leontius of Arles, Faustus of Riez, Graecus of Marseilles, and Basil, bishop of Aix, had been chosen as special commissioners. But these bishops were all of the province of Narbonensis secunda, and he knew well that they would naturally think first of their own province. Much as they would sympathise with Sidonius and the Church in Clermont, they could hardly but think of themselves first. He wrote, therefore, earnest and beseeching letters to each[3] of them, imploring them to think of Auvergne, and what a loss it would be to the Church in Gaul, but even with them he could effect nothing. Euric was not to be denied the province he had coveted. There was no power, as he knew well, that could resist him, and in the autumn of 475[4] the treaty was signed which handed over the most patriotic portion of Gaul, the portion which had always been distinguished for its valour and public spirit, to the Arian Visigoth.

Euric at first dealt lightly with Clermont. He placed his officer Victorius over it as administrator, and Victorius[5] was friendly to the Catholics. But soon afterwards Euric decided to send Sidonius into exile. Already he had exiled and interned in other towns many

[1] *Ep.* v. 16.

[2] *Ep.* iii. 4, iv. 5.

[3] Basil, bishop of Aix, vii. 6, Graecus of Marseilles, vii. 7. In his letter to Basil he refers to all four bishops, Leontius, Faustus, Graecus, and Basil.

[4] Cf. *Ep.* vii. 7. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii. 504, points out that there were probably three embassies to Euric. First that of the quaestor Licinianus, Sid. *Ep.* iii. 7, in which Ecdicius gained the patriciate, v. 16; then the embassy of Epiphanius which was fruitless, cf. Ennodius, *Life of Epiphanius*, *Opp. Ennodii*, Vogel's ed., *M. G. H.* vii. pp. 94, 95, and, thirdly, the missions of the four bishops who drew up the conditions of the surrender.

[5] *Ep.* vii. 17, Greg. Tur. *H. F.* ii. 20.

of the Catholic bishops of the chief cities of his kingdom, and now Sidonius was to receive from him the same drastic treatment. So in the summer of A.D. 476 Sidonius was exiled to the fortress of Livia,[1] a lofty stronghold somewhat to the north of Narbonne, and about a dozen miles from Carcassonne, and which has been identified with the modern Capendu on the northern slopes of Mount d'Alaric. But Sidonius had friends at the court of Euric. The quaestor, Leon,[2] had been for long his correspondent, and Evodius,[3] whose friendship he had won by his verses for the mirror he gave to queen Ragnahild, was not prepared to desert him, nor did Victricius fail to remember him in his adversity. While at Livia Leon asked him to write a life of Apollonius of Tyana, and he composed apparently a translation of his life by Philostratus. But his stay at Livia was not long. His friends had pleaded for him, and Euric was persuaded to order his removal to Bordeaux,[4] where his court then was, and at Bordeaux he remained for two months. But up to this date he had never met with the monarch he had so courageously opposed. Now after two or three applications he got his wish, and Sidonius and Euric had their interview. He had written some lines on the Gothic king which had pleased Euric, and having accepted the situation, Euric was prepared to grant him his freedom, and now he was allowed to return to Clermont, and at Clermont he remained until his death.

Gregory of Tours[5] has preserved for us two incidents which belong to this later period of his life, when his literary activity had ceased. Two priests of his diocese conspired against him and attempted to drive him from his See. The temporal affairs of the diocese were taken out of his hands, and he suffered much humiliation from the treatment of this hostile section

[1] *Ep.* viii. 3 "nam dum me tenuit inclusum mora moenium Livianorum."
[2] Cf. *ibid.* and Ennodius, *Life of Epiphanius*, ut supra, p. 85, and *Ep.* ix. 22.
[3] *Ep.* iv. 8. The verses for the mirror of Ragnahild he gives in this letter.
[4] *Ep.* viii. 9.
[5] *Hist. Franc.* ii. 23.

of his Church, but the sudden death of one of the leaders on the very morning when, during the saying of the morning Office, Sidonius was to be seized and driven out from the church, created a reaction in his favour.

Gregory also tells us of the deathbed scene of Sidonius.[1] He was not an old man, but he had lived so busy a life that he was probably aged above his years. As he lay a dying the people stood around weeping and asking why he was leaving them. Then they saw a brightness come over him as if it was the supernatural illumination of some heavenly vision, and he turned and said, "Fear not, my people, my brother Aprunculus is with you and he will be your bishop." As they listened they failed to understand his reference, and presumed he was speaking in an ecstasy. The survivor of the two former opponents, however, after his death seized the possessions of the See, and endeavoured to procure the succession for himself. At the assembly of the citizens, however, when an election to supply the vacancy would have been made, one of them present related a dream he had had, in which he had seen Sidonius among the blessed ones of heaven, and the wretched priest who had died suddenly acknowledging his error even while by the King's orders he was cast in the nethermost prison. So Aprunculus was chosen, and the rival candidate induced to acknowledge his error in having ill-treated and opposed the saintly Sidonius.

The exact date of his death is not easily decided. It was certainly anterior to A.D. 491, and probably occurred in 488 or 489. Sidonius was buried in the church of St. Saturninus in Clermont.[2]

It is, however, as a bishop of the Church in Gaul that Sidonius demands our notice. With the man of affairs and of *belles lettres* we have little or nothing to do, and yet it is through his correspondence alone that we can come to know him. In it he holds up to us a mirror in

[1] *Hist. Franc.* ii. 23.

[2] Cf. Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 23, note 6.

which we perceive a reflection of the Church in Gaul in the middle of the fifth century. Many a bishop would be to us but a name did he not live in the correspondence of Sidonius.[1] The bishop of Clermont is indeed for the Catholic Church in Gaul the central figure of the century. Charming as are the letters of Paulinus of Nola and Avitus of Vienne, yet they would give us a very one-sided view of Church life were they not balanced by the letters of Sidonius. These give reality to the dry narrative of the chronicles, and show up to our gaze the Roman world as it came more and more under the influence of Christianity. Church life was not confined to the asceticism of the monks, nor did it consist of abject submission to the See of St. Peter. There was a more human side to it. Apart, however, from this homely and vivacious correspondence, there are the three panegyrics which Sidonius delivered at Rome and Lyons, and the marriage verses which he composed for the marriage of Ruricius and Hiberia stand by themselves. These surprise us in that they are saturated with pagan ideas. Sidonius shows himself deeply versed in classical literature. His panegyric on Avitus, delivered January A.D. 456, consists of 603 lines, and begins with an address to Phoebus, in which he says that Phoebus, as he traverses the universe, can now behold a rival power, and can therefore keep his light for heaven since the sun which the empire now possessed, *i.e.* Avitus, is sufficient for the earth. Avitus was a Gallo-Roman Christian and so was his son-in-law, and yet there is not one single line which would tell us of

[1] The following list of bishops to whom Sidonius writes gives us some idea of the extent of his correspondence and the remarkable influence he exercised :— Euphronius of Autun, Faustus of Riez, Graecus of Marseilles, Remigius of Rheims, Aprunculus of Langres, Basil of Aix, Lupus of Troyes, Leontius of Arles, Censorius of Auxerre, Agroecius of Sens, Patiens of Lyons, Maximus of Toulouse, Mamertus of Vienne, Fonteius of Vaison, Principius of Soissons, Perpetuus of Tours, Auspicius of Toul and Prosper of Orleans, and in addition he wrote letters to the following bishops whose Sees are unknown or at least merely conjectural : — Julianus, Ambrosius, Megethius, Eleutherius, Theoplastus, Eutropius, and Pragmatius. He wrote also to Abbot Chariobaud of Brioude, and took a leading part in the election of John to the See of Chalon-sur-Saône, and Simplicius to that of Bourges.

any Christian sentiment common to them. So also the panegyric on Majorian delivered at Lyons in A.D. 458, and which consists also of more than 600 lines, is steeped in paganism. "Remember, O republic," he says, "the ancient triumphs. The empire is now in the hands of a consul who is as great now that he wears the purple as when he was armed for the battlefield." And so Sidonius tells the story of the empire and the glorious part which Majorian had taken in its affairs, and he wonders what is in store for it now that it had a warrior for an emperor.

Ten years later he delivered the panegyric on Anthemius, a poem of 548 lines, and the tone is still pagan. "When destiny," he says, "had placed the young Jupiter above the stars, and the new god took possession of his ancient empire, the gods were eager to offer their congratulations to the immortal sovereign of the universe and to sing an ode worthy of the occasion." And so with excessive flattery he brings before us Mars, Arcas, Sagittarius, the choir of the Muses, the Dryads, the Fauns, the god Pan, all to offer their meed of praise to Anthemius, who, he tells the conscript fathers, was born for the throne.

There is, indeed, throughout these odes a healthy tone, but though Sidonius was speaking before Christian emperors, and had an audience nominally Christian, he parades the heathen gods before them as suggestive of thoughts quite natural, and is remarkably reticent concerning the Christian faith. Yet his family had been Christians for two generations, and there can be no doubt of his own Christianity. From time to time in his letters he acknowledges that his acts[1] have been accomplished by the help of God. He thanks Christ that he has started from Ravenna and is now on his way to Rome.[2] He hopes that God may enable Projectus to accomplish the union he desired.[3] He tells his friend Herenius[4] that it was with Christ's help he had attained the prefecture of the city. When

[1] *Ep.* ii. 2. [2] *Ep.* i. 6. [3] *Ep.* ii. 4. [4] *Ep.* i. 9.

he was grieved at the sickness of his child Severiana, he writes to Agricola, a brother of his wife Papianilla, that he cannot help a joke, and tells him that the doctor Justus[1] was better versed in the art of Chiron than in that of Machaon, and then he goes on to say that the danger, in which the child was, created a motive for prayer to Christ, and that he should beseech Him the more earnestly to re-establish the health of his child.

Yet when he went to Rome with Avitus, or again for the service of Anthemius, he has not a word to say about the popes, and merely records that a prayer at the tomb of the apostles[2] had given him strength and driven away his weariness, a proof, he says, that Heaven is assisting him. There is, however, as we have already stated, throughout his letters a tone so pure, healthy, and optimistic that it is clear he was much more than a nominal Christian. He was a man of affairs in high position in the State, and had to deal with men, many of whom at any rate were only outwardly Christian, and he dealt with them in the way in which his influence and friendship with them could best be preserved. As we have already seen in A.D. 469, Sidonius was anxious to retire from politics, and though we do not know how he was elected Bishop of Clermont, his later letters show distinctly the result of this great change.[3] Writing to thank his cousin Avitus for the grant he had made to enrich the church of Clermont, of which he was bishop, he confesses his lack of merit for the high office which he held—"cui praepositus etsi immerito videor." His admiration for and his intimacy with Lupus were very great,[4] and in the humblest tone he writes and begs him to intercede with Jesus Christ our Master on his behalf, because of the multitude of his sins, and he says he will no longer offer strange fire on the altar of the Lord, but will rejoice to feel that he is aided by his prayers. Fortunately we have

[1] *Ep.* ii. 12. [2] *Ep.* i. 5. [3] *Ep.* iii. 1. [4] *Ep.* vi. 1.

a letter of Lupus to Sidonius[1] on the subject of his elevation to the episcopate, which shows how that fact was generally approved of by the Church in Gaul. Lupus writes to him soon after his consecration: "I thank our Lord Jesus Christ, very dear brother, that through the influence of the Holy Spirit in this general upturning of human affairs, and in the affliction which His spouse the Church has had to endure, you are called to the rank of the episcopate, to sustain it and to console it, that you may bear the torch in Israel . . . in the presence of Christ I honour and embrace you no longer as a prefect of the republic, but as a bishop of the Church who art my son from your age, my brother in your rank, and my father in your personal merit."

To Sulpicius,[2] Sidonius writes and says that Himerius had come from Troyes, and he cannot but tell him how he reminded him of Lupus and the wisdom and humility which he displays.

To Basil, bishop of Aix,[3] he shows his knowledge of the political events of the time, and pours out his anxiety for the fate of Auvergne. He does not mention his See, but addresses him as a bishop of the province of Arles: "There exist between us, thanks be to God, and it is a rare example in our days, ancient bonds of friendship. For long we have loved each other with equal tenderness. But if I consider our respective positions you are my patron also, though indeed this would be to speak presumptuously, and in pride, for my faults are so great that you will be able, at least by the efficacy of your prayers, to aid me in my constant falls. But you are doubly my master by the protection which you afford to me and by the friendship with which you honour me. How I appreciate the warmth of your zeal and the power of your words, who have witnessed your destruction, by the sword of spiritual

[1] *Ep.* vi. 1. For the letter of Lupus cf. Migne, *P. L.* lviii. It is given in d'Achéry's *Spicilegium*, but I now regard it as one more of the forgeries of J. Vignier. Cf. Havet, *B. E. des C.* xlvi. p. 205.

[2] *Ep.* vii. 13.

[3] *Ep.* vii. 6.

testimony, of the Goth Modaharius, scattering as he was on all sides the seeds of Arianism. I can thus very well, without failing in my respect for other bishops, deplore with you the way in which the cruel wolf gorges itself with the sins of souls that perish, and secretly lays waste in its rage, which is not as yet fully realised, the fold of the Church. For the ancient foe, that it may the more easily attack the bleating sheep that have been forsaken, begins to threaten the sleeping pastors."

He then urges that the time calls for repentance, constant prayer, and fervent zeal for the faith.[1] "Euric," he says, "the king of the Goths, has broken the ancient alliance, and is protected by the might of his soldiers. The boundaries of his kingdom roll on, and it is not allowed to us sinners to complain or even, holy pontiff, to speak of it to you. But I must confess, though the king of the Goths is terrible by reason of his armies, I fear less his blows on the Roman cities than for the laws which protect the Christian. The very name of Catholic is to him so horrible, that one would imagine him the chief of a sect as well as the leader of his people. Add to this the power of his forces, his courageous zeal, his youthful vigour, and his unique character, all of which make him attribute to his religion the success he has gained in war and by his consummate policy, a success which after all is really temporal. Realise then promptly the secret evil of the Catholic state that you may quickly provide for it efficacious remedies. Bordeaux, Périgueux, Rodez, Limoges, Gabala, Eauze, Bazas, Comminges, Auch, and many other towns, whose bishops have been cut off by death, have not been allowed to appoint successors who could confer the ministry of minor orders, and offer to you a whole realm of spiritual ruin. The evil also increases day by day by the vacancies

[1] *Ep.* vii. 6. This letter must have been written in A.D. 473, when negotiations had begun for the surrender of Auvergne to Euric.

which death is always creating, and the heretics of to-day, as did those of an earlier time, await these events, and it is sad to see the people deprived of their bishops and in despair at the loss of the faith. In the diocese and in the parish all is neglected. We see on all sides churches falling into ruin. Their doors are torn off their hinges, the entrances to the basilicas are choked with brambles and thorns, and the very cattle themselves, oh the sadness of it, come and lie down in the half-open vestibules, and crop the grass that sprouts up around the very altars themselves. I say nothing of your colleagues Crocus and Simplicius torn from their Sees, and both in exile sharing unequal sorrows, for the one is sad in that he sees no more the place to which he desires to return, and the other to see the place from which he cannot return. You are in the midst of holy pontiffs Leontius, Faustus, Graecus, placed there by the citizens of your town, your rank, and your charity. It is your duty to realise and make known the evils of these alliances and the treaties of peace between the two states. Unite for this purpose. Concord reigns among princes. See that we may be free to consecrate bishops, and that the people of Gaul who are included in the empire of the Goths may belong to our faith if they can no longer remain citizens of our state. Condescend, lord pope, to remember us."

Naturally Sidonius, as an honest man, and all he has written shows him eminently as such, was unwilling to appear more than he really was. A rhetorician of acknowledged fame, and deeply conversant with Roman history and Latin literature, yet he never pretended to be a theologian, and he nowhere appears as a great Biblical student. Soon after he had become Bishop of Clermont[1] he received a letter from Arbogast, a count of the empire and Roman governor of Trier. Whatever was the real desire of the writer, the tone

[1] *Ep.* iv. 17.

of flattery adopted put Sidonius to shame. Arbogast had asked his opinion on certain passages of Holy Scripture. "Your friend," writes Sidonius, "Eminentius, my most illustrious master, has given me a learned letter which you have dictated, and which glistens with the brightness of a threefold virtue: first, the charity which you deign to show towards the feeble talents of a stranger such as myself; secondly, the modesty which makes you shun your just title; and thirdly, the delicacy which makes you say that you write stupidly." He recognises that the Latin tongue is fast disappearing from the Belgic and the Rhine districts, but he at least perceives from this letter that on the banks of the Mosel they speak the same tongue as on the banks of the Tiber. He cannot, however, claim to be able to expound the difficulties of Holy Scripture. Questions such as these should be asked of bishops who live nearer to the questioner, and he recommends application to Modestus, the bishop of Trier, and failing him, there were Lupus of Troyes and Auspicius of Toul, whose wealth of learning he could not exhaust.

About the same time, *i.e.* within a year or two after his consecration as Bishop of Clermont,[1] he received a letter from Euphronius, bishop of Autun, in which he asked him an explanation of some difficult book he had been reading. Sidonius regarded the request as being as difficult for his mediocrity to answer as it would be rash for him to attempt an answer. He reminded Euphronius that he had Jerome, Augustine, and Origen whom he could consult, and he hoped he would not expect any help from the dry straw of his arid spirit. It would be arrogant rashness on his part to attempt to answer such questions, he who though a new bishop was an old sinner, *novus clericus peccator antiquus*, with a heavy conscience and a small amount of learning, and so he begs

[1] *Ep.* ix. 2.

Euphronius not to press him too much, but to recognise the wisdom of his reserve. At the same time he asks of him his prayers on his behalf.

Probably in the year A.D. 474, or perhaps in the autumn of the previous year, and during the campaign of Euric in the north of Aquitaine, Sidonius received a request from the people of Bourges to come and help them in the election of a bishop. The vacancy had occurred some little time ago, and the people were torn into factions and could not apparently agree. There was no organisation of the Church in Aquitaine at the time, and Sidonius must have felt some reluctance in accepting the invitation, knowing, as he must have known, what had occurred to Hilary of Arles and Mamertus of Vienne acting on invitations such as these without having first consulted the Roman See. He wrote, however, to Agraecius of Sens,[1] whom he regarded as chief of the bishops nearest to Bourges, if indeed there were any bishops beside him in that province, and apparently because Sens was the chief town of Lugdunensis IV., and he urged him also to come to Bourges, and he told him incidentally that with the exception of Clermont every bishopric in the two Aquitaines was in the hands of the Visigoths, and Sidonius acknowledges that the only privilege he himself possessed was that of sending this invitation to him. It would be for Agraecius to decide on every detail of the election.

The choice of a successor to Euladius was made largely by Sidonius, and instead of the candidate most in favour with the people of Bourges, a certain Simplicius, a man who was well known and who had been of great use to the city, was elected. In his humility he had neither put himself forward nor had he got himself talked about, but Sidonius had perceived his fitness for the post. At some stage in the proceedings an address had to be given to the people of Bourges, and

[1] *Ep.* vii. 5.

Sidonius as the bishop most responsible for the selection was naturally called upon to give it. The address was popular and much talked about, and displays at once Sidonius in the new position of a bishop. It is the sermon of an accomplished orator who has given up all the popular illustrations from heathen mythology, and, basing his remarks on Holy Scripture, writes with simplicity and directness, stating plainly his reasons for the choice he had made. Soon after it was delivered he had a request from Perpetuus, bishop of Tours,[1] for a copy of it, and Sidonius, in a letter he writes to him, sends him also a copy of his sermon, and tells him how he had dictated it during two watches of a summer night.[2] He wrote also to Euphronius of Autun[3] to inform him of what he had done at Bourges and the reason for his action.

On the main road between Clermont and Bourges were two large country houses of which both the owners were friends of Sidonius.[4] One of them, Germanicus, had built a church near his house at Chantelle le Château, and had asked Sidonius to come and consecrate it. He was a man of the highest rank among the people and was now over sixty years of age. What happened when he was there Sidonius does not tell us, but on his return he wrote to Vectius, the owner of the other château in the neighbourhood, and asked his kind offices for the good of Germanicus. The latter was a fop notwithstanding his mature age, and he always desired to appear young, and Sidonius was grieved to notice the attention he gave to his personal appearance, his fastidiousness about his dress, and the care he took to keep his limbs supple and to appear youthful—"praeditus sanitate juvenili solam sibi vindicat de senectute reverentiam." Sidonius wishes Vectius to use his influence and try and break Germanicus off these

[1] *Ep.* vii. 9.

[2] At the request of Perpetuus he wrote an inscription for the basilica which he had just built in honour of St. Martin, *Ep.* iv. 18.

[3] *Ep.* vii. 8.

[4] *Ep.* iv. 13.

nauseous vanities. "Urge him to think more of religion, for then he will acquire extra vigour in an innocence which is new to him. Though he is old in years yet he will become young by his virtues, and since there is scarcely any one who has not some secret fault to bewail, by this satisfaction to public feeling he will in a way expiate the sins while he recalls to himself the commission of them. The father of a priest, the son of a bishop, if he is not himself a saint, then he is like a rose tree which, born of a rose and producing roses, and holding the middle place between the flowers which it has produced and which produced it, is covered with thorns of which one can compare the wound they make to the injury made to the soul by the sin which has been committed."

The next year or two were years of great anxiety, in which we have few letters and those chiefly in reference to the threatened invasion of Auvergne.[1] Writing to Ecdicius of the guerilla war which already was going on all round, he tells him also how he had been engaged in teaching the Arvernians oratory and poetry in Latin, and in trying to induce them to give up the rudeness of their Celtic speech. To Magnus Felix,[2] however, he writes in the old style. "You remain a long time," he says, "without writing to me, and in this we each follow our old habit. I go on chattering and you keep a wise silence. Your carefulness to fulfil your duties in regard to others makes me recognise in you as a kind of virtue that you do not allow yourself such sort of recreation as correspondence provides. What is the matter? Will you not allow your ancient friendship to break through this obstinate silence of yours, or will you not realise that it is a cruel thing not to reply to an old chatterer? There you are in the depths of your library or your office, and you expect my feeble letters, and as you always must perceive, I have a greater propensity for writing than any talent

[1] *Ep.* iii. 3. [2] *Ep.* iii. 7.

for it," and then he proceeds to enquire as to Licinianus' progress in the peace negotiations.

At some time after his return from exile and his visit to Euric at Bordeaux, Sidonius had urgent need to go to Toulouse. He could travel now in Aquitaine since he had made his peace with the king. Maximus, one of the officers of the palace of Euric at Toulouse, had apparently lent to Turpion, the father of Turnus, a sum of money of which the interest had now reached a sum equal to the capital. Turpion had been greatly inconvenienced by this debt, and had asked Sidonius to enquire of Maximus as to repayment, and as Turpion was now dead [1] Sidonius writes to tell the son the details of this visit. Maximus had formerly kept great state, and had been wont to show to and to receive from the family of Sidonius every hospitality. When Sidonius arrived at Toulouse there was Maximus ready to receive him. Sidonius at once, however, noticed a complete change in him. "His whole environment, his modesty, his candour, and his language all betokened a religious change. His hair was cut short, his beard was worn long. There were no feathers on his bed, no purple on his table. He received me with sincerity but with frugality, and he had nothing on his table but vegetables. If there were any delicacies they were for his guests, and not for him. When we rose from the table I asked him, in a whisper which the servants could not overhear, which of the three orders he had adopted. Was he a monk, or a priest, or a penitent? He replied that he had lately, and in spite of his own protests, but at the urgent request of the people, been made Bishop of Toulouse."

The next group of letters shows us the extraordinary influence which Sidonius was able to exert on behalf of the Catholic Christians in the kingdom of Euric. Ruricius, bishop of Limoges, had been exiled by the Visigothic king, and on Sidonius fell the burden to

[1] *Ep.* iv. 24.

provide for his flock. Between Ruricius and Sidonius there had been a most sincere intimacy, and the former panegyrist of the emperor comes before us in a new light in the letter which Ruricius wrote to him and he wrote to Ruricius.[1] "I desire," says Ruricius—"I desire, my teacher, to be fed with your food, to drink at your fountains, to be filled at your feast. . . . Nor does food fail him whose pasture is the Word. Pray, I beseech you, pray for a wandering sheep and bring him back from the pastures of this world to the fold of the Lord, for I trust that he who has obtained the merit of being your disciple may by your prayers become a sheep of Christ's fold." To Ruricius, Sidonius is the seer or bishop, "fratri Sidonio videnti Ruricius," and he says, "I recall how often as I heard you preach you told us how we could not be cleansed from our sins unless we should confess our faults and so purge our consciences. For who, I do not say can attain to, but even seek for, forgiveness unless he adds to his petition an acknowledgment of the offence, since sin demands forgiveness and not forgiveness sin,"—and then he goes on to declare the nature of his offence.[2] Sidonius had lent a book to Leontius, and Ruricius had obtained the book from Leontius and had read and copied it. He hopes, therefore, he will forgive him, for as he reads, he says he seems to hear the words of Sidonius, and he is sure that Sidonius would not desire such instruction to cease. But an event had occurred which demanded Sidonius's attention. Elaphius of Rodez had built a baptistery, and Ruricius was not there to consecrate it, and Sidonius was asked to fulfil the place of the absent bishop, and responds with alacrity.[3] "Get ready a great feast," he writes to Elaphius, "and arrange lots of seats for the tables. By every road a huge crowd should come to you. All people of quality have made up their minds to make the journey as soon as they

[1] Rur. *Ep.* i. 9; Vienna *Corpus S. E.* xxi. p. 362.
[2] Rur. *Ep.* i. 8. [3] *Ep.* iv. 15.

know the day for the dedication. For the baptistery which you have built, you tell me, is ready for consecration. You invite us to the solemn festival—you by your wish, and us by reason of our spiritual office. Many you invite officially, all by reason of their faith. It is indeed an admirable thing that you should build a new church at a time when others dare not even repair the old ones. It remains for us to wish that as you accomplish your desire so you may also fulfil the promises which they make to God that you will do the like for others in happier days, and that not in secret, but openly and in public. I trust that better times are coming, and that Christ will grant me my prayer and that of the people of Rodez, that we may be able also to offer for them our eucharistic sacrifices as to-day they erect for us their altar. Lastly, though the autumn drawing to a close shortens the days, though the leaves as they fall in the forest strike a warning note on the ears of the traveller, though the castle to which you invite me is difficult of access, surrounded by rocks and cliffs which remind us of the Alps and is nigh unto the region of snow, yet God being our Guide, we will cross the steep sides of your mountains, we will not fear either the rocks at our feet or the snow lying above us, . . . For even if there was no solemn duty to call us, you deserve, as Cicero says, that for your sake alone we should visit Thespae."

Pharetrius, a priest of Rodez, had sent a letter to the exiled Ruricius by Ulfilas, a Goth, to tell him what Elaphius had done,[1] and Sidonius had apparently received from Ruricius a letter of thanks, for he writes to him and tells him how he forgives entirely his larceny in copying the book he had borrowed from Leontius, and says it is to his advantage because the copy belongs to him, and all who learn from the copy will thank Sidonius for the gain. As for Ruricius, he must take care not to judge his friend wrongly and imagine that he would

[1] *Ep.* iv. 16.

in any way be annoyed at the fact of his copy.[1] There are two other letters of Sidonius to Ruricius, in one of which he commends to Ruricius his own bookseller,[2] whom he had found thoroughly trustworthy, and who takes to Ruricius a copy of the Heptateuch and another of the Prophets ; and in the other letter he encourages him in his reading,[3] and in a friendly way reproves him for the excessive way in which he had praised his learning.

We must venture to give one more letter of Sidonius, because it links Sidonius with a leader in a movement that was to change the face of Gaul—Remigius of Rheims, who had been for some years bishop in Belgica II., and was, with Aegidius and Syagrius, the emblem of Roman authority in the north-east of Gaul. The letter again refers to the habit[4] which men had of copying the books which they had borrowed.

"One of our citizens," he writes to Remigius, "went to Belgica. I know the man, but I do not know the object of his journey. That, however, does not matter. Arrived at Rheims he quickly got the better of your copyist or your librarian. Either by money or by friendships he obtained, in spite of them, a copy of your declamations. On his return, all proud of his rich collection of manuscripts, although I was disposed to buy them, he made me a present of them, which was all the better for us, seeing that there was nothing wrong in the transaction. From the very beginning I have been anxious, and those with me who cultivate letters, to acquaint ourselves with your lectures, to learn the greater part by heart, and to copy out the whole of them. We are openly and unanimously or opinion that few people to-day could write after this fashion. In fact there are few orators and perhaps no one who knows so well to take up a subject and

[1] Cf. the story of the Psalter copied by St. Columba from a Codex lent him by St. Finnian, which is given as the reason for his departure from Ireland to Iona. Fowler's *Adamnani vita S. Columbae*, p. lxii.

[2] *Ep.* v. 15. [3] *Ep.* viii. 10. [4] *Ep.* ix. 7; Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 31.

arrange it and describe it with such art as yourself. One notices what justice there is in the examples you address, what accuracy in your quotations, what fitness in your epithets, what elegance in your metaphors, what weight in your evidence, what richness of language. The stream of your elegance rolls on. There is passion in your peroration. It is as if a thunderbolt struck us. The framework of the discourse is strong, and the argument is severely logical, while the alterations on the point of view are happily arranged without causing the stream of the narrative to flow less steadily, or be less harmonious in arrangement. Your words add such grace to the narrative that one is never checked by inelegant expressions, and your courtly language never seems to falter. Your sentences, softened and well rounded off, resemble the surface of a crystal or an onyx which allows the finger to glide over it, unless the nail is arrested by any the smallest scratch or the tiniest crack. One more remark. There is not an orator of to-day whom in ability you do not surpass and easily vanquish. Therefore, I almost fear, lord pope, lest this priceless gift of so rare an eloquence—pardon me the remark—should fill you with pride. But as your conscience is as pure as your language you ought not to blame us. We know how to praise that which is well written if we have not ourselves written anything that is worthy of praise. Cease then in the future to disdain our judgment, for there is nothing in it of malice or satire. But if you postpone to enrich our sterility by your eloquent dissertations, we will waylay the steps of the robbers, at our instigation the hands of burglars will openly ransack your portfolios, and there, though all to no purpose, you will realise you have been robbed, if to-day you do not listen to and grant our prayer and accept our compliments. Condescend, lord pope, to remember us in your prayers."

It is difficult to estimate Sidonius's relationship to

monasticism. It does not seem to attract him, and yet he writes of it whenever he happens to refer to it in a most sympathetic manner. There was no great monastery in his diocese, if indeed we can tell the extent of that diocese. Monasteries of some kind or other are said to have existed at Clermont, Riom, Issoire (St. Cyrque), Brioude, Theclade, Cambiodoloc, Randan, and Mirandere. Once Sidonius writes to an Abbot Chariobaud,[1] of whom we know nothing but that he had written to Sidonius about some servants of his who had been captured, and says the servants would be sent back to him, and he asks him to remember him in his prayers, and sends him a hood to wear at night and in cold weather when he is saying his Offices.

On another occasion he writes concerning a monastery which Abraham, a monk from the banks[2] of the Euphrates, had established. Probably it was the monastery of Cyrque at Issoire. Abraham the founder had lately died, and his successor Auxanius was, on account of bodily health, unfit to govern the monastery successfully, nor had he courage to correct the inmates even when he saw wrong being done. Auxanius had written to Sidonius for advice, and the bishop wrote to Volusianus to act as overseer of the monastery, to assist by his advice the delicate abbot, and he also says that in his opinion the oriental discipline which Abraham had introduced was not suitable for the place, and recommended Volusianus to put it aside and introduce the statutes of the monastery of Lerins or those of Grigny near Vienne. Earlier in his life, and perhaps before he had become a bishop, he wrote to Domnulus,[3] the friend of St. Hilary of Arles, and one whom Majorian had regarded among the four greatest

[1] *Ep.* vii. 16.

[2] *Ep.* vii. 17; cf. also Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 21.

[3] *Ep.* iv. 25. Domnulus was an African who retired to Arles in the time of St. Hilary, and became quaestor of the empire. Honoratus of Marseilles refers to Domnulus with Eusebius and Silvius as renowned for learning and eloquence.

poets of the age, and told him of the elevation and consecration of a certain John as bishop of Chalon, and he hopes that if he has concluded his visit to the monasteries of the Jura, he will rejoice at the success of the settlement at Chalon. Yet it will be found that Sidonius, if he has not much to say about monasteries, is respectful in what he says. His greatest friends among the bishops had been monks, and some were still living a monastic life while they performed the office of a bishop. But monasticism was outside the life of Sidonius. It is a lay movement which he is ready to help, and for which he has every respect. He is content to patronise it.

The friends of Sidonius were right in their estimate of the value of the letters of Sidonius. They were too good to be allowed to perish, and it is due to them that we now possess them. At the request of Constantius of Lyons,[1] Sidonius drew up about A.D. 477 his first collection, which consists of ten letters and a prefatory letter to his friend Constantius, in which Sidonius tells him that he had taken Pliny and Symmachus as his models, and had endeavoured to copy them. He considered it to be beyond his powers to imitate Cicero. This first collection was so welcome that his friends desired yet more, and probably in A.D. 478 he published an enlarged edition containing six other books of letters, and ending in another letter[2] to Constantius. Then came a request from Petronius,[3] a lawyer of Arles, which drew from Sidonius another, the eighth book, consisting of fifteen letters with an introductory note to Petronius, at whose wish he had collected them.[4] Finally, Firminus of Arles asked him to imitate Pliny and complete his collection in nine books, and so we possess another book of fifteen letters

Majorian gathered to his court in Gaul the four celebrated poets Domnulus, Sidonius, Lampridius, and Severianus. Domnulus was wont to visit the monks of Condate, and John had been a monk there before he was chosen bishop of Chalon.

[1] *Ep.* i. 1.
[2] *Ep.* vii. 18.
[3] *Ep.* viii. 1.
[4] *Ep.* ix. 16.

with a letter of explanation to the friend at whose instance he had issued it.

It was unlikely, however, that a talent for easy composition, such as Sidonius possessed, would be confined merely to letter writing. He was known to his contemporaries in two other characters as a hymn writer and as the composer, if not of a liturgy, yet of special prefaces for use in the eucharistic Office.

At the end of his letter to Firminus[1] he sent his friend a poem or hymn in honour of St. Saturninus written in the style and on the model of the Peristephanon of Prudentius. His contemporary as a hymn writer was his great friend Claudianus Mamertus, the brother of the Bishop of Vienne,[2] whose hymns he told him he was in the habit of singing. Beyond the hymn to St. Saturninus, however, we have no knowledge of his skill in this direction.

In a letter which he wrote to Megethius, a bishop of some unknown See, and who is claimed as Bishop of Belley,[3] Sidonius remarks that he had often considered whether he should send him what he had more than once asked for, the Contestations[4] or Prefaces which he had drawn up for use in the service of the Church, and now he sent them to him asking his opinion on them while he apologises for his presumption.

The Office or Liturgical Form, whatever it was, which he drew up soon became popular in Auvergne, and Gregory of Tours is said to have brought out what seems very like a new edition.[5] The latter tells us how that once when Sidonius was about to celebrate the divine Office in the chapel of the monastery of St. Cyrque, some one unknown to him removed the Missal

[1] *Ep.* x. 16. [2] *Ep.* iv. 3.

[3] There is a Megetius in the lists of the bishops of Belley whom P. Sirmond identifies with this Megethius; but it is more than doubtful whether any such See existed in the fifth century. In the *Notitia* (*M. G. H.* ix. part i. p. 598), we have mention of Castrum Argentariense in the province of Maxima Sequanorum, and Belley is said to occupy this site. No bishop of Belley appears among the signatories of the Council of Epaon 517, nor is the town mentioned by Gregory of Tours. But cf. Longnon, *Géog. de la Gaule*, p. 230, and *Gallia Christiana*, xv. p. 601.

[4] *Ep.* vii. 3. [5] *H. F.* ii. 22.

from the altar, and yet Sidonius was able to continue the service so readily and correctly that the worshippers imagined that an angel and not a man was officiating. The Office or Missae, however, are unfortunately lost, and the memory only remains of the deep devotion and the excellent singing of the Bishop of Clermont when he celebrated in Auvergne the solemn mystery of our faith.

It is through Sidonius that we are able to place in their right perspective many events in connection with the Church in Gaul in the fifth century. If he enriches our knowledge by what he has told us he puzzles us by what he fails to tell us. Not a word about the great controversy between Vienne and the Papal See, not a word about those Gallican councils which Leo and his predecessors had ordered and which we certainly know were held. His silence concerning the Council of Arles A.D. 475 may possibly be accounted for, since Auvergne had just been annexed by Euric, and Sidonius may have been under guard at Clermont, or have already been on his way to exile in the fortress of Livia. One would have thought that in his letters, in which he seems to mention every possible event of his age, he could not have avoided those incidents in the lives of his contemporary bishops which fill so many pages of the history of the Church. That he is silent concerning them surely proves that they have occupied too important a place in our judgment. It is not always that the significance of a controversy is recognised by those who take part in it. We see in it the origin of a great development, and therefore perhaps overestimate the details of it. But what if, as he once promised, Sidonius had told us of the labours of St. Anianus at the siege of Orleans[1] and of the great overthrow of Attila! What if he had told us of that gathering of Gallican bishops when Germanus[2] was

[1] *Ep.* viii. 15.

[2] Cf. Beda, *H. E.* i. 17, and Constantius, *Vita Germani*, i. 19.

sent to aid the Church in Britain against the efforts of the Pelagians! What if he had told us of the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and those efforts to teach the younger clergy the dogmas of the Catholic faith in which we may believe the Symbol of St. Athanasius had its origin! Yet in Sidonius we see a side of Christian life rarely depicted in the chronicles of the age. All his life he is a man of the world. Endowed with rare intellectual gifts and ample riches there came to him the call to serve, as a bishop, the Church in which his early life had been trained in charity and in purity of morals, and he served it, not by discarding all that God had given him, but by using those gifts to the greater glory of the Master whom he served.

CHAPTER XV

FATHERS OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH

It would be a very imperfect narrative of the Church in Gaul in the fifth century which failed to tell of the lives and labours of St. Hilary and St. Caesarius of Arles, St. Germanus of Auxerre, St. Lupus of Troyes, and St. Mamertus of Vienne. It was an age that needed great men, and certainly the independence, if not the very survival, of the Church through this terrible period may be said to be due to the work which these great men accomplished. Their labour spans the century and carries us from the heyday of the Roman power, through the crisis which witnessed the downfall of the empire in the West, to the time when the Frankish authority was supreme through the whole of Gaul. One has only to consider the events of the century, the political revolution, the barbaric invasions, the powerful Visigothic and Burgundian kingdoms established in Gaul, always zealous for the Arian creed, and always suspicious of the orthodox bishops, the controversies in the Church itself, and that struggle against the aggressions of the Papacy which laid the foundation of Gallicanism, to realise the greatness of those men who were able to accomplish so much, and who handed down to subsequent ages the Christian faith unsullied by heresy, and an ecclesiastical organisation that only required peace to allow of rapid extension. Of the five whose names we have mentioned three certainly received their early training in the monastery of Lerins, and the sub-

sequent admiration for monastic austerity which prevailed in Gaul was largely due to the example which these men had set.

Hilary of Arles.

Hilary, like his great teacher Honoratus, seems to have sprung from a noble family of Belgica prima.[1] In some way he was related to Honoratus, while through his sister Pimeniola he had Lupus of Toul, the future bishop of Troyes, for his brother-in-law. He is said to have been born about A.D. 400, and, therefore, must as a little child have been carried off from his home in Belgica in hurried flight before the invasion of January 407. His biographer, Honoratus, who afterwards became Bishop of Marseilles (A.D. 475-492), describes him as of noble birth and good circumstances, and though the invasion must have deprived him of much of his wealth, he certainly recovered his estates and was regarded generally as wealthy.[2] Of his early life we know nothing, though it is said that he had every prospect of worldly success, and he had no idea of taking holy orders much less of becoming a monk. It was the work of his kinsman Honoratus which accomplished this conversion. Hilary seems to have been living in the south of Gaul, and Honoratus visited him on several occasions, and endeavoured by many arguments[3] to induce him to give up his worldly ambitions. Then he made his desire an object of prayer, and accomplished by that means what otherwise would have been beyond his power. So about the year A.D. 424 Hilary sold his estates to his brother, gave the money to the poor, and forsaking the world, became a monk of Lerins under his celebrated kinsman, Abbot Honoratus. Into this new

[1] Our knowledge of Hilary comes from various autobiographical remarks concerning himself which he gives us in his sermon on the life of Honoratus, Migne, *P. L.* l. p. 1250, and also from the life of Hilary written by Honoratus, afterwards Bishop of Marseilles, and contained in this same volume.

[2] It is clearly the wish of the biographer to magnify the sacrifice which Hilary had made, but we must remember that in 407 Belgica prima had been ravaged by the Vandals, Sueves, and Alans, and Hilary seems to me in the light of a refugee who afterwards got back his lands and sold them to his brother for what they were worth.

[3] Cf. Honoratus, *Vita Hil.* cap. 3.

life Hilary threw himself with ardour, his austerities were excessive, and he soon won the admiration of his fellow-monks. His abilities, however, were above the average. He was a born teacher, and the recluse, Eucherius of Lero, afterwards Bishop of Lyons (A.D. 435-451), committed to him the education of his son Salonius, who in A.D. 441 became Bishop of Geneva. In A.D. 426 Honoratus was chosen as Bishop of Arles, and Hilary went with him as a companion, and to aid him in his educational work there. But having seen him settled at Arles, the desire to return to Lerins became so strong that within the year he went back,[1] and not until Honoratus himself had gone to Lerins for him could Hilary be induced to return to the capital and continue the work which Honoratus had assigned him. He returned, however, to Arles, on August 25, 427, and for a year and a half devoted himself to his new tasks, and before Honoratus died, *i.e.* January 16, 429, the latter signified to the people who came to see him that he wished, and recommended to them, as his successor, his youthful colleague Hilary. As soon as Honoratus was dead Hilary prepared to return to Lerins, and withdrew himself from the concourse of churchmen that had assembled for the funeral and for the election of a new bishop. But it was known that Hilary had left Arles, and was on his way back to Lerins, and with the help of some soldiers whom Cassius,[2] the military commander at Arles, had ordered to assist the citizens, he was followed and brought back and formally chosen as bishop.

Within a year, and it was a year of great anxiety and want, since the Visigoths, unable to capture the city, had ravaged all the neighbourhood of Arles,[3] Hilary began to display the remarkable gifts which won for him the influence he soon began to exert. His life was simple and austere and full of action. He founded a school

[1] Cf. Honoratus, *Vita Hil.* cap. 4.

[2] *Ibid.* cap. 6 "illustris Cassius qui tunc praeerat militibus."

[3] Arles was besieged by the Visigoths in 425, and the neighbourhood was ravaged by them in 430. Cf. chapter xi.

for the training of the clergy,[1] and his eloquence as a preacher and his skill as a teacher revived that spiritual life which had languished under the worldly Patroclus. Eucherius, whose admiration for him was very great, dedicated to him his work *De laude eremi*[2] and the references of Sidonius tell of the fame of his zeal and oratorical power.[3] His work, however, was twofold. He was the bishop of a diocese, and he had also certain metropolitan duties as Archbishop of Arles, but he had also descending to him from the powers conferred on Patroclus by Pope Zosimus a somewhat indefinite supervision of the Church throughout the province of Gaul.[4] Living as a monk, he naturally provoked by his austerities a section of the people of Arles, and his fearless conduct, such as that which led him to reject a pretorian prefect from communion[5] because he had been unjust in his judgments, and his outspoken denunciation of vice and wrongdoing, created trouble at home, a bad preparation for his coming struggle with Rome. He was incessant in the performance of his diocesan duties, giving all he had for the relief of the poor and for the redemption of slaves, going everywhere on foot, and at times working as a common labourer in the vineyards to make money for the sake of those in need.[6] In the great Pelagian controversy he has been classed as semi-Pelagian, and probably he thought with Eucherius, Faustus,[7] and his fellow-monks from Lerins, and with those who came forth from the monastery of Cassian at Marseilles. Prosper,[8] however, thought

[1] *Vita Hil.* cap. 7.

[2] Eucherius dedicated his work to Hilary while the latter was still a monk at Lerins, and apparently in the year 427 when Hilary had retired from Arles to enjoy again the solitude of the monastery; cf. Vienna *C. S. E. L.* vol. xxxi. p. 177.

[3] Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* xvi. *l.* 115.

[4] Cf. Decree "Placuit apostolicae," March 22, 417. Caelestius also treated Patroclus as the metropolitan of Gaul. The position was afterwards definitely granted to the See of Arles.

[5] Reference to this is made in Leo, *Ep.* x. and *Vita Hil.* c. 10.

[6] *Ibid.* cap. 8.

[7] Sidonius *ut supra* classes Hilary with Eucherius and Faustus.

[8] Prosper, *Ep. ad Aug.*, Migne, *P. L.* li. p. 74 "nam unum eorum praecipuae auctoritatis et spiritualium studiorum virum sanctum Hilarium Arelatensem

him orthodox and had a very high opinion of him and Gennadius of Marseilles[1] is equally emphatic in his admiration. Within a year of his consecration as bishop he received a visit from Germanus,[2] bishop of Auxerre, and a friendship was thus formed which lasted till death, a friendship which had momentous consequences for Hilary. Already in A.D. 428[3] Coelestine, in reply to complaints from South Gaul, had written about Honoratus' choice of monks, whom he designated as strangers, for vacant bishoprics, and the policy of Honoratus was followed by Hilary. In A.D. 432 he chose the monk Theodore for the bishopric of Fréjus,[4] and in 433 Maximus the abbot of Lerins for the bishopric of Riez. In the creation of the archbishopric of Arles it will be remembered that the action of Pope Zosimus and Patroclus of Arles was met by the opposition of Proculus of Marseilles, Simplicius of Vienne, and Hilary of Narbonne, who had hitherto acted in a *quasi* metropolitan position because of the influence they had obtained from the cities of their Sees. Zosimus afterwards had accepted the decision of the Synod of Milan, which assigned the four Sees of Vienne, Geneva, Grenoble, and Valence to Simplicius, and the other Sees in the province of Vienne to Patroclus. The claims of Proculus of Marseilles over the dioceses of Narbonensis II. were neither recognised nor denounced, and the position of the Bishop of Arles was left somewhat indefinite. Rome had not the power to organise the Church in Gaul without the co-operation of the bishops of Gaul. So Hilary found himself, as Bishop of Arles, metropolitan of those dioceses in the province of Vienne which did not belong to the Archbishop of Vienne, and of the dioceses of Narbonensis II. whenever they could be

episcopum, sciat beatitudo tua admiratorem sectatoremque in aliis omnibus tuae esse doctrinae."

[1] Genn. *De vir. inlustr.* no. 70 "vir in sanctis scripturis doctus, paupertatis amator et erga inopum provisionem non solum mentis pietate sed et corporis sui labore sollicitus."

[2] Const. *Vita Germani*, § 7.

[3] July 26, A.D. 420, "Cuperemus quidem."

[4] *Vita Hil.* cap. ix.

recovered from the influence of Proculus of Marseilles. But there were two other provinces as yet not provided for, the provinces of Alpes Graiae and Alpes Maritimae.[1] For these no organisation had as yet been provided, and naturally Hilary would at least regard the latter as coming under his jurisdiction. In A.D. 439, therefore, he summoned a Council to assemble at Riez[2] to consider the validity of the consecration of Armentarius as bishop of Embrun. Embrun was the capital of the province of Alpes Maritimae, but it does not appear that up to that date there were more than three bishoprics in the province, *i.e.* those of Vence, Thorame or Rigomagensium, and Cimiez. Armentarius had been apparently consecrated by two of these three, an act contrary to the canons of Nicaea.[3] The act, however, was done in ignorance, and the submission of Armentarius to his deposition by the council won from it condolence and acquittal, and as a priest he seems to have ministered for the rest of his life. Hilary, however, had established his position, and bishops from Vienne, Narbonensis, and Alpes Maritimae had recognised him as metropolitan.

The next step, however, is less intelligible. In A.D. 444 he paid a visit to his friend Germanus of Auxerre. Auxerre was in the province of Lugdunensis Quarta of which Sens was the capital, and therefore as Bishop of Auxerre Germanus could have had no metropolitan rights. In the neighbouring province of Maxima Sequanorum, they found Chelidonius,[4] bishop of Besançon, charged with a double taint in that he had married a widow and had also as a layman

[1] The *Notitia Gall.* assigns to the province of Alpes Maritimae, the towns of Digne, Senez, Glandeve, Vence, Rigomagensium, Castellane, and Cimiez with Embrun as the chief city. Of these towns there were bishops at this time at Cimiez, Vence, and Rigomagensium, and Armentarius was apparently the first bishop of Embrun. Cf. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* i. p. 380. The province of Alpes Graiae contained the cities of Maurienne, Aosta, St. Maurice, with Tarentaise as the chief town, of which towns there were bishops at Aosta and Maurienne.

[2] Cf. Mansi, v. 1189. Hefele, *Concil.* Eng. trans. iii. 157 gives us eight canons of which the first five refer to the case of Armentarius.

[3] Canon 8.

[4] *Vita Hil.* cap. 16.

pronounced sentence of death in his judicial capacity. Now we have no knowledge of any provincial organisation north of Vienne, and the Bishop of Arles had been entrusted by the popes of Rome with a general supervision over the whole of Gaul. But neither Germanus nor Hilary could be regarded as comprovincial bishops in the province of which Besançon was the capital. Hilary, however, took upon himself, at a council which he held, probably at Besançon, to depose Chelidonius, since his consecration, for the reasons already mentioned, had been invalid. But Chelidonius resisted his authority and appealed to Leo, bishop of Rome, and immediately after his deposition went off to Rome. To Rome also in the depth of winter and on foot went Hilary to uphold his decision, and to obtain from Leo corroboration of his efforts to organise and reform the Church in Gaul. But the mind of Leo had been prejudiced against Hilary. He had gone too far and had not consulted sufficiently the Roman See. His efforts also for morality and a stricter observance of ecclesiastical canons had doubtless produced enemies, and complaints had been sent to Rome which Leo seems too readily to have believed. The exact sequence of these complaints cannot easily be determined.[1] Leo, however, summoned a synod at Rome to meet in 445, and was determined to treat Hilary as the accused and Chelidonius as the injured one. Hilary claimed that the papal See had no such power. If the decision to which he and others at Besançon had come to was not endorsed, it was to be sent back to Gaul to be reconsidered. The papal See had not the right to take up the case as from the beginning, nor could Leo substantiate the reasons

[1] The case of Projectus was known to Leo and therefore occurred before A.D. 444. Projectus was a bishop of Narbonensis II. and seems to have been so ill that Hilary despaired of his life and consecrated a successor unknown to the sick bishop. Projectus meanwhile recovered and appealed, if not to Rome, yet to his comprovincial bishops, and certainly the action of Hilary seems to have been very hasty. No bishop of Die of this name occurs in the episcopal lists. Cf. Duch. *Fastes ép.* i. 227.

he gave for his action. In the synod, which Hilary, with all deference, attended, he soon perceived that he had already been condemned, and then his fearless eloquence broke out in such a manner that the other bishops were speechless, and Leo ventured to say that his words were too terrible even for the ears of laymen. Meanwhile Leo had treated Hilary as under arrest, and when he boldly defied his watchmen and left Rome in the depth of winter, Leo spoke of him as if he had fled clandestinely and had acted in an underhand matter. Then followed the appeal of Leo to Valentinian III.[1] and the rescript addressed to Aetius the Patrician, who was then in Gaul, 6th June 445, which we have already considered, and which treated all opposition to the decision of the Bishop of Rome as an offence of which the imperial officers should take cognizance, and empowered the latter to arrest and send to Rome all who refused obedience to the apostolic See. Hilary had reached Arles probably in March 445, and was prepared to submit and make his peace now that Leo had called in the secular authority. The papal decree[2] followed the rescript of Valentinian within a month. It was addressed to the bishops of the province of Vienne, and contained nine statements and judgments. Whoever should resist the power of St. Peter breaks the law of the Church, since the Church draws its strength from the prince of the apostles. Hilary is such a disturber of the peace of the Church. Chelidonius is absolved of the charges made against him, and is to be reinstated in his episcopal See. Projectus whom, when ill, Hilary had deposed, and in whose place he had appointed another, was also to be reinstated. The consecration of provincial bishops was the privilege of the metropolitan. No one was to be consecrated except on festivals and with the consent

[1] The Rescript to Aetius "Certum nobis," Haenel, *Leg. nov.* col. 172, is given us by Babut, *Le Concile de Turin*, p. 178.

[2] The decree of Leo comes in *Ep.* x. Ad episcopos per provinciam Viennensem constitutos, "Divinae cultum," *Opp. Leonis*, Venet. 1754, vol. i. col. 633.

of both clergy and laity. Hilary was deprived of all metropolitan power and dignity in the province of Vienne. No one was to be repelled from communion except on serious grounds. Provincial councils were not to be held without the consent of Leontius the senior bishop.

Thus by the ablest bishop that had as yet occupied the apostolic See was the ablest and most active of the bishops of Gaul humiliated and insulted before the eyes of those comprovincial bishops whose admiration and devotion for him was of long standing and remained yet unshaken. Rome had now shown what he was to expect who ventured to question its authority.

Nor did Hilary venture to resist. On receipt of this decree he sent Ravennius, one of his priests, and one who afterwards succeeded him as bishop, to Leo to intercede for his clemency, and to assure him of his penitence, and soon after two bishops of the province Nectarius and Constantius,[1] were despatched to support Ravennius in his mission. But Leo was not a man to relent. The very foundations of his claim to authority had been challenged and he could not lightly overlook such an act. To satisfy his injured honour, therefore, he cast confusion on the organisation of the Gallican Church. Arles was now to be reduced to a simple bishopric, and Vienne was to receive a jurisdiction larger than ever it had exercised before. In January 450[2] Leo wrote to the bishops in Gaul, and to those in the province of Vienne, to say that he had revived the ancient privileges of the archbishopric of Vienne, and had deprived Arles of all those which his predecessors had conferred on it. Ingenuus also, who had succeeded Armentarius as bishop of Embrun was treated by him as a metropolitan, and reproved for not acting as such.

[1] *Vita Hil.* cap. 17. Nectarius and Constantius are said to have been bishops of Digne and Die, but Digne does not appear to have had bishops at this time, Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* i. 282 and 227; and no bishop of the name of Constantius appears in the list of the bishops of Die.

[2] 6th Jan. 450 "Quali pertinacia," Mansi, vi. 431.

But the organisation of the Church could not so easily be changed. Many of the bishops hesitated, and some still clung to Arles, and it is not easy to see what would have occurred had Hilary lived for some few years longer. For two years or more he accepted the position, honoured by the civil authorities and respected by the bishops of Gaul. The strain, however, had been too great. He had undermined his health by his asceticism and his strenuous life, and on 5th May 449,[1] still a young man under fifty years of age, he passed away. In his last illness he realised his approaching death, and exhorted his people to peace, and informed them that he would die at the eleventh hour. Then, surrounded by his faithful flock, glad and rejoicing, he journeyed forth to the heavenly kingdom. The body was laid to rest in the basilica of St. Stephen amid universal signs of grief, even the Jews showing their respect for the deceased by singing in the Hebrew tongue[2] the psalms for the funeral office.

Immediately after the funeral twelve comprovincial bishops wrote to Leo to ask confirmation and approval of their election of Ravennius to the vacant bishopric. Leo's reply is dated 22nd August 449,[3] and soon after he wrote to Ravennius himself, congratulating him on his elevation, and in a second[4] letter called upon him to act in reference to a certain Petronianus very much as if he was once more metropolitan as well as bishop of Arles. Nor indeed did the organisation which Hilary had helped to establish really break down. Ravennius was not consecrated by Simplicius of Vienne, but by the comprovincial bishops of the province of Arles, and Ingenuus did not act as metropolitan, but took his place in this act with his brother bishops. Did then Leo realise that he had failed? We cannot say,

[1] *Vita Hil.* and Usuard, 5th May.

[2] *Vita Hil.* cap. 22 "Hebraeam concinentium linguam in exsequiis honorandis audisse me recolo."

[3] "Justa et rationabilis," Mansi, v. 1428.

[4] "Provectionem dilectionis" and "Circumspectum te," Mansi, v. 1430.

but the letter he wrote in January was followed in May[1] by another in which he again deprived Vienne of the honour he had lately conferred on it, and re-established the archbishopric of Arles. Vienne was to have the four dioceses of Valence, Grenoble, Geneva, and Tarentaise. The rest of the dioceses in the province of Vienne were again to come under the jurisdiction of Arles.

Germanus of Auxerre.

Our knowledge of central Gaul in the first half of the fifth century is unfortunately very scanty. The invasions of the Vandals, the revolution of Constantine, the uprising of the Bagaudae, the devastation wrought by the Huns, tell us only of destruction, with an incidental note of the Church life in the south-east of Gaul. The number of Roman citizens from the districts north of the Rhone and Loire who found a refuge in Marseilles[2] or in Narbonensis II. lead us to imagine a country that had been terribly wasted, and that had, at least until the time of Aegidius[3] and Syagrius, seen little settled government and no lasting prosperity. In this and in the following biographical narrative we have to consider the progress of the Church in the province of Lugdunensis IVth, or as it came to be called from its metropolitan city, Lugdunensis Senonia, a province full of towns[4] of such special interest, that we regret all the more the obscurity that hangs over them during this period. From the time of St. Martin they seem to have been almost lost to sight, and we must not be misled by the fine sounding phrase of the apostolic secretary who

[1] "Lectis dilectionis vestrae," Mansi, vi. 76.

[2] Honoratus of Lerins, Salvian of Marseilles, Hilary of Arles, and Caesarius of Arles all came from Belgica Prima or Germania Prima.

[3] Aegidius as a Roman officer seems to have reigned through the influence he possessed over the Franks. His orderly government lasted from A.D. 461 for about four years, and his son Syagrius reigned after him until his defeat by Chlodovech in 486.

[4] The *Notitia* (*M. G. H.* vol. ix. part ii. p. 587) gives us eight cities in the province of Lugdunensis Senonia or Lugdunensis Quarta, as it is sometimes called, *i.e.* Sens, Chartres, Auxerre, Troyes, Orleans, Paris, Meaux, Nevers, and adds a *castra Nandonis* which, however, may be the same as Nevers.

addressed his bishop's letters "to the bishops of Gaul," and to all the bishops in Gaul and in the Seven Provinces,[1] as if in addition to those to whom the bishops of Rome wrote there were many others labouring quietly in their dioceses, and leaving not a single line of record even in an age so full of stirring events. It is significant that, with the exception of Victricius,[2] the missionary bishop of northern Gaul, the bishops of Rome had not, during these years, a single correspondent beyond the Seven Provinces. This silence will compel us, therefore, to examine carefully our evidence, and the light which the life of St. Germanus throws upon the affairs of the Church in this province. We have, indeed, a life of this bishop[3] said to have been written at the request of Patiens, bishop of Lyons, by Constantius, a priest of his diocese, and a friend and correspondent of Sidonius Apollinaris.[4] This is quoted by Gregory of Tours,[5] but certainly that which goes under his name to-day has been largely interpolated,[6] and probably by the priest Stephen who, at the end of the sixth century, wrote at the request of Bishop Annacharius (572-605) a life of St. Amator, the predecessor of Germanus.[7] We have, however,

[1] There is a decree of Anastasius, Oct. 7, 398, "cunctis Germaniae et Burgundiae episcopis," that is certainly a forgery; cf. Mansi, iii. 940. In Jaffé's *Regesta*, i. p. 43, Kaltenbrunner marks it with a †. Innocent refers in his letter to Victricius A.D. 404, Mansi, iii. 1032, to his *consacerdotes*, but gives no names, and the term is clearly only official. Boniface, June 13, 419, writing to the fourteen bishops of the Seven Provinces who had written to him, adds officially, "et ceteris episcopis per Gallias et septem provincias constitutis," Mansi, iv. 394, and again Coelestius writing on the semi-Pelagian trouble addresses certain bishops "et ceteros Galliarum episcopos," Mansi, iv. 454.

[2] Cf. Leonis M. *Op.* iii. 204; and Constant. p. 746.

[3] The life is given us in Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, iv. p. 416, and *Acta SS.* July 31. It has two dedications, the one to Bishop Patiens of Lyons, who had urged him to write it, and the other to Bishop Censurius of Auxerre, who had asked for a copy of it. The life has been, however, largely interpolated with extracts from the life of St. Genovefa, and the sections 18-37 concerning Mamertinus are also extracts from later writings. Cf. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* ii. 437.

[4] Sidonius addresses four letters to him, i.e. *Ep.* i. 1; iii. 2; vii. 18; viii. 16.

[5] Greg. T. lib. ii. *De miraculis S. Juliani*, § 29.

[6] Cf. Narbey, *Étude critique sur la vie de S. Germain d'Auxerre*, Paris, 1884, and Duru, *Bibliographie de la vie de G. d'A.* par Constance, 1850; and *Biblioth. de l'École des Chartes*, xliii., 1882, p. 556.

[7] The life of St. Amator was composed by Stephen, an African priest, at the

no information concerning the diocese earlier than this biography of Constantius. Of the three cities which form the central portion of Lugdunensis IVth, Sens, Auxerre, and Troyes, we have no historic information of any of their bishops earlier than Agraecius of Sens (A.D. 474), Amator of Auxerre, who died in 418, and Lupus of Troyes (433-479).[1] It is true that names attached to the canons of earlier councils are said to have been the names of men who held these bishoprics, but the statement is as speculative as the lists of names themselves are unreliable. There was a tradition at Auxerre that the See was founded about A.D. 257[2] by a bishop named Peregrinus, who was martyred under the persecution sanctioned by the Emperor Aurelian, and certainly, when Aurelian marched to Orleans he probably went *via* Auxerre.[3] Another tradition, which seems more likely, tells of the martyrdom of a little boy Justus by the Vandals and Alans in the invasion of A.D. 407.[4] We come, however, to reliable history in the episcopate of St. Amator. In the opening decade of the fifth century he is the only bishop apparently in this province,[5] and his connection with St. Patrick, the

request of Annacharius, bishop of Auxerre 573-655. There are not a few phrases in it which are copied directly from Constantius' life.

[1] Cf. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* iii. 391, 427, and 447. The two earlier lists of the bishops of Sens belong to the ninth century, and though there is some evidence in favour of SS. Savinian and Potentian, nothing is known of any bishop earlier than Agraecius. At Auxerre there seems to be some evidence for Valerian, yet all the names are traditional until we come to Amator. In the ninth century they possessed biographies of four bishops, and under Bishop Wala they set themselves to compile a *Liber pontificalis* for the diocese. At Troyes Amator stands at the head of the list which was compiled in the twelfth century, and I am inclined to regard him as the bishop of Auxerre, and to say that this district was divided into two dioceses by Germanus, who, about A.D. 426, obtained the election of Lupus to that of Troyes. The lists attached to Sardica and other councils, and the identification of the names on them with similar names on these local traditional lists, seems to be too hypothetical to be regarded and used as historical.

[2] Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* ii. 430. Ruinart, *Acta sincera*, p. 15, ed. 1859. There seems to have been an attempt at the end of the sixth century to create for Senonia a group of evangelists similar to those mentioned by Gregory of Tours at the time of the Decian persecution.

[3] Allard's *Les Dernières Persécutions du troisième siècle*, pp. 242-43.

[4] *Acta SS.*, Oct. 18; cf. Tillemont, *S. Germanus*, xv. 5.

[5] At Nevers and Meaux the episcopal lists do not go back to the early decades of the fifth century. At Chartres, Paris, Troyes, Sens, and Orleans there are only late catalogues with all the early names purely traditional. I am inclined to believe

apostle of Ireland,[1] and his influence on Germanus[2] give him a position which we cannot ignore. There are, indeed, details in his life written by the priest Stephen, such as the mention of his little church near the gate of the city which was called the Bathing gate, in the street which led down to the Yonne, and of his being buried in the ancient cemetery outside the city walls, which can hardly have been invented.[3] A little later in time, he probably saw St. Martin,[4] on one or two occasions, when the latter journeyed from Tours to Trier, and in his moral courage he certainly followed the example of that apostolic bishop.

Germanus, a native of Auxerre, is said to have been the son of wealthy parents, Rusticus and Germanilla, whose estate of Epponiac lay close to the city.[5] He was educated in the schools of Gaul and perhaps at Autun and Lyons, and went afterwards to Rome to study and practise in the law courts. There he met and married a Roman lady of wealth and influence Eustochia, and soon after he was appointed Dux[6] Tractus Armoricani et Nervicani, and had command of the forces in Lugdunensis II., III., and IV. Nominally he was a Christian, but a custom prevailed, a survival from heathen times, of showing respect to a certain pear tree in the centre of Auxerre by hanging in it trophies of the chase, and Germanus was wont, on his return from a hunt, to hang the head of the animal on this tree. The practice was certainly pagan, and one to be abolished, if Christianity was to prevail,

that after the invasion of 407 a great refounding of the Church was necessary in the north of Gaul.

[1] Bury's *St. Patrick*, p. 48; Muirchu's *Vita*, p. 272. The place is called Ebmoria, and the bishop Amathorex. Amator seems to have ordained Patrick priest, and Germanus consecrated him bishop after the death of Palladius.

[2] Constantius, *Vita Germani*, in Surius, p. 358.

[3] Tillemont, xv. 5.

[4] St. Martin probably passed through the diocese of Auxerre on his way to Trier in 385 and 386.

[5] Constantius, *Vita*, § 1; cf. Surius, 31st July.

[6] Tillemont, xv. 8, describes the district as I. and II. Aquitania, I. and II. Lugdunensis and Senonia or Lugd. IV. There was an officer "Dux tractus Armoricani et Nervicani," *Not. dign.* ed. 1608, p. 114, and for the district, p. 174.

and Amator endeavoured to induce Germanus to give up the custom. His influence, however, could not prevail, and at last, when Germanus was away hunting, Amator ventured to cut down the tree and burn it.[1] When he returned Germanus was furious with the bishop, and drove him out of the city, and even ventured to threaten his life. Amator, however, won respect from him by his courage. He told him he recognised his power, but he was not worthy of martyrdom, and the bishop and the duke seem soon to have become friends again. Then Amator decided on yet another victory. He went to Autun, where the prefect Julius[2] happened to be, and asked permission to ordain the military commander priest. He had felt that his own death was drawing nigh, and he desired that Germanus, should succeed him. At first Julius refused the request, but afterwards he gave his consent, and Germanus, duke of the Armorican Tract, soon after became a priest of the diocese of Auxerre. His next step in the selection of Germanus as his successor was readily accepted by his flock. He had called all to come with him into the church, and then bade all who wore arms to retire, seeing that the place of assembly was the house of prayer. Amator perceived, however, that Germanus, instead of retiring, had put aside his weapons, and then he told his people how he felt sure that his life was drawing to an end, and that he desired to have Germanus as his successor.[3] The choice of Amator was readily accepted by the Christians of Auxerre, and when Amator died, *i.e.* the following May 418,[4] Germanus was regarded as bishop elect. He had still, however, duties to perform as a civil officer of the empire, and these he fulfilled for some little time after his consecration.

[1] Const. § 2.

[2] We have a Rescript of Valentinian, 17th April 418, addressed to Agricola, prefect of Gaul. So Julius could not have been prefect unless the prefect's name was Julius Agricola.

[3] Surius, 31st July, p. 359. [4] *Acta SS.*, 1st May; Molanus' *Usuard*, p. 74.

Of his early work as a bishop we know nothing, but the influence he seems to have exerted, and the fame he won in Gaul in after years, show that the choice of Amator was well made. He comes before us first of all in reference to the efforts made by the orthodox Christians in Britain to extinguish the Pelagian heresy in their midst. Agricola,[1] the son of a bishop, Severianus, was active in teaching these doctrines, and apparently the British Christians found themselves unable to answer his arguments. Beda's[2] narrative, however, is largely a quotation from Constantius' life of Germanus, and we get no farther than the endorsement by the great English historian of the eighth century of the statement of the biographer of the fifth. He tells us that the Christians in Britain appealed to the bishops in Gaul, and at a synod which they held,[3] Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes were requested to undertake this mission of help to the neighbouring provinces. Unfortunately for this narrative, we have an earlier writer, Prosper,[4] who says that the mission was undertaken at the request of Pope Coelestine and at the suggestion of the deacon Palladius. Prosper was actually in Rome[5] the year after this commission had been given to Germanus, and must have known what had occurred there concerning it. We know nothing of a council such as that which Constantius mentions, and since Coelestine commissioned Palladius the following year to go himself to the help of the Christians in Ireland,[6]

[1] Nothing is known of this Agricola or of his father, Bishop Severianus. Fastidius, another "Britannorum episcopus," was also by some regarded as a Pelagian. Cf. Gennadius, *De vir. inlust.* § 56.

[2] Beda, *Hist. eccles.* i. 17-21.

[3] *Ibid.* 17 "quam ob causam collecta magna synodo quaerebatur in commune . . . atque omnium judicio electi sunt apostolici sacerdotes Germanus Autissiodorensis et Lupus Trecasenae civitatis." Cf. Const. *Vita*, i. 19, who calls it "numerosa synodus."

[4] Prosper, sub anno 429, "sed ad actionem Palladii diaconi papa Coelestinus Germanum Autissiodorensem episcopum vice sua misit." This statement cannot be ignored. It is contemporary evidence of the highest kind and undoubtedly proves that Coelestine warmly approved of the proposal of the Gallican bishops.

[5] Cf. Coelestine's letter to the Gallican bishops, "Apostolici verba," Mansi, iv. 454, and *Vita Prosperi*, Migne, *P. L.* li. p. 30.

[6] Prosper, sub anno 431, "ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur a papa Coelestino Palladius et primus episcopus mittitur."

there is nothing unlikely in this interest he is said to have taken in the affairs of the Church in Britain. It was in the autumn of A.D. 429 that Germanus and Lupus arrived in Britain, and then after much preaching and instruction they met at Verulam the advocates of Pelagianism. After these heretics had explained their doctrines,[1] Germanus and Lupus spoke so effectively that the Pelagians were reduced to silence, and the people rejoiced in the victory which was gained for the Catholic faith. Then Germanus and Lupus paid a visit to the tomb of St. Alban,[2] and Constantius tells us that they carried away with them some earth which was still saturated with the blood of the martyr. During the winter and early spring Germanus continued his work of teaching and preaching, and many Britons who had hitherto been heathen offered themselves for instruction and expressed a desire for Christian baptism. So Germanus and Lupus were occupied in the work of preparing these converts for baptism on the eve of the coming Easter festival.[3] But the British were not only troubled by heresies, they were harassed also by Saxon and Pictish invaders, and the help of Germanus was sought in a contest very different from that in which he had been engaged. Easter came with all the joy it brought to the new converts, and meanwhile a battle became imminent between the Christian islanders and the heathen invaders. Tradition says that the scene of the conflict was Maes Garmon,[4] near Mold in Flintshire. Germanus had to make use of the experience he had gained as duke of Armorica. He and Lupus drew up

[1] Beda, *ut supra*, who quotes verbatim from Constantius, *Vita*, i. cc. 22 and 23.

[2] Const. i. 25; Beda i. 18 ". . . sacerdotes beatum Albanum martyrem, acturi Deo per ipsum gratias petierunt . . de loco ipso ubi beati martyris effusus erat sanguis, massam pulveris secum portaturus abstulit."

[3] Beda, i. 20 "maxima exercitus multitudo undam lavacri salutaris expetiit et ecclesia ad diem resurrectionis dominicae pondibus contexta componitur," etc., Const. i. 28.

[4] Maes-Garmon, cf. Bright's *Early Eng. Ch. Hist.* p. 19. This identification has its difficulty, for it presumes that the Saxons had sailed round to the west of the island. I am inclined to locate it in Northumberland. The British as they retired into Britannia II. carried with them these traditions and would in the course of time locate them in Wales.

his followers into two bands and bade them await the advance of the Picts. Then from the one rose up in loud tones the words of the Easter antiphon "Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia," and as the other took up the chant the Picts and Saxons began to fear an ambush. Fear soon developed into a panic, and without striking a single blow Germanus won this strange and effective victory, since the Picts and Saxons took immediately to flight, and many were drowned in their attempt to cross the neighbouring stream.[1]

The Alleluia victory won by Germanus of Auxerre is among the few real historic events we know of in reference to the Church in Roman Britain. British chroniclers[2] have filled up the narrative of the work of Germanus with much legendary matter, but there can be no doubt concerning this double victory, not only over the forces of religious error, but also over the Pictish and Saxon invaders. The return of Germanus and Lupus to Gaul took place immediately afterwards, and Germanus seems to have gone at once to Arles to consult with Auxiliaris,[3] the prefect. Was he commissioned by the Roman settlers in Britain to appeal for help from the prefect? Did he go to report what he had done to such a gathering of bishops as Hilary[4] could collect to hear him? Did he hope to gain somewhat from the mighty Aetius for the wretched people of Senonia, who were ground down by taxes and joining one by one the marauding bands of the Bagaudae?[5] Aetius was certainly at Arles that year, and had been engaged in driving off the Visigoths whom Theodoric had brought for the

[1] Beda, i. 20 "passim fugiunt, arma proiciunt . . . plures etiam timore praecipites flumen, quod transierant, devoravit."

[2] *Hist. Nennii*, cap. 30, 31, 50, on the miracle Germanus wrought on the wicked king Benli and how he preached to Guorthigirn.

[3] Surius, 31st July, § 34.

[4] I am not inclined to reject the idea that Germanus' mission had some connexion with a synod at Arles, and therefore with St. Hilary; and their journey to Arles may have been as much to report to the bishop of the capital of Gaul as to see the prefect Auxiliaris.

[5] Prosper Tiro, 434 "omnia paene Galliarum servitia in Bagaudam conspiravere . . ." and the next year in consequence of Aetius' campaign "Bagaudarum commotio conquiescit."

capture of the Gallic capital.[1] Whatever the object, the visit brought him into close contact with Hilary, and the acquaintance soon ripened into a lifelong intimate friendship. Soon after Hilary was to return this visit, and the affair of Besançon we have already described.

As Bishop of Auxerre Germanus not only exercised remarkable influence, but also seems to have laid the foundation of a permanent diocesan organisation. He is said to have founded a monastery on the other side of the Yonne, opposite the city of Auxerre,[2] and Gregory of Tours[3] tells of a tradition in Auvergne, how that when Germanus was at Brioude the inhabitants consulted him as to the day on which the festival of St. Julian should be observed. He called them to join him in prayer, and afterwards he told them that the festival should be kept on the 28th of August. The incident is at least proof of the influence exerted by Germanus in districts beyond his own diocese. Thirty years afterwards, when Sidonius would write in praise of St. Aignan,[4] bishop of Orleans, he could say no greater praise of him than that he was equal to Lupus and not inferior to Germanus.

The Pelagian heresy which Germanus had endeavoured to suppress in Britain seems to have broken out again in the next quarter of a century, and so he was again summoned to cross over to the island and repeat his former efforts. In A.D. 447, therefore, he set forth,[5] and with him on this occasion, not Lupus of Troyes, but a disciple of his, Severus, of whom we know only that he had just been chosen Bishop of Trier, and that Trier had just been plundered by marauding Franks and perhaps Huns.[6]

[1] It was the ambition of Theodoric to capture Arles, an ambition which was realised by Euric. Idat. *Chron.* A.D. 431 "per Aetium comitem haud procul de Arelate quaedam Gothorum manus extinguitur."

[2] Surius, *ut supra*, 31st July. [3] Greg. *De miraculis S. Juliani*, cap. 29.

[4] Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* viii. 15 "sanctum Anianum . . . Lupo parem, Germanoque non imparem."

[5] Beda, *H. E.* i. 21; Const. *Vita Ger.* ii. 2.

[6] Nothing is known of this Bishop Severus. Trier had been plundered and devastated four or five times during the last fifty years and the church life must have

His second visit to Britain was equally successful, and he returned to Auxerre to find yet further work for him to undertake and a longer journey now demanded of him. The Armoricans, over whom in former days he had been the imperial officer, were in revolt on account of the oppression of the Roman tax-gatherers, and Aetius had commissioned Eocharich, the leader of a band of Alans settled near Orleans, to undertake their punishment.[1] So Germanus started forth, in A.D. 448, to plead before Valentinian at Ravenna on behalf of the Armoricans. His journey was on foot, and for companion he had only a faithful deacon. As they journeyed over the Alps they fell in with a band of labourers,[2] of whom one, through age and weakness, was staggering under a heavy burden. When they came to a river which had to be crossed Germanus took up the burden and carried it across, and then returned, and lifting the aged workman on his shoulder, carried him safely across the stream. At Milan[3] his biographers tell us of miracles wrought by him and of an assembly of bishops which gave him welcome. At Ravenna[4] he was received with respect by Valentinian and with friendship by his mother, the princess Placidia. His plea, however, could hardly be entertained, since news had come of another outbreak of the Armoricans, and the sense of failure together with the fatigue of the journey weighed heavily on him. He told the bishops who were wont to come to him that he knew he was going to die,[5] and at Ravenna, on 31st July 449, he passed away. Two months afterwards, as Gregory of Tours also tells us, his body was brought back to Auxerre,[6] and buried in the chapel of St. Maurice attached to the cathedral church, and Constantius, Gregory, and Euric are careful

been very intermittent. Cf. Haupt's *Triersches Zeitbuch*, A.D. 447, "die Hunnen plündern die Stadt Trier."

[1] Mons. Bayet, *Hist. de France*, ii. pt. i. p. 91.

[2] Const. *Vita Germ.* ii. 9.

[3] *Ibid.* cap. 11.

[4] *Ibid.* cap. 12.

[5] Surius, 31st July, § 20; Const. ii. 19. Cf. the English *Life* in *Lives of the English Saints.*

[6] Greg. *Lib. de glor. confess.* cap. 41 and 73.

to tell us of miracles that were wrought upon the faithful who visited his tomb. Nor in Britain was his fame held in less esteem.[1] In the Mass of St. Germanus[2] we are told how that Germanus, sent by St. Gregory, shone forth as a lantern and pillar to Cornwall and bloomed like roses and lilies in the meadow of the church of Aledh.[3] In honour of the former duke of the Armorican Tract not a few churches in Cornwall and in Wales are dedicated,[4] and the custom for long prevailed in Wales, when the company sat at meat, for one to break off the corner of the loaf for the relief of the poor, and ask a blessing on it from any religious man who might be present.[5]

Lupus of Troyes.

Lupus, bishop of Troyes, is known to us not only from a very early biography,[6] but also from the testimony of many contemporary writers who praised his wisdom, his sanctity, and his remarkable influence. He was another recruit for the monastery of Lerins from the north-east of Gaul.[7] He is said to have been born at the end of the fourth century, and was the son of a wealthy nobleman, Epirocus of Toul, and had a

[1] Cf. Borlase, *Age of the Saints*, pp. 31, 32.

[2] Cf. Bn. Forbes' preface to the Arbuthnott Missal, p. lii. Haddan and Stubbs i. 696 "de quorum collegio iste Germanus episcopus a sancto Gregorio Romanae urbis Apostolus ad nos missus, lucerna et columna Cornubiae et praeco efulsit."

[3] Aleeth or Aleth, the See which afterwards came to be called from its bishop St. Malo.

[4] St. German's, Cornwall. The next parish to Mold in Flintshire has the name Llanarmon. Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 125. Cf. also "Life of St. German," *Lives of English Saints*.

[5] Girald. Cambrensis, *Descriptio Camb.* i. 18 "unde a tempore quo Germanus . . . de quolibet pane apposito primum fractionis angulum pauperibus donant."

Secreta, *Missa S. Germani*: "Concede nobis omnipotens et misericors Deus ut haec nobis salutifera oblatio; et intercedente beato Germano confessore tuo atque episcopo, a nostris reatibus liberet et a cunctis tueatur adversitatibus; per Dominum." The *Martiloge*, H. B. Soc. vol. iii. p. 119: "At Raven: ye deposicyon of saynt German, bysshop of antissiodour, a noble man borne and more noble in vertue and myracles, 31 July."

[6] This early biography is given us by Krusch in the *Vitae Sanctorum*, vol. iii. p. 120 of *Script. rer. Merov.* in *M. G. H.* On this is based the biography given by Surius, *De probatis SS. hist.* iv. 390, and that by Boschius, *Acta SS. July*, vol. vii. p. 69. Krusch regards this life as fictitious and written in the interest of Troyes rather than on behalf of the cult of St. Lupus, but Tillemont, xvi. p. 127, and Boschius only regret its brevity. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* ii. p. 449, relies on it and remarks: "les objections de M. Krusch contre l'antiquité de ce document sont dépourvues de toute valeur." Duchesne considers this life as nearly contemporary —"sa vie a été écrite peu après." Krusch assigns it to the eighth or ninth century.

[7] *Vita Lupi*, § 1 "fuit namque ex urbe Leocorum."

brother Vincent who also is said to have become a bishop. Having lost his parents in his infancy he was brought up by his uncle Alisticus, and showed great industry and progress in his studies, and attained considerable proficiency in eloquence and literature. He married Pimeniola, the sister of Hilary of Arles,[1] and so became not only related to him, but also to Honoratus, then Abbot of Lerins. His great wealth seems to have consisted of estates in Maxima Sequanorum. We do not hear of any children the fruit of this marriage, and after some years of married life he and his wife decided to devote themselves to religion and to cease to live together. Lupus thereupon went to Lerins to see his relative Honoratus, and his brother-in-law Hilary, and Pimeniola disappears from notice. At Lerins he stayed for one year,[2] training himself and acquiring habits of Christian asceticism, and preparing for that life for which he clearly had a vocation. Then in 427, when Honoratus became Bishop of Arles and took to live with him his disciple Hilary, Lupus retired from Lerins and went to Mâcon.[3] The decision to return to the province of Maxima Sequanorum is said to have been due to his wish to sell his possessions there and to distribute the proceeds among the poor, but his subsequent action does not seem to show that he had severed all links with the land of his inheritance. Immediately after this return, however, he came under the notice of Germanus of Auxerre and was chosen Bishop of Troyes,[4] an effort having been evidently made by Bishop Germanus to reorganise the Church in Senonia by the creation of a new bishopric with its seat at Troyes. He had hardly, however, got to work in this new position when there arrived the mission from the Church in Britain, asking for help in their resistance of the prevailing Pelagianism. He with Germanus[5]

[1] *Vita Lupi*, § 1 "Piminiola, sancti Hilarii Arelatensis episcopi germana."
[2] *Ibid.* "emenso anni curriculo." [3] *Ibid.* "regrediens ad oppidum Matiscone."
[4] *Ibid.* "ad urbis Trecassinae ilico pontificium raptus."
[5] Beda, *H. E.* i. 17 "omnium judicio electi sunt apostolici sacerdotes G. et L."

was chosen by the Gallican bishops to go to Britain, and so in the autumn of 429, after a very short period of work there, he left his new diocese for this effort in Britain.

The story of the mission we have already told in reference to the life-work of Germanus, and with the exception of the strategy which led to the Alleluia Victory, which was certainly due to Germanus, little is related which would distinguish the zeal and the eloquence of the one from that of the other. Germanus was the leader of the band and Lupus was his companion, and when the company grew afraid at the storm, during the passage from Gaul to Britain, Lupus[1] aroused Germanus from his sleep that he might cheer them in their alarm.

Soon after the festival of Easter 430 the bishops returned, and Lupus again entered on the work of his diocese.

Our next meeting with him is in reference to the memorable invasion of Attila in 451. The cities of the two Germanic and the two Belgic provinces had often been attacked during the last half century by tribes that had crossed the Rhine and had invaded Gaul, and it is probable that later chroniclers have assigned to the great Hunnish invasion some of those devastations and burnings which probably belonged to earlier events. The cruelty of the Huns was indeed proverbial, and Gaul had already gained a painful experience of what they could do when, but a few years before, as the auxiliaries of Aetius, they had slaughtered the Burgundians in South-East Gaul.[2] We must endeavour, however, to realise the terror which the news of the steady advance of this host must have created in those cities which might lie in the course the Huns were taking in Gaul. The Rhine had no sooner been crossed

[1] Beda, *H. E.* i. 17.

[2] Prosper Tiro, *Chron.*, A.D. 436, "bellum contra Burgundionum gentem memorabile exarsit quo universa pene gens cum rege peretio (per Aetium) deleta." Cf. Waitz, *Der Kampf der Burgunder und Hunnen*, i. pp. 3-10.

than they would have heard of the destruction of Strasburg, Speyer, Worms, and Mainz.[1] Then, apparently, the force divided, and while one portion marched up the Mosel and destroyed Trier, the other proceeded down the Rhine, burnt the city of Cöln, and made its way through Germanica Secunda towards the second Belgic province. Soon the news would reach them that Tongres,[2] Arras, and Tournai had been destroyed. Simultaneously at Eastertide Metz was delivered[3] to the flames, priests and people being cut down in the streets, and nothing left but a tiny chapel dedicated to St. Stephen. One town only of the many attacked had apparently been found too strong for assault, and Laon[4] had been left to its unique good fortune, the one city that had survived in the black track of the invaders. Immediately after this the forces seem to have united, and now it was the time on the one side for the citizens of Troyes to tremble, and in the north-west for the citizens of the little island city of Paris to prepare for flight. Neither city, however, was attacked. The Huns seem to have passed down the valley of the Aube, and while devout Christians said that Paris had been spared through the fervent prayers of the Maid of Nanterre,[5] others at Troyes began to praise the bishop[6] for their escape from certain death at the hands of the Huns. The invaders were making their way in a south-westerly direction towards the Loire and advanced as far as Orleans.[7] Then came

[1] Idat. *Chron.* sub anno xxviii. Valentin. iii; Prosper, sub anno 451, "sed cum transito Rheno saevissimos ejus impetus multae Gallicanae urbes experirentur," etc.

[2] Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 5; *M. G. H., Vitae SS. aevi Merovingi.* i. p. 83.

[3] Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 6 "in ipsa sancti Paschae vigilia ad Mettensem urbem reliqua depopulando perveniunt . . . oratorium permansit illaesum."

[4] Cf. Tillemont, *Hist. des emp.* vi. 150, who cites a life of S. Salaberge.

[5] Cf. *Vita Genovefae* (*Script. rer. Merov.* iii. p. 219, § 12), and Kohler's *Etude critique sur le texte de la vie latine de Sainte Geneviève*, in vol. 48, *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes-Études.*

[6] *Vita Lupi*, ut supra, § 5; cf. Beda's *Mart.*, 29 July, "Depositio S. Lupi . . . qui tempore Attilae qui Galliam vastabat sicut in hymno ejus canitur:

Dum bella cuncta perderent
orando Trecus muniit."

[7] *Vita Aniani* (*S. R. M.* iii. p. 160).

their first serious check and the retreat of Attila, a retreat which seems to have been strategic and not the recognition of a superior power. But the line of retreat brought Attila to Troyes, and now Lupus was, by his personal influence, to his episcopal city, what Genovefa had been, through her prayers, to Paris. The city lay exposed to attack[1] without walls for its defence and without arms for its citizens. A fate such as had befallen Metz and Rheims seemed inevitable when Lupus went forth to meet the mighty invader with his warriors smarting[2] under the check at Orleans. The result of the interview is the more remarkable, since Attila must have known that behind him were the Roman legions led by Aetius, the Burgundians under Gundiok, and the Visigoths under Theodoric. It is an historic instance of the strange spiritual influence of a good man on a savage nature and a lower civilization. Attila was at once brought under the spell of his great personality, and tradition says that not only did he spare the city of Troyes, but he insisted that Lupus should come with him and assist him with his prayers.[3] So apparently Lupus was in the Hunnish camp during that three-day conflict on the Mauriac plain, and certainly he accompanied Attila till just before he recrossed the Rhine. Then Attila allowed Lupus to go in peace, and the bishop immediately afterwards returned to his flock. What actually happened at Troyes is unfortunately not recorded, and the action of Lupus is very hard to understand. His biographer tells us that when he reached Troyes[4] he found the people much disturbed by what had happened and filled with despair. They seem already to have forsaken their town, for we cannot imagine the step which Lupus

[1] *Vita Lupi*, § 5 ". . . urbem patentibus campis expositam nec armis munitam nec muris."

[2] Prosper Tiro sub anno, "insperata in Galliis clade accepta, furiatus Attila."

[3] *Vita Lupi*, 5 "at ille feralis Attila et immitis fidem ejus altiori sensu suspiciens pro incolumitatis suae statu et exercitus sui salute secum indicit iturum, Reni etiam fluenta visurum, ibique dimittendum pariter pollicetur."

[4] *Ibid.* " . . . vidit suorum desperatione turbatum."

took except on the theory of such a flight. Lupus accepted the situation, and himself retired to the high land near the ancient city of Alesia, and endeavoured to rally his people around him. Mount Lassois,[1] where he settled, is about forty miles south of Troyes, and is in the province of Maxima Sequanorum, and in that district which was now rapidly becoming Burgundian. Did he despair of imperial protection in case of another invasion, and put his faith in the tall, athletic Burgundian? Had Troyes no traditions of self-defence, or had its ramparts really been laid low by the Huns, while the people were spared at the intercession of Lupus? However, on Mount Lassois Lupus stayed for two years,[2] and then finding that the citizens of Troyes would not gather around him, he retired yet farther to the south-west towards Mâcon,[3] where certainly in former days he had considerable estates. Here his biographer leaves him. We hear nothing more of a return to Troyes, though at some time such a return must have been made, and not a word more of the completion of his diocesan organisation. A few remarkable cures which seemed miraculous, and at least one more example of his strange personal influence, a word or two about his three disciples—Severus, who afterwards became Bishop of Trier,[4] Albinus, who was Bishop of Chalon, and Polychronius, bishop of Verdun—and the narrative ends. For another quarter of a century he lived on and apparently settled in Troyes, but we are left to the casual notice of a contemporary[5] or

[1] *Vita Lupi*, "ad montes perfugium Latiscone." Mons Lassois is in dept. Côte-d'Or, cant. Vix-St-Marcel. Cf. Longnon, *Atlas texte expl.* ii. 185.

[2] *Ibid.* "bienni temporis spatio commanens."

[3] *Ibid.* "Matiscone se censuit transferendum."

[4] For Severus cf. Beda, *H. E.* i. 21. He accompanied Germanus on his second mission to Britain in 447. He can only just have been appointed Bishop of Trier when he was driven out by the Huns or Franks. Cf. Haupt's *Trierisches Zeitbuch*, p. 22.

[5] In A.D. 453 Talasius was elected Bishop of Angers, and that he might gain information on various matters of ecclesiastical discipline wrote to Lupus of Troyes and Euphronius of Autun. The questions related to the differences in the observance of the Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter Vigils, and the customs prevailing in the dioceses of Autun and Troyes concerning the marriage of the clergy. The

the uncritical licence of the hagiologist for a story which hitherto had been so full of interest and of which we can be no longer certain. Among the cures recorded as worked by him was that on a poor paralytic woman near Alesia,[1] another on Claudius, the son of a nobleman Germanicus, and a third on the aged relative of the priest Rusticus ; all these cases seem instances where a strong spiritual influence brought back the power to move and apparently the beginning of a revived vigour. On another occasion a band of Alamans had attacked the small village of Brienne le Château,[2] a few miles north-east of Troyes, and had carried off a certain number of captives. To rescue these Lupus went directly to their leader Gebavrult, and induced him to give back all the spoils of his late incursions.

Twenty years after the invasion of Attila, Lupus was still Bishop of Troyes, and Sidonius Apollinaris had been chosen Bishop of Clermont. To welcome him into the ranks of the episcopate Lupus, now the aged bishop, wrote,[3] and though we have not this letter, we have the reply which Sidonius sent. He writes in a spirit of sincere admiration[4] and respect. Lupus had been a bishop for forty-five years, and is to Sidonius, the father of fathers, the bishop of bishops, and another St. James of his age, who as a sentinel from the high places of his charity, and from a Jerusalem in no way inferior to the first, surveys the members of the Church of our God. He is his veteran chief, a Moses of a later age, but in no way inferior to the real Moses, and he begs of him to be his intercessor for him before

reply of these two bishops is given in Sirmondi, *Concil. Gall.* i. p. 122; cf. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* ii. p. 248 "commonitorium quod per diaconum Archontium missum fuerat."

[1] *Vita Lupi*, ut supra, §§ 6 and 8.

[2] *Ibid.* § 10. Brigonenses, *i.e.* le Brenois ; cf. Longnon, ii. 110.

[3] Lupus' letter to Sidonius on his elevation to Clermont was given us in the *Spicilegium*, v. 579, but Mons. Havet has proved that this is a forgery of J. Vignier, a priest of the oratory ; cf. Havet, *Quest. mérov.* No. ii. 1890, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes.*

[4] Sid. Apol. *Ep.* vi. 1 "cum post desudatas militiae Lirinensis excubias et in apostolica sede novem jam decursa quinquennia," etc.

Jesus Christ, so that he may never offer strange fire on the altar of God.

Writing to Count Arbogast of Trier,[1] who about 474 had consulted him on some points of Holy Scripture, he bids him consult one more able than himself to give advice, and nearer also to him, Lupus, bishop of Troyes. To Prosper, bishop of Orleans,[2] he desired to say something in praise of his predecessor Aignan, and he tells him he was the equal of Lupus and not inferior to Germanus. About the same time he writes to Sulpicius,[3] and states how Abbot Himerius, who was just come to him from Troyes, and was on his way to Lyons, had told him of the wisdom of Lupus, that holy bishop without a doubt the first of the bishops of Gaul; and to Principius[4] he writes, to introduce Bishop Antiolus, who he says had been at Lerins with Lupus and Maximus. Two other letters he also wrote on domestic matters. Lupus had written to him concerning a priest of Troyes who had left his wife and gone to Auvergne, and requested that he would send him back, and Sidonius, in reply, sends the man back,[5] pointing out to Lupus that the readiness of the man's obedience shows his innocence of any desire to do the woman an injustice. The other letter[6] refers to a woman captured by some highwaymen, and taken and sold in the open market at Troyes. She had afterwards taken refuge in Sidonius' steward's house, and now the purchaser, a man named Prudens of Troyes, claims to be her rightful owner. Sidonius urges Lupus to reason with Prudens, and desires to restore the woman to her lawful husband. In A.D. 427 Eucherius,[7] the hermit of Lero, and not yet Bishop of Lyons, wrote to Hilary, then only a priest at Lerins, of the "venerable" Lupus. Chosen while quite a young man as Bishop of Troyes, he laboured on in the work

[1] Sid. *Ep.* iv. 17. [2] Sid. *Ep.* viii. 15. [3] Sid. *Ep.* vii. 13.
[4] Sid. *Ep.* viii. 14. [5] Sid. *Ep.* vi. 9. [6] Sid. *Ep.* vi. 4.
[7] Eucherii *De laude heremi* (Vienna *Corpus*, vol. xxxi. pt. 1. p. 192) "haec habuit reverendi nominis Lupum qui nobis illum ex tribu Benjamin lupum rettulit."

of his diocese for more than fifty years; some of the letters of Sidonius were probably written in the year 477, and his death is said to have occurred in A.D. 479.[1] His biographer says he was bishop for fifty-two years.[2] For him he was "of glorious memory," and to us a character in this intricate history of the fifth century, of which we know far too little.[3]

Mamertus of Vienne.

In the life of St. Aignan,[4] bishop of Orleans, it is said that on his hurried journey in A.D. 451 from Orleans to Arles, to implore the help of the Patrician Aetius for his city then besieged by Attila, he stayed by chance in Vienne, at the house of a wealthy and influential citizen named Mamertus. At the time Mamertus was seriously ill, nor does this early life of the Bishop of Orleans suggest that he was as yet a Christian. His wife, however, in despair for her husband, welcomed the advent of the Christian bishop, and begged his help for the restoration of her husband's health, nor would she desist from her prayers until he had promised to visit the patient and implore God's

[1] The day of his death is said to have been 29th July; cf. Beda's *Martyrologium*, and Usuard, who copies Beda.

[2] *Vita Lupi*, ut supra, § 12 ". . . . annis quinquaginta duobus sacerdotio functus."

[3] A critical study of the lists of bishops in the province of Sens as given us by Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* ii. 389-475, makes it evident, I think, that we are only coming to reliable names with Amator, who is said to have been Bishop of Auxerre in the first quarter of the fifth century. Amator appears at the head of the lists of Troyes, and before Germanus in those of Auxerre. It is in the later lives of St. Lupus and not in that which we have quoted that he is said to have succeeded Ursus, and yet Ursus was buried at Meaux, an unlikely event if he had been Bishop of Troyes. Amator of Auxerre is clearly historical, and at his time there is not another bishop on the lists of Sens, Troyes, Chartres, Orleans, Paris, Meaux, and Nevers, whose name is other than absolutely legendary. History cannot be based on the identifications, which are entirely guesswork, of the Martyrologies and the signatures of the Councils. After Amator comes Germanus, and immediately after we arrive at names which are historical, Lupus at Troyes, Anianus at Orleans, and Agroecius at Sens. Neither Meaux nor Nevers were bishops' seats until the sixth century. The earliest life of St. Genovefa brings her into supposed relationship with St. Germanus, and after she has gained her influence over the citizens of Paris, then she tries to arouse in them a reverence for the missionary bishop Dionysius, of the third century, who had been martyred and buried near their city. There is not a word of a bishop of Paris at the time, and it seems clear that in the middle of this century there was no bishop. It was, I think, to Germanus of Auxerre that the province of Senonia owes its ecclesiastical organisation, and the increase of that episcopate of which in A.D. 418 he was the sole representative.

[4] *M. G. H.* vol. iii., *Script. rer. Merov.* p. 110 "illa in parte erat quidam homo nomen Mamertus adprime nobilis multum in omnibus rebus locupletus."

blessing on him. The recovery of Mamertus was a proof of the efficacy of the prayers of St. Aignan, and it has been assumed that this wealthy citizen of Vienne was its future archbishop. His younger brother Mamertus Claudianus was one of the four Latin poets of the fifth century, the friend of Sidonius Apollinaris, and a popular writer not only of hymns for use in the service of the Church, but also of letters to his friend, and of one or two theological tracts.[1]

Of this elder brother's early life we really know nothing. He with his brother seems to have had a good education in classical history and literature, and was evidently a good theological scholar.

Our first intimation of Mamertus as a bishop comes to us from a letter written 10th October 463,[2] by Hilarus, bishop of Rome, to Leontius, archbishop of Arles. Mamertus seems to have been for some time Archbishop of Vienne, and to have acquired such an influence as could not be shaken even by secular or external ecclesiastical authority. It was a time of great political ferment, which makes more unintelligible the empty protest of the papal See. The age of Valentinian the Third was over, and already three emperors had fallen[3] victims of the caprice which had raised them to the purple. In A.D. 458, the Emperor Majorian had compelled the Burgundians to retire eastward from

[1] Mamertus Claudianus is called by Gennadius, *De vir. inlust.* § 68 "episcopum Viennensem," and in 84 "Viennensis ecclesiae presbyter." His book *De statu vel substantia animae* was written about A.D. 470 against the tract or letter of Faustus, bishop of Riez (Vienna *Corpus*, xxi. p. 168), asserting the corporeality of the soul. Sidonius, *Ep.* v. 2, calls him "peritissimus Christianorum philosophus," and praises greatly his skill as a poet as well as this book *De statu animae*, and again in a letter (*Ep.* iv. 11) to his nephew Petreius, in which he laments his death, he says he was "hominum aevi, loci, populi sui ingeniosissimum." In *Ep.* iv. 2 and 3 we have a letter from Claudianus to Sidonius complaining of his silence and threatening to go on writing until he answers him, and Sidonius' reply, in which he refers highly to his books, and also his hymns, and says that his book *De statu* combines all that was excellent of previous philosophers, heathen and Christian. He died about A.D. 474, and Sidonius sent, *Ep.* iv. 11, some verses to Petreius for his tomb. He is erroneously said to have been author of the hymn "Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis," but Sidonius merely says "De hymno tuo."

[2] "Qualiter contra sedis," Mansi, vii. 936.

[3] Petronius Maximus, 455; Avitus, 455-456; Majorian, 457-461.

the Rhone,[1] and Vienne and Lyons had again become cities of the empire. But in 461 the Burgundians had again advanced, and not only had Vienne become the capital of Gundiok,[2] but it is clear that the boundaries of his kingdom had been pushed southward over the borders of the river Isère. Severus, the emperor, had perceived the need he had of the two Burgundian monarchs. Hilperik he had made Patrician,[3] and Gundiok he had appointed "magister militum," and that at a time when the Visigoths under Theodoric were besieging Arles, and before their defeat by the general Aegidius.[4] Sidonius has described to us the loathing of the well-bred Roman citizen for the giant Burgundians[5] who hustled them off the pavement even in Lyons itself. Between Mamertus, the cultured Archbishop of Vienne, and Gundiok, the Arian monarch, there could be little of the nature of friendship. Their influence was naturally and mutually antagonistic. How could the Archbishop of Arles with the Visigoths at the city gates go forth into the district of the province of Vienne now occupied by the Burgundians, and arrange for the consecration of a new bishop to the vacant See of Die? What was more natural than that Mamertus should have used the power which had fallen to him through the advance of the Burgundians to strengthen the Catholic Church on the banks of the Isère by appointing to Die a man[6] whom he knew, and whom future ages testified to be not only a saint, but a saint of remarkable power and influence? What was more natural also than that Gundiok the Arian,

[1] Binding, *Das burgundisch-romanische Königreich*, pp. 60-62.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 73; Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule méridionale*, i. 317.

[3] Hilary's letter to Leontius describes Gundiok as "Magister militum," and the life of S. Lupicinus as given in *Acta SS.* 21 March, iii. 265 ". . . coram viro illustri Galliae quondam patricio Hilperico"; cf. Greg. T. *Vitae Patrum*, cap. i.

[4] Cf. Priscus, p. 156.

[5] Sid. Apol. *Carm.* xii. 11.

[6] On Marcellus, bishop of Die, cf. Greg. T. *Glor. conf.* cap. 70 "Marcellus Deensis urbis episcopus magnificae sanctitatis." The name of Marcellus occurs among the bishops of southern Gaul to whom Lucidus wrote on the advice of Faustus about A.D. 274. This may have been the bishop of Die; cf. Fausti, *Reiensis opera* (Vienna *Corp.* xxi. p. 165).

should welcome the opportunity of this excusable irregularity to humble if it were possible the strong and orthodox archbishop of his capital city?

It was on 10th October 463 that Hilarus allowed himself to become the tool of the Arian, and the foe of that Christian progress so difficult in the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne on account of the inroads of the barbarian Visigoths and Burgundians. The letter of pope Hilarus was addressed to Leontius, Archbishop of Arles, who was ordered in the yearly synod which, according to the statutes laid down by the papal See, he was bound to hold, to demand of Mamertus[1] his reasons for having acted against the statutes of the apostolic See, and when no such authority had been deputed to him by the bishops of Rome, and had consecrated a bishop for the See of Die in the province of Arles, and had occupied the city Die in a hostile manner. The information he possessed, he says, had been sent him by Gundiok, the "Magister Militum."[2] Mamertus had gone to Die against the wishes of the citizens, and in a hostile manner had consecrated a bishop against their wishes.

What had actually happened is, of course, now only a matter of conjecture. There had probably been rival candidates at Die, and the party unsupported by Mamertus had done its best to render invalid the appointment he had made. Can we doubt also that Gundiok, under this specious desire to fulfil the law and carry out the terms of the rescript of A.D. 445, was secretly pleased to deal a blow at Mamertus?

The letter to Leontius, however, speedily received its answer, and that from apparently the whole of the dioceses of these provinces. Twenty bishops seem at once to have written a joint letter in defence of Mamertus, for, on 25th February 464,[3] Hilarus wrote

[1] This letter does not imply that Mamertus would be present at such a synod, but that such a synod should demand of the neighbouring archbishop an explanation of his act.

[2] "Magistri militum Gundiuci sermone est indicatum."

[3] "Sollicitis admodum," Mansi, vii. 938.

to these bishops to say that he would not punish Mamertus himself, but if he continued to spurn the rights of Leontius, the four Sees which had been granted to Vienne by Leo would be handed back to the province of Arles, and in order that there might be no doubt in Mamertus' mind that the apostolic See meant to act, Veranus was not only enjoined to inform him, but a special letter was written to the Bishop of Vence,[1] empowering him to act as the messenger of Hilarus, and inform Mamertus of his displeasure and determination to punish. It was for Leontius to confirm or not the appointment which had been made to Die.

Another letter[2] followed, addressed to the bishop of the provinces of Vienne, Lyons, Narbonne I. and II. and Alpes Maritimae, bidding them to take a special care not to exceed the limits of their jurisdiction, and yearly to meet in synod with Leontius to discuss for the good of their provinces.

There is, however, no evidence that Mamertus ever acknowledged his fault, and certainly the tone of pope Hilarus' letter was resented by the bishops in Gaul. Sidonius, the life-long friend of Mamertus Claudianus, his brother, and Avitus, ultimately his successor in the See of Vienne, have nothing but praise for the work Mamertus accomplished and for his personal sanctity.

The fame of Mamertus in western Christendom is connected with the appointment as Rogation days, or days of special intercession, of the three days before the festival of the Ascension of our Lord. The incident that caused the introduction of this ceremony occurred at some time previous to this quarrel with the papal See, and to the capture of Clermont by the Visigoths under Euric.

There had occurred at Vienne,[3] just before a Christ-

[1] Wattenbach doubts the authority of the letter to Veranus. It seems to have been merely an expansion of "Sollicitis admodum."

[2] "Etsi meminerimus," Mansi, vii. 937.

[3] Cf. Avitus' *Sermons*, in which he tells the story. Peiper's edition of Avitus, *M. G. H.* vi. pt. 2, pp. 108-120.

mas festival, various shocks of earthquake, accompanied with outbreaks of fire in the city, and disturbances of a similar nature preceded also the following festival of Easter. Mamertus, the archbishop, had been energetic in putting out the fires, and was anxious to do something which would bring the divine protection on the city. He thought of proposing a general fast for all the citizens, but was afraid to attempt such, for he doubted his power to induce the senators to take part in it. There were many rich people in Vienne, and the archbishop had much difficulty in bringing them to observe the elementary duties of a Christian life, and it would have been almost impossible to expect them to take part in such a fast.

To his clergy, however, he opened his mind and urged them, at least, to fasting and repentance, and assured them of God's forgiveness if they would acknowledge their sins and truly repent.

It was the repetition of these conflagrations on Easter Eve which brought Mamertus to action. He determined to organise on the three days before the next great festival, that of the Ascension, solemn Rogations, *i.e.* the public and the private recitation of psalms and public prayers, with compunction of heart, sincere weeping, and humble prostrations. He himself promised to take part in them, and said he would go round and visit all the churches in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, and celebrate the divine mysteries in them.

As the time drew near he fell to prayer that God would put it into the hearts of the people to do as he had proposed to them. Then he publicly informed the people of his plans, and invited them to join him, and he soon perceived that his prayers had been answered. The people generally approved of his plans, and indeed embraced them with joy, and their zeal so roused the richer citizens, that many who had retired into the country returned and took part in

these solemn processions and public ceremonies, and the fact that the festival of the Ascension was observed in peace and safety and joy, spoke to the heart of the people in favour of such public appeal to the divine mercy.[1]

It was probably in the year A.D. 474 that Sidonius and the Christians at Clermont[2] adopted the example of Mamertus as a means of relief from the horrors of the Visigothic siege. Writing to Mamertus, Sidonius relates to him what he had done. "It is reported that the Goths have entered the territory of Rome. We poor unfortunate Arvernians are always experiencing such a misfortune. The Visigoths are extending their borders as far as the Rhone and the Loire. The one obstacle they find in their way is that help which Christ gives us in answer to our prayers. No amount of fortifications seem of any avail, our one hope of protection is in the Rogations which you have instituted. The people of Clermont take part in them with a zeal equal to that which your people at Vienne displayed. When the earthquakes shook to their foundations the temples of God, when the flames devoured the heap of ruins which threatened immediately to fall, when, amid the alarm, even the wild animals came into the city to find a retreat in such unwonted spots, you by your example roused the citizens to imitate the men of Nineveh, and they had experience of what the divine protection could accomplish for them."

But a short time before Sidonius had written to

[1] It must be remembered that the Litanies or Rogations of Mamertus consisted rather of penitential Psalm recitations, the better to divert the minds of the people, than of invocations for help such as we now understand by the word. Rogations were not instituted first by Mamertus (Sid. Apoll. vii. 1), but the Archbishop of Vienne now for the first time turned a custom of prayer-making and psalm-singing of a vague and unsatisfying kind into a solemn ceremony for a definite purpose (Sid. Apoll. v. 14). Venantius Fortunatus waiting hungry for his breakfast likens the situation to those litanies or prayer makings which produced but little good (V. Fort. vii. 15). I am indebted for this reference to Venantius to Mr. Edmund Bishop.

[2] Sid. Ap. *Ep.* vii. 1.

his friend Aper,[1] an Arvernian nobleman, telling him that he would soon be summoned to Clermont to take part in the Rogations—the solemn observance of which that venerable father and pontiff Mamertus first, by his most revered example, and by his most useful experience, invented, ordered, and introduced to us.

The second half of the fifth century conduced to an observance such as this which gave confidence to the Christians, terrified as they were and in despair by the conflict of barbarians in their midst. It appealed to them to put their trust in God. The ceremony was continued in Vienne until its ultimate adoption by the Church in Gaul and in the West; and Avitus, who was Archbishop of Vienne 491-518, and who witnessed in the city the fratricidal strife of Gundobad and Godegisel, and the murder of the latter, was careful to preach on the three days of Rogation. It was for the Church of Vienne a peculiar pleasure that a ceremony which originated thus under Mamertus had been adopted even there almost generally, and had been productive of so much good. Four addresses of Avitus are extant,[2] one for each day of the Rogations, and one of a general kind on the principle which underlay them. Caesarius also, who became Archbishop of Arles in 505, appears to have adopted this means to impress upon his harassed Christian flock the need to implore the divine protection. A sermon is extant which has been assigned to St. Augustine, but which is generally allowed to have been composed by Caesarius,[3] in which the duty to observe these Rogations, and the value of the observance, is clearly placed before the people of Arles.

A short time before his death,[4] on 27th November 511, Chlodovech had summoned a council of the bishops of Gaul to assemble at Orleans.[5] There he

[1] Sid. Ap. *Ep.* v. 14.
[2] Avitus, p. 108, *ut supra*.
[3] Cf. Arnold, *Caesarius von Arelate*, p. 455.
[4] Mansi, viii. 350; Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*, Eng. Ed.[2] iv. 88.
[5] Kurth's *Clovis*, ii. p. 197.

solemnly promised his protection to the Orthodox Church, and in the twenty-seventh canon of this Council it was ordained that all churches should observe the Rogations, that is to say, the Litanies before Ascension Day, so that the three days' fast should end on the day of the festival. On these three days all slaves male and female should be released from their usual labour, in order that all people might take part in these public religious ceremonies. It was also enjoined that on these three days the fast should be observed as it is during the period of Lent. Seventy years later, Gregory of Tours, in his story of the contest between Gundobad and Godegisel, refers to the work of Avitus[1] and the sermons which he preached during the fast of the Rogations, and again tells the story how Mamertus had been the first to institute this ceremony and this public appeal to the divine protection. In his narrative also of the miracles wrought at the tomb of St. Julian at Brioude,[2] or by the Arvernian martyr when he was invoked, Gregory also tells us how Mamertus, amid the ruin that threatened, had built a large basilica in honour of another Viennese saint, Ferreolus the martyr of the days of Maximian.

Nothing more is known of Mamertus, nor indeed is the year of his death more than a conjecture. Mamertus Claudianus, his brother, whom he had ordained priest, died in A.D. 474, and the archbishop is said to have followed him on 11th May 475. The Martyrology of Beda[3] does not mention him, though Florus records his death on that day, and Florus is followed by Usuard.

Caesarius of Arles.

Caesarius of Arles[4] is one more of that considerable

[1] Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 34.

[2] Greg. T. *De passione S. Juliani*, § 2 "providus sacerdos Mamertus nomine qui tunc Viennensem regebat Ecclesiam" etc.

[3] Florus of Lyons, *circa* 760, enlarged the *Martyrology* of Beda very soon after Beda's death, and the Bollandists have endeavoured to distinguish between Beda and Florus' additions. Usuard condensed what Jerome, Beda, Florus, the little Roman Martyrology, and Ado had assigned to the days of the year.

[4] The life of Caesarius by the three bishops, Cyprian, Firminus, and Viventius, the priest Messianus and the deacon Stephen, is printed in *M. G. H.*, in the third

band of churchmen in the fifth century who, under the influence of strong religious convictions, left their home in the north-east of Gaul and settled and laboured for the most part in the south. We are especially fortunate in regard to his life, for we have of him a biography not only written immediately after his death, but written by men who knew him well and who wrote with a full knowledge of the events which they had to describe. Caesarius died in 543, and the life was written at the request of the Abbess Caesaria before the year 549. His biographers had all been his pupils or disciples; three of them became bishops—Cyprian of Toulon, Firminus of Uzés, and Viventius. Messianus was one of his priests, and accompanied him in A.D. 513 on his journey to the court of Theodoric at Ravenna; and Stephen was a deacon attached to his intimate family.

Of his parents we know only that they were very rich and of noble rank, and were Christians and belonged to the city of Chalon-sur-Saône. Here in A.D. 473 Sidonius was present at the consecration of John as bishop, and here Caesarius was born about A.D. 470.[1] In his early life he displayed that tenderness of heart for the sufferings of the poor, and that generosity, for which, in manhood, he was so noted, and which at times created opponents to his episcopal work and censures from the bishops of Rome. At times, when he met with poor children devoid of proper clothing, he would take his own clothes off and give them to them, returning home with an explanation which was not always exactly true. This trait comes out in his sermon: "I pray you, brethren, that you do all you can

volume *Script. rer. Merov.* p. 433, to which is added a valuable critical Introduction by B. Krusch, who calls it "pretiosissimum monumentum historicum." Of modern lives, that by A. Malnory, *Saint Césaire évêque d'Arles*, Paris, 1894, is exhaustive and interesting, but there is a bias which spoils it as an historical study. *Caesarius von Arelate*, by Dr. C. F. Arnold, Leipzig, 1894, is excellent, and invaluable not only for the fulness of information but also because it is a distinctly critical, historical study. Villeveille's *Histoire de S. Césaire*, 1884, is pleasant reading but not critical.

[1] Sid. Apol. *Ep.* iv. 25.

so that you never come to church with empty hands." When he was eighteen years of age he applied to Silvester, the bishop of Chalon,[1] to release him from his obligations towards his parents and from the duties which would naturally come to him on his inheritance of his father's wealth. He described himself as a young man of few ambitions, who marched without reflexion on the road which led to pleasure, though it was sown with danger for his soul, and who ran blindly and thoughtlessly to the very edge of the precipice in his desire to procure for himself some worldly delight. The city of Chalon was one of the five cities which appear in the Notitia as appertaining to the province of Lugdunensis Prima,[2] and had been occupied together with the district between the Rhone and the Saône by the Burgundians as early as A.D. 457. They came under the title of guests, and appropriated for themselves, from a half to sometimes two-thirds, of the estates of the Gallo-Romans. Caesarius would therefore count for a Burgundian, though his family seems to have been distinctly Gallo-Roman. Apparently with his parents' consent, and perhaps to test the strength of his religious opinions, Caesarius entered the household of Bishop Silvester and remained with him for two years. He felt, however, that he was called to adopt some even stricter rule of life than that which prevailed in the bishop's house, and he determined to become a monk. There were two monasteries[3] not far off, that at Ainay close to Lyons over which one, Cassian, was then abbot, and that at Condate in the Jura mountains, presided over by SS. Romanus and Lupicinus. But neither of these would satisfy Caesarius. He had heard of Lerins, and thither he went without

[1] Silvester was apparently the third bishop of Chalon. He was present at the Council of Epaon 517, and also at that of Lyons 518; cf. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* ii. p. 192; cf. Greg. T. "Story of his Wonderful Bed," *Glor. conf.* c. 85.

[2] *M. G. H.* ix. 239, pt. 2, p. 584.

[3] Sid. Apol. *Ep.* iv. 25; Greg. T. *De glor. martyr.* cap. 49; Longnon, *Geog.* p. 198.

even a farewell to his mother,[1] and accompanied only by one slave who afterwards became his brother in religion. Here he spent his period of probation, and having gained the good esteem of Porcarius, the abbot, he was made cellarer, an office which included the duty of receiving the guests and administering the hospitality of the monastery.

The zeal of Caesarius was, however, displeasing to his brother monks, and soon they induced Porcarius[2] to remove him from that office, and so, as an ordinary monk, he practised in his cell the utmost austerity, being content with cold boiled vegetables for his food, which he cooked on Sunday to provide himself for the rest of the week.

The severity which he practised so unwisely had soon its natural result. His health broke down, and Porcarius found it necessary, in A.D. 496, to send him for treatment to Arles, and Lerins did not see him again until at times he went there on a visit when he was Archbishop of Arles.

Arles, the centre of Roman life in Gaul and the city of the prefect, had been captured by Euric the Visigoth in A.D. 480,[3] and here, three years afterwards, the great Visigoth king had died. With much still in the life of its most cultured citizens that was Roman, it was now thoroughly Visigothic, and Caesarius the Roman, from the Burgundian city of Chalon, now came to make it his residence for the rest of his life. Porcarius had sent him apparently to the hospice of Firminus[4] and of the widow Gregoria. He was in their care, and they seemed to have acted in the place of his parents. They sent him for instruction to Pomerius,[5] a fugitive

[1] *Vita Caesar.* § 5. The passage seems to suggest that his father was dead.

[2] *Ibid.* § 6 "supplicarent abbati ut deberet a cellario semoveri."

[3] Jordanes, cap. 47; Vict. Tunun. anno 485; cf. Binding, *Das burg. Königreich*, p. 92 and note; Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Burgundionen*, i. p. 499.

[4] *Vita Caesar.* § 8.

[5] Gennad. *De vir. inlust.* 98; Ruric. *Ep.* i. 17, ii. 10; Vienna *Corpus S. L.* xxi. pp. 369, 385; his *De vita contemplativa* is in Migne, *P. L.* lix. 415.

from Africa settled in Arles, and in this celebrated school Caesarius had as his companions Quintus, afterwards bishop of Rodez, and Eugenius, bishop of Albi.[1] Here he went through the usual course of classical literature, and, though he never became an orator, his sermons and addresses were noted for their directness and simplicity of language. But the profane literature which he was called upon to study disgusted him. The heathen legends which he read troubled him, and he dreamt[2] one night that a dragon was biting his arm, and on the morrow he determined for ever to abjure profane literature—an early instance indeed of that neglect of classical literature which had so much to do with the language and the tone of thought of the mediaeval Church. A man such as Caesarius could not long escape the notice of the archbishop, and about A.D. 498 Aeonius ordained him priest, and appointed him abbot of that monastery of Montmajeur[3] about four miles to the NE. of Arles, where the first missionaries of the Gospel had lived in obscurity, and where the rock-hewn chambers, so suggestive of Marmoutier, and the massive pile of chapels, cloisters, and tower, attract and fascinate the pilgrim student.

Two or three years afterwards Aeonius, falling sick, and recognising that his end was approaching, summoned to him the clergy of Arles and the most influential of the laity of the city, and expressed his

[1] For Quintus or Quintianus, cf. Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 36; iii. 12, 13; *Vita*, p. 4. He was present at the Council of Agde and also at that of Orleans, 511. Being suspected by the Goths, he fled for refuge to Auvergne. For Eugenius, cf. Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 3. His name does not appear in the lists of the bishops of Albi. Duchesne, *Fastes ép.* ii. 42; but see Malnory, p. 16.

[2] *Vita Caesar.* § 9.

[3] *Ibid.* 12 "in suburbana insula civitatis . . . monasterium quod recentius fuerat destitutum abitu rectoris." Arnold, p. 92, takes this statement literally, but cannot locate the site of the monastery, and does not seem to be in favour of the Île de Camargue in the Rhone delta. Cf. Villeveille, p. 61. Malnory, p. 24, advocates the site of Montmajeur, and says that the group of rocks there was at one time surrounded by the waters of the Rhone. Certainly much has happened since the time of Caesarius to change the relative position of buildings, and I am inclined to think Malnory is right. Cf. Binding, *ut supra*, p. 203, and Cassiodorus' description of Arles, *Var.* viii. 10.

wish that Caesarius should be his successor. Having obtained from them their consent to his choice, Aeonius sent a messenger[1] to Toulouse to obtain from Alaric II. his approval, an act which possibly was the more necessary since Caesarius was a native of the kingdom of the Burgundians.

It was probably in A.D. 501 that Aeonius died and that Caesarius became archbishop, and now for more than forty years he governed the Church in southern Gaul. Simple and austere in his manner of life, he retained the habits of a monk even as a bishop, and wore that garb which was steadily winning its claim from the people for respect. He had never shown any powers of administration, and the temporal affairs of the diocese he left to the care of his archdeacon.[2] His special care were the poor and ignorant of the diocese, and to these he was constantly preaching, teaching them the doctrines of the Church and calling upon them to regulate their lives according to their Christian profession. He called them neighbours and fellow-citizens,[3] and his zeal for their spiritual welfare must at times have been embarrassing. On one occasion during divine service, when the time for his sermon had arrived, he turned from the altar and looked down the church. To his horror he saw how some, after the reading of the gospel, were already leaving the church, and so forthwith he called out to the people, "What are you doing,[4] O sons of mine, and why under an evil influence are you induced to go out? Stay for the sake of your souls and listen attentively to the words of my sermon. On the day of judgment you will not desire this act of yours to be brought up against you." Afterwards he very often ordered that the doors of the church should be locked until the service was over. He was particularly anxious that the laity should learn the

[1] *Vita Caesar.* § 13 "et ipsos dominos rerum per internuntios rogat."
[2] *Vita Caesar.* § 15.
[3] *Ibid.* § 10 "meus es, fili, concivis pariter et propinquus."
[4] *Ibid.* § 27 "quid agitis, o filii, quo ducimini foris mala suasione subversi?"

psalms by heart and acquire the art of singing in a treble or a lower voice, some in Greek and some in Latin, the proses and antiphons of the Divine Office.[1]

The cathedral church was then dedicated to St. Stephen, and here he ordained that the clergy should say daily not only those Offices of the early morning, but also the Offices for the third, sixth, and ninth hours,[2] and thus give a chance to any layman or penitent who was passing by to enter the church and take part in the solemn office. He introduced also into the services the hymns that were used in the monastic Offices at Lerins.

Soon after he had become archbishop he drew up for the use of his diocese, and for that of the dioceses of the province, a compilation of Church Law from the ancient canons of the Church under the title *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*.[3] The Church of Arles had been, for nearly a hundred years, of metropolitan rank, and the many letters which the bishop had received from Rome would in themselves form an important register ; and to them he added a collection of canons from Eastern, African, and earlier Councils of the West.

A reformer naturally creates enemies, and Caesarius' disregard of the temporalities of the See, and his readiness to give all his income to the poor and his preference for those who had adopted a monastic life, soon gave rise to a party in the diocese not only who opposed him, but also apparently endeavoured to get rid of him. Among his opponents was Licinianus,[4] one of the diocesan notaries who took advantage of his Burgundian origin and denounced him to Alaric as desirous to deliver the city to the Burgundians. It is possible that in his journeys through the province he had gone to

[1] *Vita Caesar.* § 19 "altaque et modulata voce instar clericorum alii Graece alii Latine prosas antiphonasque cantarent."

[2] *Ibid.* § 15 "cotidie tertiae, sextaeque et nonae opus in sancti Stephani basilica clerici cum hymnis cantarent."

[3] Malnory, pp. 45 and 50 ; Gundlach, *Der Streit der Bistümer Arles und Vienne*, 79-92.

[4] *Vita Caesar.* § 21 "quidam de notariis beati viri Licinianus nomine . . ."

episcopal cities that were then under Burgundian rule. Since A.D. 475 the Burgundians had extended their rule as far south as the right bank of the Durance, and this was followed soon after by the occupation of Narbonensis II. by Euric. A border city such as Arles was of great importance, and the connection between the Franks and the Burgundians would have made the Visigoths all the more suspicious of Arlesians having friends among the Burgundians. Caesarius was therefore summoned to Toulouse and then exiled to Bordeaux, which the Visigoths had again captured from the Franks.[1] Ruricius, bishop of Limoges, and in earlier years the friend of Sidonius Apollinaris, interested himself in Caesarius' behalf; and the court at Toulouse[2] was soon convinced of his innocence, and Alaric II. shortly after allowed him not only to return to Arles, but to summon a Council of bishops for the next year, A.D. 506,[3] at Agde, a small town near the Mediterranean shore and about twelve miles southeast of Beziers. The place was far removed from the Burgundian boundary and was quite safe, and Alaric II., in view of the danger that threatened in the north, seems to have been anxious to show some deference to the Catholics of his kingdom. He had been engaged in a great codification[4] of the laws of the Visigoths in imitation of that known as the Theodosian Code, and as an enlargement of that which his predecessor Euric had accomplished. It was a compilation of those laws of the empire which were allowed by the Visigoths for the Gallo-Romans living in the kingdom. The Council met in September and there were thirty-five bishops

[1] A band of Franks had captured Bordeaux in 498 and had made a prisoner of the Gothic governor Suatrius, but clearly the city had been recaptured soon after. Cf. Prosp. *Cont. Haun.*, sub anno 498 (*M. G. H.* ix. 331).

[2] *M. G. H.*, *Auct. antiq.* viii. p. lxiv.

[3] Mansi, viii. 323; Hefele, *Hist. of the Councils*, Eng. ed. iv. p. 76.

[4] Malnory, p. 63; Lécrivain, "Remarques sur l'interprétation de la Lex romana Visigothorum," *Annales du Midi*, 1889; Savigny, *Hist. du droit romain*, ii. 37-67. About the same time the Burgundian monarch Gundobad made a similar digest known as the *Lex Gondobada* (*M. G. H.* Abth. ii. Legum sectio, ii. p. 1).

present. To these bishops Alaric II. submitted this Code; and after they, and such noblemen of senatorial rank as he consulted, had approved of it, he published this Code under the title of *Lex Romana Visigothorum*. The actual Code had been drawn up under the superintendence of Anianus, the *referendarius* of the Visigothic kingdom, and so it has sometimes been entitled *Breviarium Alarici* or *Aniani*.

The object of the Council was to lay down rules for the ordination of the clergy and the consecration of bishops, and forty-seven canons were passed on clerical discipline, the foundation of monasteries, and the relationship which should exist between Churchmen and Jews in southern Gaul. One canon, the seventh, seems especially to be directed against Caesarius, in that it forbids a bishop to alienate the buildings, slaves, or furniture of the Church under the pretext that they are the property of the poor.

The Council closed on September 11, and in the autumn of the following year Alaric was slain at the battle of Vouillé,[1] near Poitiers, and the kingdom of the Visigoths fell almost entirely into the hands of Chlodovech and his ally Gundobad.

In A.D. 508, before spring had given way to summer, all the cities of the Visigothic kingdom, with the exception of Arles, had been captured by the allied forces of Gundobad the Burgundian, and Theodoric the Frank, and it was probably in the month of May[2] of that year that the siege of Arles itself began. Within the city were the Gallo-Roman citizens, all of them Catholics, and their masters the Arian Visigoths. Without were the conquering Franks, the latest converts to Catholicism, and the Burgundians, who for some years had begun to show respect for their Catholic subjects. As the siege proceeded it was

[1] Greg. T. *H. F.* ii. 37.

[2] Binding, *ut supra*, p. 201 "wann seine Belagerung begann, steht nicht ganz fest, doch spätestens im Juni 508"; *Vita Caesar.* § 28.

natural that watch would be set on any likely citizen who might be prepared to betray the city to the enemy without, and Caesarius, the reforming archbishop, did not escape this espionage. In the first alarm of the siege a young ecclesiastic,[1] terrified at the idea of an assault and the sack of the town, escaped to the camp of the Franks, and it was at once assumed that he was an emissary of Caesarius. Could there be stronger evidence of the archbishop's treason? The Ostrogoths were still far off in Italy, and if the great Theodoric had allowed the downfall of the kingdom of Alaric II., was he likely to march to the relief of Arles? So Caesarius was arrested and charged with the intention of delivering the city to the Franks. His palace was invaded by the Goths,[2] and he was treated with every indignity. They proposed to send him up the river to the Visigothic fortress of Ugernum,[3] near the modern Beaucaire, and for that purpose a small boat was prepared; but either the stream was too strong, or the danger, on either bank, of the Franks and Burgundians was too great, and he was brought back to the palace and confined in some unknown chamber for future punishment. Among his accusers the Jews of Arles were the most zealous, and it was through the action of one of them that he gained his release. One of these Jews was seen to hurl a lance[4] from the wall of the city towards the camp of the Franks. The weapon, however, was recovered, and on it was found attached a letter giving the name of him who hurled it, and arranging with the besiegers to open the gates to them if they came to a particular place at a given time. So suspicion was turned from Caesarius to the Jews, and the eagerness with which they had urged his guilt now aided his acquittal and seemed to prove their disloyalty.

[1] *Vita Caesar.* § 29 "quidam e clericis concivis . . . captivitatis timore perterritus et juvenili levitate permotus . . ."
[2] *Ibid.* § 30.
[3] *Ibid.* § 29 "in castro Ugernensi teneretur detrusus."
[4] *Ibid.* § 31.

But Arles had not been forgotten by Theodoric the Ostrogoth. On 24th June 508[1] he had sent an army for its relief, and the army was in command of his general Ibbas. The details of the siege do not concern us. It lasted for nearly two years, and it was not until the beginning of A.D. 510 that the Ostrogoths defeated the Burgundians and Franks and so relieved the citizens of Arles. The Burgundians were not only driven across the Durance, but Avignon was captured in 510 and Orange[2] was sacked and its citizens carried captive into Italy.

Theodoric the Ostrogoth took the Catholic Church under his protection and appointed a vicar-general at Arles to look after its property ; and two nephews of Bishop Ennodius, Lupicinus and Parthenius, both of them Arlesians,[3] were summoned to Rome to teach the Ostrogoths in the capital rhetoric and classical literature. Conflicts such as those that had taken place outside Arles brought loss of liberty and intense suffering on the poor, and Caesarius did not hesitate to sell the ornaments of the Church and to pledge its goods to redeem them from captivity and to minister to their relief. The Burgundian monarch, Gondobad, and his Catholic heir, Sigismund, were anxious to second the efforts on the part of Caesarius in the besieged city, and the poor regarded it as a miracle that during the siege three ships should have come down the Rhone sent by them to Caesarius and at a time when the famine within was most pressing.[4] Action such as this again brought Caesarius, however, under suspicion ; and when in 512 Gondobad sent the archbishop for the second time relief for these poor sufferers, he was once more charged with treasonable practices with the Burgundians, and in 513[5] he was taken under escort to Italy to appear

[1] Cassiod. *Chron.*, A.D. 509, and *Var.* i. 24 ; Jordanis, *De reb. Get.* lviii. ; Avitus, *Ep.* No. 78.
[2] Cassiod. *Var.* viii. 10 ; Avit. Letter to Apollinaris, 87 (*M. G. H.* vi. i. p. 96).
[3] Ennodius, *Ep.* 225, 226 (*M. G. H.* vii. 179).
[4] Malnory, p. 97 ; *Vita Caesar.* ii. 8 and 9.
[5] *Vita Caesar.* i. 36.

before Theodoric the Ostrogoth in his court at Ravenna.

The victory which the Ostrogoths won over the Burgundians and Franks outside the city of Arles delayed the conquest of Gaul by the Franks for twenty-three years. The wave of conquest which had set so strongly southward was checked, and Theodoric seems to have retained all to the east of the Rhone, *i.e.* Narbonensis II., Alpes Maritimae, and to have held so much of Narbonensis I. as was south of the Cevennes, in trust for Amalaric, the son of Alaric II. the Visigothic king. The whole of the south of Gaul from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Cevennes and the Durance was Gothic, the eastern portion being included in the Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric, and the western forming for Amalaric the sole remnant of his father's Visigothic kingdom in Gaul. Between the years A.D. 517 and 523 the Ostrogoths made yet further conquests beyond the Durance, and apparently as far north as the valley of the Drôme, so that at any rate by that date the whole of the ecclesiastical province of Arles had come into the kingdom of the Ostrogoths.

When Caesarius arrived at Ravenna, Theodoric treated him with every respect. He rose to meet him, and discussed in a friendly manner the welfare of the citizens of Arles and the conduct of the Gothic soldiers. The intense sympathy of the archbishop for the poor and suffering provincials was so evident that Theodoric gave him three hundred gold pieces, which at once was spent for the redemption of Gallo-Romans living then in captivity in Italy. When Caesarius had left his presence Theodoric turned to his courtiers and said, "May God spare not those who made this man of such conspicuous innocence undertake so long and so troublesome a journey for no purpose! I knew[1] at once what kind of man he was, for as he entered the room I

[1] *Vita Caesar.* i. 36 "video, inquit, angelicum vultum, video apostolicum virum: nefas arbitror mali quippiam de tam venerando viro censere."

secretly trembled. I saw he had the face of an angel and that he was of apostolic dignity, and I consider it a crime to think evil of such a one as he is."

But Caesarius was appalled at the multitude of captives he found in the cities of Italy. He is said to have discovered nearly the entire population of Orange[1] living in servitude, and redeemed them at a cost of eight thousand gold pieces. His intense grief for their position prepared him to do everything in his power to relieve them, and explains the warning of the Bishop of Rome which came to him indeed in the terms of a censure.

When at Ravenna, Caesarius received an invitation from Symmachus to go to Rome. The See of Arles had recovered all its former privileges, and early in his pontificate Symmachus had written to Avitus of Vienne to soothe any resentment he might have felt in the complete recovery by Aeonius, then archbishop of Arles, of the privileges of his See. At Rome[2] Caesarius was welcomed by the Senate and nobles, the Pope and his clergy, and by nearly all the people of the ancient city. Symmachus then confirmed him in the full rights of a metropolitan, and decorated him with the special privilege of the pallium, granting also to his deacons the right to wear the dalmatic as did the deacons of the Roman Church.[3] Between the two men, however, there was a gulf which could not be bridged over. Caesarius was all in favour of monasticism, and would impose its austerities on his clergy and select them from the monasteries in his province. So as Caesarius returned in the autumn of 513 to Arles there followed him an official letter[4] from Symmachus enjoining him not to alienate the goods of the Church

[1] *Vita Caesar.* i. 38 "maximeque Arausici oppidi qui ex toto fuerat captivitati contraditus."

[2] *Ibid.* i. 42.

[3] ". . . eum metropolitani gradibus invexit sed et concesso specialiter pallii privilegio decoravit. Diaconos quoque ipsius ad Romanae instar ecclesiae dalmaticarum fecit habitu praeeminere."

[4] "Hortatur nos," Mansi, viii. 212.

nor to make bishops out of laymen, *i.e.* from men who were only monks and had had no training in ecclesiastical duties. He also forbade him, a prohibition which is somewhat inexplicable, to confer the office of priesthood on candidates on payment of money.

The next year, however, Symmachus again confirmed[1] the privileges of the Church of Arles and ordered Caesarius to watch over the Church in Spain, as in Gaul, especially in those matters which concerned religion.

On one occasion only after this date do we find the old suspicion still existing in Rome. In A.D. 528[2] Felix IV. wrote again to Caesarius ordering him to abstain from making more laymen bishops, and laying down the rule that no one should be raised to the episcopate until he had passed through a period of probation. For the rest of his life the papacy seems to have had no cause for complaint as to the conduct of Caesarius.

When Caesarius returned to Arles, there was much for him to do in organising the Church in his diocese and in the province, after the ravaging which the south of Gaul had suffered. Nor, indeed, did he return to enjoy for long the blessing of peace. Between the years 517 and 523 the Ostrogothic general Tulum was engaged in a campaign north of the Durance. Orange, which had been sacked by Ibbas about the year 510, had again become a Burgundian city in 517,[3] and was certainly Ostrogothic in 523.

The work for Caesarius was largely one of reconstruction, and that at the first within the city of Arles. We know of no provincial act of his from the day he closed the Council of Agde until the day he welcomed at Arles the thirteen bishops who, on June 5, 524, assembled to take part in the dedication of the basilica of St. Mary, and to consult for mutual love and for

[1] 11th June 514 "qui veneranda patrum," Mansi, viii. 227.
[2] Felix IV., 3rd Feb. 528 "Legi quod inter," Mansi, viii. 666.
[3] Binding, *ut supra*, p. 226. The Bishop of Orange was present at the Burgundian Council of Epaon, Sept. 517.

the welfare of the province.[1] The canons of this Council, which is reckoned as the fourth of Arles, are four in number, and with the canons of the subsequent Councils of Carpentras, 6th November 527, and Vaison, 5th November 529,[2] refer almost exclusively to the discipline of the clergy, the age of ordination, and the training which was necessary before a layman was promoted to Holy Orders.

It is probably because Caesarius had insisted on the moral responsibility of man to make an effort to obey God's commands that he fell under suspicion of Pelagian views. Certain it is that in A.D. 528 a Council was held at Valence[3] of bishops whose Sees were north of the Isère, *i.e.* of bishops who belonged to the province of Vienne, and Caesarius was informed that his orthodoxy would be there impugned. Avitus the archbishop of Vienne was dead, and the assembly of these bishops was somewhat irregular unless they had gathered for the consecration of his successor. Caesarius was too ill to attend, but he sent Cyprian, bishop of Toulon,[4] to represent him, and to state his faith and to assure the bishops of his orthodoxy. There are no canons of this Council extant, and the question it raised was settled at the Council of Orange,[5] which Caesarius summoned for July 3, 529. The selection of Orange was due to the demand of Liberius[6] the Gallic prefect, whom Athalaric had allowed to remain in office on the death of his grandfather, that Caesarius would dedicate the Church there which he and his wife Agraetia had built. There were fourteen bishops

[1] Mansi, viii. 632; Hefele, *Hist of the Councils*, iv. 131.

[2] Carpentras, 6th November 527; Mansi, viii. 708; Vaison, November 529; Mansi, viii. 725.

[3] *Vita Caesar.* i. § 60 "ob hoc antistites Christi ultra Eseram consistentes . . . in Valentina civitate conveniunt."

[4] "[Caesarius] misit praestantissimos viros inter quos etiam sanctus Cyprianus Thelonensis antistes."

[5] For Council of Orange, cf. Mansi, viii. 720; Arnold, *Caesarius*, p. 533, a most exhaustive inquiry into the Council and its Canons.

[6] *Vita Caesar.* ii. § 10; Cassiod. *Var.* ii. 15, viii. 6, xi. 1. He signs the Canons of Orange as Petrus Marcellus Felix Liberius. Ennodius' Letters to him, Nos. 63, pp. 177, 447, etc. (*M. G. H.* vii.).

present, and, after the consecration of the Church, they with Caesarius took care to show the orthodoxy of the province of Arles. Some eighty years ago, as we have already seen, when the Pelagian controversy was at its height, Prosper of Marseilles[1] had drawn up a series of texts or passages from the writings of St. Augustine, which bore on the doctrine of Grace and Free Will. This *libellus* in its original form he is thought to have taken with him to Rome, where it was revised and issued with some appearance of authority. It consisted of three hundred and ninety-two short extracts from St. Augustine's various tractates on the subject. Probably it was a book as much in use in the south of Gaul as it was in Rome, and as so recognised, would win for those who acknowledged it the approval of the Church. From this book, however, Caesarius and the bishops assembled at Orange drew up twenty-five statements in the form of canons, and not only did he and his colleagues sign them, but Liberius the prefect, and the seven other great officers of state who were present with him, appended their names as testifying to the orthodoxy of the province, and as evidence of a wish to reassure the bishops beyond the Isère. Among the letters of Felix IV.[2] there is an undated one of this year which suggests that he himself had sent a copy of this *libellus* to Caesarius, and had appended to it a condemnation of the teaching of Pelagius, Caelestius, Julianus of Eclana, and especially of the books of Faustus, a bishop of Gaul who was brought up in the monastery of Lerins. If this letter is genuine, it proves at once the caution of Caesarius and his courage. He omitted in his canons the condemnations which Prosper had not written but which had emanated from Rome, he proved his orthodoxy, and protected from anathema the former abbot of his beloved monastery of Lerins. Naturally a copy

[1] Migne, *P. L.* li. p. 427; Arnold, 536, cf. chapter xii.
[2] Mansi, viii. 721; Migne, *P. L.* lxii. 91.

of these canons, with the subscription of Caesarius and the other bishops attached to them, was forwarded to Felix, and on January 25, 531, Boniface II.,[1] who had in the meantime succeeded to the See of Rome, acknowledged and approved this confession as orthodox.

In the autumn of the same year, 5th November 529, Caesarius seems to have been present at a Council held at Vaison, where five disciplinary canons were drawn up, and in 533[2] there was a Synod at Marseilles in which, on account of his moral fall, Contumeliosus was removed from his See of Riez, and at which Caesarius was certainly president. But events had again happened to disturb the peace of southern Gaul. The four sons of Chlodovech, in 511, had divided his kingdom amongst them, and in A.D. 523[3] Chlodomir, Childebert, and Chlotachar had attacked Sigismund of Burgundy and deprived him of his throne. Gondomar, however, the son of Sigismund, on 25th June 524 won a signal victory over the Franks at Vézérones[4] and slew Chlodomir; but in 532 he was defeated by Childebert and Chlotachar, and two years afterwards the kingdom of Burgundy was divided between them. The Ostrogoths, like the Burgundians, had no longer chieftains who could lead them to victory, and in A.D. 536 Theodahad the Ostrogoth consented to hand over Narbonensis II. and Alpes Maritimae to the Franks, and Arles fell to the lot of Childebert.[5] Narbonensis I. was the last portion of Gaul held by the Visigoths. It had come to be called Septimania, and under Amalaric, a violent Arian, was able to resist for a time the efforts of the Franks. In A.D. 532[6]

[1] January 25, 531 "Per filium nostrum," Mansi, viii. 725.

[2] Cf. John II., Letters, 7th April, "Innotuit nobis," "Pervenit ad nos," "Caritatis tuae literas," Mansi, viii. 807-9.

[3] Binding, p. 252; Marius of Avenche, sub anno 523; Greg. T. *H. F.* iii. 6; Fredegar. 34, 35.

[4] Binding, 256; Marius, 524 "eo anno contra Chlodomerem regem Francorum Viseroncia praeliavit, ibique interfectus est Chlodomeres."

[5] Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Burgundionen*, ii. p. 268, 269; Procopius, *De bello Goth.* i. 13.

[6] Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule mérid.* ii. p. 131; Jordanis, § 58.

Childebert drove Amalaric into Spain and there killed him; but in his place the Visigoths elected Theudis as their king, and for the rest of the century Septimania remained Visigothic and Arian.

In 541 there was a national Synod of the Frankish Church at Orleans,[1] at which thirty-eight bishops and the representatives of twelve others were present. Caesarius was too old and infirm to attend, nor was he indeed represented.

Leontius of Bordeaux seems to have presided. The canons that were passed will be considered in our next chapter, and the political atmosphere had little to do with the province of Arles or yet its archbishop.

From the day that he first entered Lerins, Caesarius never seems to have wavered in his enthusiasm for the simple life and austere rules of the monastery.[2] In many ways he was a predecessor of our own saintly monk, Beda of Wearmouth and Jarrow.[3] The first to enter the Church for the sacred offices, he was the last to leave. He was conspicuous for his humility,[4] charity, obedience, and asceticism, and when he was appointed to the suburban monastery to take the place of the dead abbot, he so impressed upon others the duties of the day and the importance of the sacred offices, that his example was still remembered through the forty years of his episcopate, and his directions were still closely followed when his biographers were writing his life.

As a bishop, Caesarius regarded the monastery near Arles as specially his own. He gave the monks a rule[5] of life adapted for the coenobitic rather than the isolated system, and in many ways similar to that which

[1] Mansi, ix. iii.; Hefele, iv. 210. Leontius of Bordeaux is the first name on the list. Cyprian of Toulon is the fifth name, and, coming after metropolitans, he may have represented his aged friend Caesarius.

[2] *Vita Caesar.* i. 62. [3] Cf. Plummer's *Beda*, Oxford, 1896, 1. pp. ix-lxxx.

[4] *Vita Caes.* i. 12. Caesarius was the first to found a hospital for the sick in Gaul, cf. § 15; Arnold, p. 395; Villevieille, p. 346 "il fonda à Arles le premier hôpital des Gaules."

[5] For the Rules for Monks, cf. Arnold, p. 94, Holstenius, Paris edn., p. 56.

St. Benedict had already laid down. Lerins had been followed by Marseilles, and the rules of S. Honoratus and Cassian were combined for the benefit of the monastery which Cassian fostered at Arles. The rules he had enjoined on his monks were at first oral, and when late in life he instructed his nephew to commit them to writing, it is probable that additional observances had been introduced, the result of the experience which had been acquired.

Caesarius, however, was not content with his work for monks. He desired also to provide a similar retreat and home of prayer for the women whose lives must have been exposed to so many dangers in the evil days in which he lived. His sister Caesaria [1] had been to Marseilles, where she seems to have been imbued with the spirit of Cassian. It was probably soon after his consecration as archbishop that he summoned her to Arles, and appointed her the first abbess of the convent of St. John on the Aliscamp road. The monastery existed before the siege of Arles by the Burgundians and Franks, for his biographers tell us how it was injured [2] by the besieging forces, but it was then so new that its destruction was all the more grievous to him and to those who had laboured to erect it, and the church seems hardly to have been completed. The foundation was historic. It was the first convent erected in Gaul for women.[3] From it went forth to found other houses, women who had learnt the ideals of a monastic life. Eighty years afterwards it was the model on which St. Radegund began her work as abbess of the convent of the Holy Cross at Poitiers ;[4] and when Donatus, bishop of

[1] *Vita*, § 35.

[2] *Vita*, i. 28 " . . . monasterium quod sorori seu reliquis virginibus inchoaverat fabricari multa ex parte destruitur."

[3] For his Nuns' Rule cf. Holstenius, p. 668. Arnold, Excursus v. p. 500. In the life of Caesarius it is not said that Caesaria had been in a nunnery at Marseilles, but that she had gone there to make trial with a few companions of the discipline of a monastery. Cf. Arnold, 408.

[4] Greg. T. *H. F.* ix. 37, Letter of the seven bishops to St. Radegund. Messengers are to be sent to Arles for the rules.

Besançon, would found the convent of Jussamoutier,[1] it was to Arles he sent for the rules under which it should be governed.

The movement does not seem to have been opposed. There is a letter addressed by Pope Symmachus[2] to Caesarius full of commendation for his act, and confirming all he had done for the endowment of the new foundation. The letter was certainly not written earlier than 514, and since the convent seems after the siege to have been transferred from its original site outside the city and placed within and on the city walls, it is probable that the letter of the Pope was sent to establish the company of devout women in their new and safer abode. Caesaria his sister died in 524, and in her place he appointed another Caesaria who was probably his niece, and to her succeeded Liliola, the abbess mentioned by Gregory of Tours[3] as receiving the widow of Charibert and endeavouring to restrain her from her lawless life.

The secret of Caesarius' influence on his age is probably to be found in his power and industry as a preacher. His love of the poor and serious effort to relieve their wants and to ransom those who were captives, and his zeal for the monastic life, would have placed him among the great bishops of his age, but his zeal as a preacher placed him above them. In style his sermons[4] were not only founded on those of St. Augustine, they remind us of them. St. Augustine in many ways was his model, and his life-work was cast on not dissimilar lines. They are direct and simple and clear, and the rusticity which at times appears in them added probably to their popularity. His audiences were of three classes. There were those who came for serious instruction in the Christian Faith, there were

[1] Cf. *Vita S. Salabergae* (*Acta SS. O.S.B.* ii. 421).
[2] Cf. *Conc. Gall.* i. 879 "exsulto in Domino."
[3] Greg. T. *H. F.* iv. 27.
[4] Forty sermons are given in *Magna bibl. vit. pat.*, 1644, vol. ii. 265. Caesarius' writings and Rules for monks and nuns, Migne, *P. L.* vol. lxvii. Cf. Arnold, Excursus i. p. 435.

others who delighted to hear him explaining various portions of Holy Scripture, and there were the warriors and courtiers who came for curiosity and learnt to pray. He was not only an incessant preacher, but as we will see in the canons passed at the Councils over which he presided, he insisted on the priests in the country parishes taking this duty also upon them. Soon his fame was such that from all sides men came to be instructed by him, and to learn how best they could instruct their own flocks. His biographers give us a remarkable illustration of this zeal as a preacher, for they tell us[1] "he prepared suitable sermons for festivals and for particular places and occasions, and against the evil of drunkenness and immorality, against factiousness and hatred, pride and passion, resorting to lot-drawing and to soothsayers, against the pagan rites referred to in the Calendar, against augury and superstitious ideas concerning trees and fountains of water, and against other diverse kinds of crime, and thus he was always ready for any who came and sought his advice, and not only did he not refuse to help them, but he was wont to offer his help to them and pointed out to them what they should read. To places far apart, in France, in Gaul,[2] in Italy, in Spain, and in other provinces, he sent priests who should preach in the churches, so that casting off frivolous and degrading habits, after the example of the Apostles, men might be followers of good works." His sermons were certainly of a very homely and useful kind. Forty of them have come down to us and give us an idea of the religious needs of his age. There are two sermons on Lenten duties and five on the meaning of the Easter festival, two on self-examination and one on preparation for Holy Communion, one to monks and seven to priests in which also he urges them to preach. Moral strength, almsgiving, love of our enemies, love for parents, reality

[1] *Vita*, i. § 55.

[2] Note how the word Francia comes up in this century for the country of the Franks. Gallia is clearly the remnant of the five provinces in the south.

in worship, the duty of kneeling, the need of purity in our thoughts, the uselessness of almsgiving for those who at the same time commit adultery and rapine, are among those practical subjects on which he was wont to preach. A subject of great importance was that of the poor and why God allowed that there should be any poor in the world. Having preached on this subject he followed it up by a sermon suggested by what had taken place when he delivered it. "Last Sunday,"[1] he says, "dearest brethren, while our Eucharist was being celebrated the congregation was alarmed by a poor lunatic who was seized with a fit. No one, who sees such an unfortunate so seized by the devil, can feel anything but sorrow for him and perhaps a little alarm for themselves"—and so he gives them a sermon on the casting out of the devil from one who was possessed, and explained how sin is a real possessing of us by the evil one which must be cast out by the power of God.

We have referred to his zeal to promote a love for hymn-singing. It is probable that he himself had acquired this from his stay in the monastery of Lerins, and perhaps we may still use and sing some of those hymns which Caesarius taught to the citizens of Arles.[2] His rules for monks and for nuns we have already referred to, and an account is given of them in an earlier chapter.

The references concerning Caesarius by contemporary writers are not many. Avitus,[3] his brother archbishop

[1] Homily 23 "De erepto energumeno."

[2] Arnold, p. 514, gives us twelve hymns which may have formed part of Caesarius' Hymn-book for Arles:—1. Jam surgit hora tertia; 2. Jam sexta sensim volvitur; 3. Ter hora trina volvitur; 4. Hic est verus dies Dei; 5. Christe precamur annue; 6. Christe qui lux es et dies; 7. Rex aeterne Domine; 8. Magna et mirabilia; 9. Mediae noctis tempus; 10. Aeterne rerum conditor; 11. Te Deum laudamus; 12. Gloria in excelsis Deo. Cf. Clemens Blume, S.J., *Der Cursus S. Benedicti Nursini und die liturgischen Hymnen der 6.-9. Jahrhunderten*, Leipzig, 1908; and also Dr. Walpole's review of this book in *Journal T. S. X.* p. 143, which draws our attention to the strange disappearance of the earlier hymns and the substitution of later ones, and the details of this process, and an attempt to account for it will be found in this article.

[3] Avitus, *Ep. to Caesarius*, xi. p. 45 (*M. G. H.* vi. p. 12).

of Vienne, wrote a letter of introduction to him for a bishop Maximianus who was suffering from his eyes, and desired to go to Arles and there consult a surgeon. Ennodius[1] calls him the noblest pontiff in the service of Christ that he knows of, and referring to his boldness when in the presence of Theodoric at Ravenna, trusts that his example will be imitated. And, indeed, the influence of Caesarius did not cease with his death. Far off in Poitiers the poet-bishop Venantius Fortunatus[2] sang his praise, and Leobin of Chartres followed his example ; and in Albinus of Angers, Nicetius of Trier, and Florianus, abbot of Roman Moutier, we have unmistakable evidence of the effect which the story of the holy life of Caesarius had upon them.[3] On August 27, 542,[4] he died, in the seventy-second year of his age and the fortieth of his episcopate, and was buried in the basilica of St. Mary, which he himself had built. "Who,"[5] write his biographers, thinking of that sad bereavement, "who at his funeral service, whether religious or stranger, could chant the psalm for the tears that rolled down? All, Christians and Jews alike, anticipated one another in crying, Alas, alas, and daily it came more sadly, alas, for the world was no longer worthy of this so great a herald of Christ and so powerful an intercessor for us."

[1] Ennodius, *Ep.* 461 (9. 33) (*M. G. H.* vii.).

[2] Venant. Fortunatus, *Carm.* v. 2. 68 :

"ab urbe Genesi
regula Caesarii praesulis alma pii
qui fuit antistes Arelas de sorte Lerini
et mansit monachus pontificale decus."

Ibid. 3. 40, and viii. 1. 60 ; Leo's Ed., *M. G. H.* iv. 1.

[3] Arnold, p. 429.

[4] *Vita Caes.* ii. 48 ; cf. Gellert, *Caesarius von Arelate*, i. p. 47.

[5] *Vita* "vae, vae et cottidie amplius vae, quia non fuit dignus mundus diutius talem habere praeconem seu intercessorem."

CHAPTER XVI

GALLICAN COUNCILS IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

The sixth century of the Christian Era is, in Gaul, so much a century of transition, the severance of old links and the forging of new, that its importance is, at times, lost sight of. Each age contributes something to, and leaves its impression on, that which succeeds, and in the century before us a great deal of that which gave character to the Church in France in later times, had its origin. At the very beginning of our enquiry we become aware of this altered condition of things. The men who had been trained under the Empire have now passed away. Our former authorities fail us, and those which come to our assistance are so different in style and in tone of thought, that we cannot but notice it. How wide the distance between Prosper and Salvian and Sidonius Apollinaris and our new chief guide, Gregory bishop of Tours! The Respublica Romana has gone, and something else is being erected in its place, and it is the building of this new edifice that we have to watch. We are on the threshold of the Church in France, in character very different to the Church in Gaul. Men trained in the atmosphere of the Empire, and in the schools of the rhetors in Bordeaux, Arles, and Rome, give way to men trained in local monasteries or in the households of bishops. There is loss and substitution, and it is for us to enquire the nature and extent of that loss, and what was gained by that which was put in the vacant place. And we

are conscious first of all of an alteration in the political centre of gravity. The life of the people no longer revolves round the capital of the Empire or round Arles the seat of the Pretorian Prefect. The political centre has been moved northward, and though through the conflict of the Franks no one definite centre has as yet been found, yet it is clear that Lyons, Orleans, Soissons, and Metz will soon yield to a city that shall be central to all. Nor was the Church unaffected by this political revolution. Rome had lost its temporal power, and in Gaul the Church begins to organise itself. It waits neither for permission nor instruction, but true to its Catholic traditions, faces the difficult problem before it with courage and remarkable wisdom. The Bishop of Rome can advise, but cannot order, and the reverence of the Gallican bishops for the Apostolic See seems to grow in proportion as the power to coerce them wanes. It would be easy to pass over this early period of Frankish Church history as one of lawlessness, drunkenness, and decadence, and the stories which Gregory of Tours relates would justify such an opinion of the age, though they would not justify our neglect of it. The action of the Church in the face of all this evil demands our careful study. Frankish monarchs knew of no restraining power. The Catholic bishops in their kingdoms had no longer that support, as officials of the Empire, which had once protected them. The influence of the bishops of Rome over the minds of Frankish kings had yet to be created. The Church was indeed once more a missionary Church, though never once did she allow that she had lost ground. Of course the Franks were to her Christians, and she set about at once to make them so, and it is this remarkable courage of the Church, and the personal courage of the bishops, which won the Teutonic races to the New Faith. It will be our duty to trace this action of the Church, and to mark how wisely she won her way.

The seventeen provinces of which ancient Gaul had been composed, had to be welded into one in the Catholic Church and by the Catholic Faith. The Arian Visigoth and Burgundian, the nominally Catholic Frank, the Gallo-Roman, and the many other nationalities which had found a home in Gaul, had all to be brought into the obedience of Christ. There would naturally be many an unworthy bishop or priest, many a backsliding layman, many a heathen superstition still exerting an evil influence and dying hard, to check the progress of the Church and to weaken her influence, but to see that work growing and that influence increasing, offers us a lesson which is worth the learning.

Certainly among the foremost signs of this great change that was taking place, is the altered character of the Councils of the Church. With very few exceptions, and they only in reference to Vienne and Arles, they are national synods rather than councils of the Church. They are concerned with the immediate wants of France, and show little interest in Christendom. They are summoned by Frankish monarchs, and not unfrequently the canons that were passed were published by order of the monarch.[1] The Church in these provinces is managing its own affairs in its own way, and there is no evidence either that sanction for what was done had been obtained from Rome, or that the apostolic See was ever asked to permit the Council, or to endorse the decision.

The exception to this general fact concerns the two archbishoprics which alone can be said to have been created by Rome, Vienne, and Arles, though, of course, we may assume also that the decisions of those Councils

[1] The Council of Agde was certainly summoned with the consent of Alaric, and it is probable that he was present in the city at the time. Orleans I. was summoned by order of Chlodovech in 511, and Epaon, 517, by order of Sigismund of Burgundy. Orleans II. assembled in obedience to the order of Childebert, Chlotachar, and Theuderic in 533, and the great Synod of Orleans, 541, was summoned by Theudibert and Chlotachar and Childebert. Paris IV., 573, was summoned by Gunthram, and Paris V., 577, by Chilperik, and the two councils of Mâcon, 581 and 585, were both summoned by Gunthram of Burgundy.

over which Caesarius of Arles presided, were forwarded to Rome for the information, if not the approval of the Roman pontiff.

The Council of Carpentras, A.D. 527,[1] for instance, seems to have been merely the ordinary yearly synod of the province of Arles, and its decision, for it passed only one canon, which had reference to the endowment of the bishop's church, a local matter of no concern for the whole of the Gallican Church.

The gathering of bishops from beyond the Isère[2] which took place in 529 at Valence, was caused by the doubts which some of them had as to the orthodoxy of Caesarius on the questions of Divine Grace and human Free Will, and, as we have already seen, his ample explanation given at the Synod of Orange[3] in July of that year, not only satisfied the bishops of the two provinces of Vienne and Arles, but was also declared satisfactory by pope Boniface II.

The decisions of the Council of Vaison,[4] held in the autumn of this same year, are of a different character. They show a distinct desire to bring the forms of worship and the organisation of the diocese into line with that which prevailed in Italy. The injunction to say the Kyrie Eleison[5] frequently and to repeat the Ter Sanctus in the Mass, and to use the second portion of the Gloria, *sicut erat in principio*, is explained by the fact that such customs prevail in Italy.[6] Moreover, the

[1] Sirmondi, *C. Gal.* i. pp. 212 and 604; cf. Hefele's *Councils*, Eng. ed. iv. p. 143.

[2] Cf. the story of it as given by the deacon Cyprian, Mansi, viii. 723. The acts of the Council are not extant, but pope Boniface, after he had heard Caesarius' explanation of his views, rejected the views of the suspicious bishops.

[3] Cf. Noris, *Hist. Pelagiana*, ii. 33, and Mansi, viii. 710.

[4] Sirmondi, i. 225.

[5] Cf. a most valuable article by Mr. Edmund Bishop, "Kyrie Eleison: a liturgical consultation," which appeared in the *Downside Review*, 1899-1900. The evidence seems against the belief that this Canon of Vaison was observed generally in Gaul for at least a hundred years later. The Canon probably was merely obeyed in Arles. "Frequentius cum grandi affectu" are the words of the Council. Christians generally and for private use had repeated these words long before this date. They are probably of heathen origin (Arrian, *Diss. Epictet.* xi. 7). Here we have a definite date for their introduction into the ordered services of the Church.

[6] Canon v. "Quia non solum in sede apostolica sed etiam per totum orientem et totam Africam vel Italiam," etc.

order that the name of the pope for the time being should be inserted in the Canon, and read aloud at Mass, indicates the desire of Caesarius to keep himself in all details in close touch with the apostolic See. The Synod of Marseilles,[1] rendered necessary through the downfall of Contumeliosus, bishop of Riez, was of a private character, and the appeal of the condemned to Rome[2] is an instance of the survival of the conditions which had prevailed in the former century.

The national character of these French Councils is shown not only in the fact that they were summoned by the consent or by the order of the French monarch, in whose realm the assembly was held, but also in the way the scheme which Rome had outlined for the development of the Church in Gaul was ignored. In A.D. 514, Caesarius of Arles had been given by pope Symmachus the general oversight in religious matters of the whole of Gaul and Spain.[3] He was the Vicar of the apostolic See in the West, through whom the bishops of Rome could announce their will to the bishops of Gaul. In 545, the same honour was conferred by Vigilius on Auxanius of Arles,[4] and this fact was announced formally to all the bishops of all the provinces of Gaul. It is true that Aurelian is said to have been commended by Childebert, who was then in possession of Arles and the province south of the Durance, but in 546[5] Aurelian received the pallium from Rome, and Vigilius bids all bishops of Gaul to obey him. So once more in the case of Sapaudus, archbishop of Arles. In 557 Pelagius I.[6] made him the Vicar of the apostolic See for the whole of Gaul, and wrote at the same time to Childebert, to inform him that he had sent

[1] Hefele, *ut supra*, p. 181. He copies from the Freiburg *Zeitschrift für Theol.*, Jahrg. 1844, xi. 471.

[2] Cf. Letter of Agapetus I. to Caesarius, "Optaveramus frater," Sirm. *C. G.* i. 973.

[3] "Qui veneranda patrum," Mansi, viii. 227.

[4] Mansi, ix. 41 and 43 "Sicut nos pro" and "Quantum nos pro divina."

[5] Mansi, ix. 49.

[6] Mansi, ix. 725 "Majorum nostrorum."

the pallium to him. The Frankish monarchs, however, were not prepared to allow the Catholic Church within their realms to be regulated from without. Of the ten great synods of this century which may rightly be called national, the Archbishop of Arles was only once the president, *i.e.* at Agde in 506, where indeed it is not improbable that Alaric II., the Visigothic monarch, was himself present. Certainly the bishops assembled at Agde on the petition and invitation of Caesarius, but the meeting was at Agde and not at Arles, in order that Alaric might exercise the greater influence over it.

The next[1] distinctly national synod was that at

[1] The following are the Councils of the Church in France during the sixth century :—

506. Agde.—Caesarius of Arles president. Thirty-five bishops present. Sirm. *C. G.* i. 170.
511. Orleans.—Cyprian of Bordeaux president. Thirty-two bishops present. Mansi, viii. 350 ; Sirm. i. 177.
517. Agaunum.—Dedication of Martyrs Church. Greg. T. *H. F.* iii. 5 and 6 ; *Gall. Christiana*, xi. 4, 12.
517. Epaon.—Avitus of Vienne. Thirty-four bishops present. M. viii. 555, 567 ; Avitus, p. 165.
517. Lyons.—Viventiolus of Lyons. Ten bishops present. M. viii. 569.
524. Arles VII.—Caesarius of Arles. Thirteen bishops and four proxies. M. viii. 626.
527. Carpentras.—Caesarius. Sixteen bishops.
529. Orange.—Caesarius. Fourteen bishops. M. viii. 712 ; Sirm. *C. G.* i. 605.
529. Vaison.—Caesarius. Eleven bishops. M. viii. 725.
533. Marseilles.—Caesarius. Fourteen bishops. M. viii. 807.
533. Orleans II.—Honoratus of Bourges. Twenty-six bishops. M. viii. 836.
535. Clermont.—Honoratus of Bourges. Fifteen bishops. M. viii. 866 ; Sirm. *C. G.* i. 228.
538. Orleans III.—Lupus of Lyons. Nineteen bishops and seven proxies. M. ix. 21.
541. Orleans IV.—Leontius of Bordeaux. Thirty-seven bishops and twelve proxies. M. ix. 111.
549. Orleans V.—Sacerdos of Lyons. Forty-three bishops and twenty-one proxies. M. ix. 127.
549. Clermont II.—Hesychius of Vienne. Ten bishops present. M. iv. 135.
550. Toul.—Nicetius of Trier. M. ix. 147.
551. Paris II.—Sapaudus of Arles and twenty-eight bishops. M. ix. 739.
551. Elusa.—Aspasius of Elusa and eight others. Friedrich's *Drei unedirte Concilien*, 1867.
554. Arles VIII.—Sapaudus of Arles and eighteen other bishops. M. ix. 702.
556. Paris III.—Euphronius of Tours and fourteen other bishops. M. ix. 743.
563. Xaintes.—Leontius of Bordeaux. G. T. *H. F.* iv. 26 ; M. ix. 783.
567. Lyons II.—Nicetius of Lyons. G. T. *H. F.* v. 21 ; M. ix. 786.
567. Tours II.—Euphronius of Tours and nine other bishops. M. ix. 789.
573. Paris IV.—Philippus of Vienne and thirty-two others. G. T. vii. 17 ; M. ix. 866.
577. Paris V.—Forty-five bishops and perhaps Gregory of Tours presided. G. T. *H. F.* v. 19.

Orleans, summoned by Chlodovech himself in 511, just a short time before his death, and for the purpose of organising the Church in the whole of Gaul north of the Durance and the Cevennes. Arles was in the hands of the Goths, and we may be sure that Theodoric the Ostrogoth would never have allowed Caesarius to have gone to Orleans, even if, as does not appear, he had been summoned to it. It was the first Council of the French Church and over it Cyprian of Bordeaux presided, and the presence of thirty-two bishops at it probably indicates within a limit, the number of bishoprics then in existence in the kingdom of the Franks, since few bishops would have neglected the summons of Chlodovech. So again the Synod of Epaon, summoned by Sigismund the catholic king of Burgundy, 517, to organise the Church in his kingdom and to promote the discipline and well-being of the clergy, was purely national. There were thirty-four bishops present, some, doubtless, from Ostrogothic lands, and some from the kingdom of the Franks, and again Caesarius was passed over and Viventiolus archbishop of Lyons presided, though Avitus of Vienne was also present.

In the two Councils of Orleans II. and Clermont I., summoned, the former in 533 by Childebert, Chlotachar, and Theuderic, and the latter in 535 by Theudebert, Honoratus, archbishop of Bourges, presided, though Clermont was in the province of Sens; and in the great Council of Orleans IV. summoned by Childebert and Chlotachar, and at which there were thirty-seven bishops present and twelve others through their repre-

579. Châlons-sur-Marne.—G. T. *H. F.* v. 28 and iv. 43; Mansi, ix. 919.
581. Mâcon.—Priscus of Lyons and twenty others. M. ix. 931.
583. Lyons III.—Priscus of Lyons and seven others, and seven proxies. M. ix. 942.
585. Mâcon II.—Priscus of Lyons and forty-three others, and twenty proxies and twenty-six priests without sees. M. ix. 947.
586. Auxerre.—Annacharius. M. ix. 911.
587. Clermont.—G. T. *H. F.* vi. 38 and 39; M. ix. 973.
588. G. T. *H. F.* lx. 20.
589. Narbonne.—Migetius of Narbonne. M. ix. 1014; Gams ii. 2, p. 16.
589. Poitiers.—G. T. *H. F.* ix. 41.

sentatives, and among them bishops from the province of Arles, yet Leontius of Bourges presided. Caesarius was certainly ill and aged, but the whole policy of the Franks was for national independence. This is also shown at the fifth Council of Orleans in 549, summoned by Childebert of Paris, where forty-three bishops and twelve representatives took part in the deliberations, and Sacerdos, archbishop of Lyons, presided, Aurelian of Arles signing second on the list. The other three great national synods were summoned at the orders of Gunthram, who ruled over Burgundy. That at Paris, the fourth, in 573, was presided over by the Archbishop of Vienne, perhaps Philippus, though Sapaudus of Arles was present, and the two at Mâcon in 581 and 585 by Priscus, archbishop of Lyons, Sapaudus being present by proxy. The second of Mâcon saw a great increase of the episcopate, for there were present forty-three bishops and twenty representatives of bishops, and two bishops without sees.

It is clear, therefore, that the Church in France was organising itself on its own lines. There was no antagonism with Rome, but there was independence, and the objects which concerned the bishops, when they gathered at these Councils, were such as could only be effectively considered by local Councils. As we will show presently, objects of vital importance were discussed: the question of the right of sanctuary in the Church, a matter of the highest importance; monasticism in relation to the bishops of the diocese and the irrevocable nature of the vow taken by those who adopted it; the endowments of the diocese and the extent to which they should be administered by the bishop or be definitely assigned to particular churches; the marriage question and the restraints to be laid down concerning the marriage of relations; the Church in its relation to the Jews; the Festivals of the Church and the obligations that lay on Churchmen to observe them; such and many other like matters were considered, and whatever may

have been the character of individual bishops and priests as recorded by Gregory of Tours, it is from the decrees of these National Synods that we can perceive how zealously the Church in France was striving to resist the heathenism and worldliness that prevailed, and how courageously she spoke out even at the risk of the lives of those who had to proclaim her decrees.

We propose, therefore, to show from the decrees of these Councils the nature of that effort for organisation and development of which we have already spoken, and we will examine their evidence under the six heads of—1, Rules of discipline imposed on the clergy and the general organisation of the bishops and clergy in their dioceses; 2, The progress of the endowment of the Church; 3, The development of worship and the observance of the Festivals and Fasts of the Church; 4, The ordering of monasticism and its relation to the diocese; 5, The relationship of the Church and of Christians to the Jews and heretics who lived in the diocese; and 6, The Church in its effort against still existent heathenism.

Discipline.

1. The church had already accepted the rule of celibacy for the clergy. During this century the order is constantly repeated for the separation from their wives of those to be ordained. They are henceforth to live as if they were not married.[1] If at any time they should come together again they should be deposed from their office[2] and both should be put outside the Church. The suspicion was sometimes grave that men secretly lived with their wives. In order that the officers of the Church might not thus be suspected,[3] the arch-priest should always travel in company with another priest. If a bishop had a wife she must be regarded as a sister,[4] and must have a distinct establishment, and the bishop who had no wife was not to have any women in his household.[5] No one who had been married twice

[1] Orleans III. can. 2. [2] Agde, 506, can. 9.
[3] Tours II. can. 19. [4] Tours II. can. 12. [5] Tours II. can. 13.

could be ordained priest or even deacon,[1] nor could any one be accepted for Holy Orders[2] who had previously done penance. Clerics were not to wear secular garments or shoes or weapons,[3] and if they did not keep their hair short the arch-deacons were empowered to cut it for them.[4] An intemperate priest drew on himself excommunication for thirty days.[5] On no account were they to receive visits from strange women,[6] *i.e.* those not related to them,[7] and into their houses they could only receive their mothers, or sisters, or their wives from whom they had separated,[8] and who were prepared to live as sisters with them. No one could be ordained as deacon until he was twenty-five, and the Council of Agde[9] gave the age of thirty for those to be ordained bishops or priests. The Council of Arles, 524,[10] however, states that a bishop must be twenty-five, and a laymen chosen for the episcopate must be at least thirty and have made the vows of chastity before his consecration, and eight days were to be allowed to the laity in which they could object before the Ordination or Consecration took place. The Council of Epaon[11] decreed that bishops and priests were not to keep hounds, and the second Council of Mâcon[12] repeats the decree with the addition, "lest the poor should be bitten by them." The second Council of Orleans, 533,[13] decreed that unlearned persons and those who could not perform the sacrament of Baptism[14] were not to be ordained, an order which was repeated by the Council of Narbonne. A priest was not to live with his people in the world, but in his own house,[15] unless he has obtained the express permission of his bishop.

There is evidence also that the clergy were not altogether dependent on the bishop of the diocese

[1] Agde, can. 1.
[2] Arles, 524, can. 3.
[3] Mâcon I. can. 5.
[4] Agde, can. 20.
[5] Agde, can. 41.
[6] Orleans III. can. 4.
[7] Orleans III. can. 2.
[8] Tours II. can. 10.
[9] Agde, can. 17.
[10] Arles, 524, can. 1.
[11] Epaon, can. 4.
[12] Mâcon II. can. 13.
[13] Can. 16.
[14] Can. 11.
[15] Orleans II. can. 9.

for their maintenance. Bishops are forbidden to take fees for ordination.[1] Should any one be found to have purchased his ordination he is to be deposed.[2] It is at once sacrilegious and heretical to do so. Independence such as would allow of an appeal against his bishop[3] by a priest of the diocese to the diocesan synod is contemplated and expressly allowed, and clergy of independent means are clearly referred to in the decree of Clermont 535,[4] that priests and deacons not on the canon, or official list of diocesan clergy, *i.e.* to be maintained by the diocesan fund, who live in their private villas, and hold divine services in their private oratories, are to come into the city and celebrate there with their bishop the festival services of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday. No one is to obtain a bishopric by bribery[5] or the giving of presents, but must be elected to it by the clergy of the diocese and the laity and the Council of Orleans added, *i.e.* with the assent of the king.[6] A bishop must be consecrated in his own church.[7] In Armorica no Breton or Roman was to be consecrated a bishop without the consent of the metropolitan and the comprovincial bishops.[8] Bishops were not to pass over priests of their diocese who had led blameless lives for junior priests, and especially those who had come from other dioceses, but when they had to choose an archdeacon they were at liberty to select whoever they regarded as most suitable for the office. Bishops were not to intrude into the dioceses of other bishops[9] or to take away parishes which belonged to other dioceses, nor were they to receive clergy from other dioceses without the consent of their diocesans.[10] Unless they are ill,[11] all bishops must be careful to attend on Sundays the services in the church nearest to where they may be.[12]

[1] Orleans II. can. 3.
[2] Orleans II. can. 4.
[3] Orleans III. can. 26.
[4] Clermont, 535, can. 14.
[5] Orleans V. can. 10.
[6] Orleans IV. can. 5.
[7] Tours II. can. 9.
[8] Agde, can. 23.
[9] Lyons, 517, can. 4.
[10] Clermont, 535, can. 10.
[11] Orleans I. can. 31.
[12] Orleans II. can. 5.

When summoned for the burial of a colleague they are not to charge more than their necessary travelling expenses.[1] All controversies were to be settled by the bishops and the comprovincial bishops, and Christians were not to go before lay tribunals, and if any had a charge against a priest, he was not to have him arrested,[2] but to accuse him before his own bishop,[3] and bishops were themselves to be satisfied with the judgment of the metropolitan.[4] Archdeacons were to visit prisoners,[5] and bishops were to have the care of lepers, and to be hospitable.[6] Liberated slaves were the special care of the Church.[7]

Neglect of office or negligent discharge of duty was also the subject of several decrees. Clergy who were in charge of the private oratories of the great and failing to perform their duties as defined by the Church[8] were to be punished by the archdeacon. If generally a diocesan priest was negligent and would not obey the admonition of his bishop[9] his name was to be taken off the canon[10] and he was no longer to be maintained by the diocesan fund.[11] If he neglected his office through pride he was to be deposed.[12]

Endowments.

2. The endowments[13] of the Church had grown apace from the time of the Edict of Milan, and all we know of the Church in Gaul during the fifth century goes to show that it was not in want of means for the support of its bishops and clergy. Constantine, Valentinian I., Gratian, and Theodosius were all great benefactors, and the bishops who were recognised by the empire seldom seem to have been in want. Gaul, however, had been ravaged by barbarians, and occupied by Arian Visigoths and Burgundians and by half-

[1] Elusa, can. 4. [2] Mâcon II. can. 10. [3] Lyons II. can 1.
[4] Orleans V. can. 20. [5] *Ibid.* can. 21. [6] *Ibid.* can. 7.
[7] Agde, can. 39. [8] Orleans IV. can. 26. [9] Agde, can. 2.
[10] Orleans II. can. 14. [11] Orleans III. can. 11. [12] *Ibid.* can. 19.
[13] On the question of the endowments of the Church in France and the growth of the rural parishes cf. *Les Paroisses rurales du IV^e au XI^e siècle*, by Imbart de la Tour, Paris, 1900, and especially chapter ii. "Comment les églises rurales furent-elles établies?"

barbarian though nominally Catholic Franks. In Aquitaine certainly Catholic bishoprics had been suppressed, and we must assume also that their endowments were confiscated. The endowment of the Church, therefore, in the sixth century would demand reorganisation, and now that the whole of Gaul was nominally Christian and Catholic the work in the country districts would steadily grow. The information, therefore, which the Gallican Councils of the sixth century afford us on this point, is certainly of importance. It is probable that at the Council of Agde, A.D. 506, Caesarius' zeal for the poor was aimed at, when, in the sixth canon, it was decreed that gifts made to the bishop of the diocese are made to the Church of the diocese[1] and to him in his official capacity, and no bishops were at liberty to alienate the goods and furniture or slaves of the Church as if for the benefit of the poor, without the consent of two or three of the comprovincial bishops. To take back gifts once offered to the Church was to incur excommunication,[2] and on the death of a bishop there should be a careful discrimination between his personal effects and that property which belonged to the See,[3] and only the former were to be handed over to his relatives. With Orleans, A.D. 511, we are introduced to the new conditions of things, and while Chlodovech was still the Catholic monarch of France.[4] The gifts of the king to the Church, it was decreed, were to go for the repair of churches, the maintenance of the clergy, the support of the poor, and the redemption of slaves. Should any bishop be negligent in this distribution, he was to be censured by his comprovincial colleagues. Offerings made by the faithful of the produce of their fields, vineyards, and stock[5] were to be administered by the bishop; offerings made on the altar were for the parish priest, but one-third was to be given to the bishop. If the church in the bishop's city was

[1] Agde, can. 6. [2] *Ibid.* can. 4. [3] *Ibid.* can. 33.
[4] Orleans I. can. 5. [5] *Ibid.* can. 15.

adequately endowed, then the offerings sent up by other churches to the bishop were to be used by him for the repair of his churches and the maintenance of his clergy.[1] If his city church was not properly endowed, it had a first claim on these offerings, only the contributory rural parishes were not thereby to be left in want. In the city the bishop has full power in the administration of the residue, above maintenance of the clergy, of the Church fund.[2] In the rural parishes this was to be regulated by custom. Churches already erected or about to be erected were only to be recognised, *i.e.* as claiming a share in the diocesan maintenance fund,[3] with the consent of the bishop. Holy relics were not to be placed in private oratories[4] unless a priest was attached to them who could officiate in them, nor could a priest be specially so attached unless the founder of the oratory shall provide a maintenance fund for the priest. If a bishop assigns certain funds belonging to the Church to one of his priests for his maintenance, he is not to take an interest out of it.[5] In the early part of the sixth century it was surely wise, as did the Council of Orleans, A.D. 511, to decree that a claimant to property said to belong to the Church was not on that account to be excommunicated. No cleric had power to sell the goods of the Church, and any such sale was invalid.[6] Should some great potentate hand over goods of the Church to a cleric he cannot possess such without the consent of his bishop;[7] and should one accept from the king as a personal gift that which is the property of the Church,[8] he is excommunicated if he does not at once surrender it.[9] However long Church property may have been enjoyed by a priest, and even with the consent of the king, it cannot become his personal property; and those who take for themselves property bequeathed in writing to the Church[10] are

[1] Carpentras, can. 1.
[2] Orleans III. can. 5.
[3] Orleans I. can. 17.
[4] *Ibid.* can. 25.
[5] *Ibid.* can. 23.
[6] *Ibid.* can. 6.
[7] Orleans IV. can. 25.
[8] Paris III. can. 1; Clermont, 535, can. 5.
[9] Epaon, can. 12.
[10] Clermont, can. 13.

excommunicated unless they give it up. The faithful are constantly to have the duty of paying tithes pressed upon them.[1] The rich desiring a parochia on their estate[2] must provide a church and a sufficient maintenance for a priest.

Public worship.

3. Our general ignorance as to the forms of service and the rules that were laid down for public worship gives a special value to the reference made on the subject in these sixth-century councils. It was Caesarius' desire to promote uniformity in his province, and at Agde[3] he laid down that the Divine Service should be celebrated in the same manner everywhere. After the antiphons the collects were to be said by the bishop or priest. The morning and evening hymns were to be sung daily. At the close of matins and vespers, which are here called Missae, after the hymns, *capitella ex Psalmis*, or extended versicles and responses in the words of the psalms,[4] were to be said, and the people should be dismissed after the vesper prayer with the benediction given by the bishop. Twice it is decreed that the fast before Easter was to be for forty and not fifty days,[5] and once it is further decreed that Christians were to fast on Saturdays and not on Sundays. At Mâcon in A.D. 581 it was ordered that after St. Martin's Day (Nov. 11),[6] and until the festival of Christmas, Monday, Wednesday and Friday were to be observed as fasts, and the Holy Sacrifice was to be offered as in Lent. All churches were to observe the Rogation Days,[7] and on these days slaves were not to be compelled to work in the fields. Should any clergy fail to take part in the processions he was to be punished.[8] An extension of these early summer processions was decreed at Lyons in A.D. 567,[9] when it was ordered that on the first week of the ninth month, before the first Sunday of the month,

[1] Mâcon II. can. 5. [2] Orleans IV. can. 33. [3] Agde, can. 30.
[4] Cf. Martene, *De ritibus Ecclesiae*, iv. 8; Amalarius, *De Eccl. off.* iv. 3.
[5] Orleans I. can. 24; Orleans IV. can. 2.
[6] Mâcon I. can. 9. [7] Orleans I. can. 27.
[8] *Ibid.* can. 28. [9] Lyons, can. 6.

processions for intercessions were to be held as they are held before the Festival of the Ascension.

Much was made of the duty of Christians to join in a united Eucharist on the great festivals of the Church. All were to attend the parochial festival. Services might be held in the private oratories at all times except on Easter, Christmas, Epiphany, Ascension, Pentecost, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and the other great festivals.[1] No one was allowed to keep Easter in his own villa on the three great festivals unless he was ill,[2] and laymen of noble descent must request the bishop's benediction at Christmas and at Easter.[3] Laymen were not to keep Easter out of the city, and in his own church in the city the bishop was to celebrate the Holy Eucharist on these two festivals of Easter and Christmas.[4] This festal service also was to take place at 9 a.m., so as to allow all priests in the neighbourhood to assemble together for vespers in the church where the bishop officiates.[5]

Altars that were not of stone were not to be anointed.[6] Priests were not to say mass unless they were fasting,[7] and after fraction the portions of the consecrated host[8] were to be solemnly arranged on the altar in the form of a cross, and not in any way to suit the fancy of the priest.[9] During the divine Office the laity were not to stand with the clergy near the altar.[10] The space between the railings and the altar was for the choirs and the singing clerks.[11] The *oblationes defunctorum* might be made for criminals who were executed, but not for suicides. No corpses, not even that of the late bishop, were to be covered with the corporal from the altar or with any church furniture.[12] Neither the Eucharist nor the Kiss of Peace were to be given to a corpse.[13] The observ-

[1] Agde, can. 21. [2] Orleans I. can. 25. [3] Epaon, can. 35.
[4] Orleans IV. can. 3. [5] Orleans III. can. 14. [6] Epaon, can. 26.
[7] Mâcon II. can. 6.
[8] Cf. Hammond's *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 1878, p. 341, where he gives us a representation of the Mozaratic arrangement.
[9] Tours II. can. 3. [10] *Ibid.* can. 4. [11] Orleans II. can. 15.
[12] Clermont I. can. 386. [13] Auxerre, can. 12.

ance of Sunday is more than once emphasised, not merely as a day of freedom from work,[1] but also as a day to be hallowed by worship.[2] On every Sunday the faithful are to make on the altars their oblations of bread and wine.[3] The priest was to be fasting when he celebrated the Eucharist.[4] The wine for the Eucharist was to be the juice of the grape.[5] All converts and children were to be baptized on Easter Eve,[6] except in case of dire necessity created by sickness.[7] From Maundy Thursday for six days there was to be a cessation of work in the fields. At Vaison[8] and at Narbonne[9] the Gloria is ordered to be said after each psalm,[10] and in addition to the Ambrosian hymns others might be sung at the services if they were worthy of being used.[11] The parochial clergy were to receive the canon from the bishop.[12] Before Epiphany they were to enquire from him when Lent would begin, and in the middle of Lent they were to take care to obtain from him the chrism for the baptisms on Easter Eve.[13] At Orleans[14] in A.D. 549 the Church in France showed its orthodoxy in condemning by its first canon the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies, and at Tours[15] professed its zeal for St. Martin in antiphons and psalms to be sung in his honour during summer and winter.

Monasticism.

4. In a previous chapter we saw how zealous Caesarius of Arles was in the cause of monasteries. Not only did he live the life of a monk while he carried out the duties of the archbishopric, but he did his best to promote men who had been trained as monks, and he was the first to provide for women the same austere life and secluded existence as more than a hundred years earlier had been provided for men. Gregory of Tours as the successor of St. Martin has much to tell us incidentally of monasticism. During the sixth century it took root

1 Mâcon II. can. 1.
2 Narbonne, can. 3.
3 Mâcon II. can. 4.
4 *Ibid.* can. 6.
5 Orleans IV. can. 4.
6 Mâcon II. can. 3.
7 *Ibid.* can. 2.
8 Vaison, can. 5.
9 Narbonne, can. 2.
10 Tours II. can. 23.
11 Orleans IV. can. 6.
12 Auxerre, can. 2.
13 *Ibid.* can. 6.
14 Orleans V. can. 1.
15 Tours II. can. 18.

again in France, and he gives us the names of thirty[1] *monasteria* in the Frankish kingdom. It is clear, therefore, that the monastic movement had recovered, and had begun to grow at a more rapid rate than it did in the previous century. There were also perhaps monasteries in the cities, especially the bishop's cities, as those of Montmajeur and the convent of St. John the Baptist for women at Arles, and in addition Gregory used the terms *coenobium*[2] and *cellulae* for those establishments

[1] The following are the places described by Gregory of Tours as *monasteria* :—

Agaunum	S. Maurice en Valais.
Aninsula	S. Calais.
Beati Aredii monasterium	S. Yrieix.
„ Aviti „	S. Avit au Perche.
„ Hospicii „	S. Sospis.
„ Maxentii „	S. Maixent.
„ Papulae „	
„ Portiani „	S. Pourçain.
Candidobrum	
Chrono	Cournon.
Columbarium	Colombier.
Condatisco	S. Claude.
Gurtho	Gourdon.
Insula Barbara	L'Île Barbe.
Latta	
Laucounum	S. Lupicin.
Lirinum	Lérins.
Locogiacus	Ligugé.
Majus monasterium	Marmoutiers.
Malliacus	Maillé, *hodie* Luynes.
Manatum	Menat.
Melitum	Méallet.
Miciacus	S. Mesmin de Micy.
Onia	Heugnes.
Pauliacus	S. Sernin (Aude).
Pontiniacus	
Randanum	Randan.
Reomatis	Moutiers Saint Jean.
Romani monasterium	Romainmotier.
Senaparia	Sennevières.
Tausiriacus	Toiselay.

Cf. Longnon, *Géographie de la Gaule au VI^e siècle*, p. 21, etc.

To these we must add the two abbeys at Trier, St. Maximin's and St. Matthias—"die späteren Benediktiner Abteien S. Maximin und S. Matthias in Trier, die wahrscheinlich gegen Ende des 7ten Jahrhunderts die Benediktinerregel annahmen, bestanden als Klöster schon lange vorher. Ihren Ursprung setzt man sogar ins 4ten Jahrhundert. Sie bilden demnach die ältesten Klöster Deutschlands" (P. J. Kreuzberg, *Geschichtsbilder aus dem Rheinlande*, 1906, p. 41). Cf. also St. Aug. *Conf.* viii. 6.

[2] The "coenobium sancti Aredii" was the origin of the monastery at Athanum, which gave rise to the town Saint-Yrieix and the "cellulae" of S. Friardus, Senochus, Euscius, and Patroclus, to the communes of Celle (Allier), Selles-sur-Cher (Loir-et-Cher), Senoch (Indre-et-Loire), and Besné in the department of Loire Inférieure.

which were undoubtedly monastic. We look then with special interest to the references during this century to monastic institutions which we find in the decrees of the Councils. Unlike the lives of the saints of this period, which were written for the most part after the eighth century, or which have been largely re-edited in subsequent times, they give us contemporary evidence of the existence of monasteries, and show us that convents for women must have increased considerably during the century to allow for so many references to them in these canons of the Church. The series of references begin with the decrees for which Caesarius was largely responsible. He was zealous in the cause, yet the cause must be subordinate to the regular organisation of the decrees. At Agde[1] two decrees were passed ordering that new convents or monasteries were not to be built without the consent of the bishop of the diocese, who was also to approve of the locality, and that convents for women were not to be in close proximity to the convents for men. Monks were also not to be ordained without the consent of the abbot of the house to which they belonged,[2] nor were strange monks to be received into other monasteries unless they brought with them commendatory letters.[3] Abbots could not have charge of two monasteries,[4] they were under the bishop of the diocese and must assemble yearly to take council with him,[5] and obedience must be the rule of the abbot as it was the rule of the monk.[6] Monks were not to use shoes nor to carry pocket-handkerchiefs,[7] and should a monk leave his monastery and marry he could never afterwards be ordained to any office in the Church.[8] Gifts made to abbots or to bishops were not for themselves,[9] they became the property of the monastery ; nor could abbots absent themselves from their monasteries for any length of time without the consent of the bishop.[10]

[1] Agde, can. 27, 28. [2] *Ibid.* can. 27. [3] *Ibid.* can. 38.
[4] Epaon, can. 9. [5] Arles V. can. 2. [6] Orleans I. can. 19.
[7] *Ibid.* can. 20. [8] *Ibid.* can. 21. [9] Orleans IV. can. 11.
[10] Arles V. can. 3. Epaon = Yenne, W. of I. du Bourget.

They could not alienate any property of their house without permission of the bishop.[1] Neither monks nor abbots were allowed to go to marriages or to act as god-parents.[2] A monk could not leave his monastery and build himself a cell without the consent of his bishop.[3] Women were not to be allowed to take the veil until they were forty years of age,[4] and only women of approved character were to be received.[5] They were never to enter a men's monastery,[6] and if a priest entered a women's monastery to celebrate mass for them or to perform any other office, he was to leave immediately after,[7] and only men of mature age and known probity were to be allowed to perform this service.[8] If girls wished of their own free will to enter a convent, or they had been offered to the convent by their parents, they must remain a whole year in the house wearing the dress in which they entered. Should they change from house to house and not abide in the same, then their probation in the dress in which they entered must be for three years. If they go out and marry, they and their husbands are excommunicated,[9] and so also are nuns who desert their convents.[10] He who carries off a dedicated nun[11] and marries her is to be excommunicated for life.[12] The bishops at the first council of Mâcon had a serious case to consider, the details of which we can only conjecture.[13] A nun, Agnes, had given largely of her property to magnates, in order to secure their protection in her disorderly life. She and they who received her gifts are declared to be excommunicated.

Jews.

5. Among the legacies which the empire bequeathed to the Frankish nation was the motley character of the inhabitants of the great cities of Gaul. As formerly in Marseilles, Arles, Lyons, and Bordeaux, so also in the

[1] Orleans III. can. 23. [2] Auxerre, can. 24, 25.
[3] Epaon, can. 10. [4] Agde, can. 19. [5] Epaon, can. 38.
[6] Tours II. can. 16. [7] Epaon, can. 38. [8] Orleans V. can. 19.
[9] Mâcon I. can. 12. [10] Lyons III. can. 3. [11] Orleans III. can. 16.
[12] Paris III. can. 5. [13] Mâcon I. can. 19.

sixth century in Orleans and Paris, Greeks, Syrians, and Jews were found side by side with the Gallo-Romans, Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks. Gregory of Tours[1] tells us how numerous the Jews were at Orleans, and how they vied with the most loyal in welcoming Gunthram of Burgundy into that city in A.D. 585. They were not, however, popular, and there had been outbreaks of the Christians against them. Gunthram understood the hollowness of their welcome to him in Orleans, and told Gregory the next day that they had acclaimed his arrival in the hope that he would rebuild for them the synagogue which the Christians had destroyed. The story of Priscus the Jew and the jeweller of Paris,[2] who had a theological discussion at Nogent-sur-Marne with Gregory of Tours and Chilperik in A.D. 582, is well known. The next year, since the force of the argument had not converted the Jew, Chilperik tried the effect of imprisonment on him, and soon after he was murdered in the open street.[3] Gregory tells us also of the zeal of Avitus when he became Bishop of Clermont.[4] He found his episcopal city full of Jews, and he gave them the option of conversion or exile. He also has a story concerning the transference of the remains of St. Hospitius to Lerins.[5] The cleric who was in charge of them placed them on a ship of Nice that traded with Marseilles. The ship was owned and sailed by Jews, and this fact had induced the cleric to keep secret the nature of her burden until the ship by some mysterious attraction had been drawn to Lerins instead of going on directly to Marseilles. That there were many Jews in the province is clearly shown by the letters of Gregory the Great to Archbishop Virgilius of Arles and Bishop Theodore of Marseilles.[6] The Jews had appealed to him against the pressure put upon them to give up their faith,[7] and the Bishop of Rome wrote to deprecate a proselytising movement which could not be

[1] *H. F.* viii. 1. [2] *H. F.* vi. 5. [3] *H. F.* vi. 17.
[4] *H. F.* v. 11. [5] *De gloria confess.* 97. [6] Greg. Magn. *Epp.* i. 47.
[7] Migne, *P. L.* lxxvii. 510.

defended by sincere Christians. From the Councils of this century we obtain yet further evidence of this conflict and rivalry of the Jews with the members of the Christian Church. Christians were on no account to take their meals with Jews.[1] If they did so they ran the risk of excommunication.[2] Jews were not to be judges over a Christian population,[3] nor were they to be the farmers of the taxes which Christians had to pay.[4] If a Jew succeeded in making a proselyte he was to lose all his slaves,[5] and should he himself desire to become a Christian he should remain at least for eight months in the position of a catechumen.[6] Marriages of Jews with Christians were expressly forbidden.[7] If a Jew had a slave who was a Christian any Christian could buy him for 12 solidi, and Christians were not to possess Jews as slaves.[8] To abstain from riding on a Saturday, or to refrain from all work on the decoration of one's house or person, was a Jewish custom which should not be imitated by Christians.[9] There was an ordinance of Childebert which is twice repeated by Church Councils, that from Maundy Thursday until over the Easter festival[10] Jews were not to mingle with Christians or to show themselves in the streets of the city, and at any time should they meet a priest in the street they were to show him due respect.[11] They were allowed by the Council of Narbonne to bury their dead according to Jewish custom, but there was to be no chanting of psalms at such funerals.[12] Should a Christian who is the slave of a Jew flee for refuge to a church and plead to be redeemed from the hold his master has on him, he is to be purchased by the Church for itself,[13] nor is the Jew to receive him back from his refuge in the church unless he pay also a ransom for him above the 12 solidi of the law.[14]

[1] Agde, can. 34. [2] Mâcon I. can. 15.
[3] *Ibid.* can. 13. [4] Clermont I. can. 8. [5] Orleans IV. can. 31.
[6] Agde, can. 34. [7] Orleans II. can. 19. [8] Mâcon I. can. 16.
[9] Orleans III. can. 28. [10] Orleans III. can. 30. [11] Mâcon I. can. 14.
[12] Narbonne, can. 9. [13] Orleans III. can. 13. [14] Orleans IV. can. 30.

6. But the Church had to face much more serious dangers than those created by the intercourse of Christians with the Jews. The Burgundians and the Visigoths had been Arians, and it was unlikely that with the conversion of Sigismund and the death of Alaric, Arianism had come to an end. What its fate was we can only conjecture. The notices are too few and incidental to allow of anything more, but such as we have demand our attention. Nor again can we suppose that the Church had as yet converted Gaul from its ancient heathenism. With heathen Franks occupying all the northern parts of the country, and with settlements of Alans and Huns in diverse parts of the south, the old superstitions would receive encouragement, and the veneer of Christian doctrine would be rubbed off. At Agde the Church threatened exclusion from Christian privileges to all clergy and laity who took part in that which was termed *sortes sanctorum*,[1] and at Narbonne, towards the end of the century, the heathen feastings on Thursday were strictly forbidden.[2] At Orleans, both in A.D. 533 and in A.D. 541, reference was made to this danger.[3] Catholics who became idolatrous, or who ate food offered to idols, were to be removed from their membership in the Church;[4] and should those who have been baptized, and in spite of warnings, take part in the feast at an idol sacrifice, they were to be excommunicated.[5] At Tours, in A.D. 567, we are told that some still hold fast the old error that they should honour the 1st of January; others on the festival of the See of St. Peter present meat-offerings to the dead, and partake of meats which have been offered to demons; others reverence certain rocks, or trees, or fountains.[6] The priests should root out these heathen superstitions. Heathen.

It is at the Council of Orleans, A.D. 511, that we have our first notice of the Arians. The 10th canon runs Heretics.

[1] Agde, can. 42.
[2] Narbonne, can. 15.
[3] Orleans II. can. 20.
[4] Orleans IV. can. 20.
[5] *Ibid.* can. 15.
[6] Tours, can. 22.

as follows :[1] "If heretical clergy of their own free will return to the Church, as, for instance, from the Arian Goths, they are to receive the clerical office of which the bishop shall think them worthy, and for which he shall impose on them ordination by the laying on of his hands. Heretical churches shall also be consecrated in a similar manner to that in which Catholic churches after probation are reconciled."

At the assembly at Epaon this question was again discussed. The king, Sigismund, must have had a difficult task to bring round the followers of his Arian father, and all the influence of the Archbishops of Vienne and Lyons was on this occasion thrown into the scale.[2] Friendly intercourse between Catholics and Arians was condemned. If a higher cleric should take part in a banquet given by a heretical cleric, he should be shut out from the communion of the Church for a year, and a cleric of inferior rank doing the same was to be beaten. Should a heretic when sick desire to be admitted into the Catholic Church, he might receive from a priest the chrism ; but if he recovered from his sickness, he was to receive it from the bishop himself.

An important canon concerning heretical churches shows that feelings ran higher in Burgundy than at Orleans. In the 33rd canon[3] it was decreed that, since the churches of the heretics were so greatly abhorred, they were not capable of being cleansed and used as Catholic churches, and so they must never be adopted for sacred use. Only when such churches were originally Catholic churches, and had been taken forcibly from the Catholics by the Arian Burgundians, might the transference be allowed and their reconciliation effected.

We have so far seen the Church in France organised on its own lines and striving to lay down rules for the welfare of the Christians in France. There is, however, another aspect which must not be lost sight of, and

[1] Orleans I. 10. [2] Epaon, can. 15, 16, and 33. [3] Epaon, can. 33.

which shows that, alone and unaided by the influence of the bishops of Rome, the Church in France had the courage to correct itself and to face even the wrath of the Frankish monarchs.

In the same year in which the Burgundian Council of Epaon was held, Viventiolus, archbishop of Lyons, summoned the nine bishops of his province to assemble at Lyons and denounce Stephen, keeper of the king's treasure in Burgundy, who had offended the Church by a marriage with Palladia the sister of his late wife. Stephen was definitely condemned, and the bishops decided that, in the event of the king giving his protection to his officer, all the bishops of the province were to retire to monasteries,[1] and that none were to come out until the king again gave peace to the Church by his acceptance of this condemnation.[2] So we find Contumeliosus of Riez condemned at Marseilles, in A.D. 533, for moral offences, and Salonius of Embrun and Sagittarius of Gap, for similar reasons, condemned at Lyons,[3] and again at Châlon-sur-Marne,[4] their only supporters being the distant bishops of Rome.[5] The bishops came together at Toul in A.D. 550 to protect Nicetius, bishop of Trier,[6] who was in extreme danger, owing to his boldness in denouncing the sins of the great.[7] In A.D. 551 the bishops at Paris deposed Sassaric for moral offences and sent him to a monastery, as in A.D. 577 they refused, regardless of the wrath of Chilperik, to condemn Praetextatus of Rouen for his irregular marriage of Brunichildis to Merovaeus, the son of Chilperik.[8] Their independence, however, is perhaps most conspicuously shown in the act of Leontius of Bordeaux, who, in A.D. 563, summoned a Council at Xaintes,[9] and not only refused Emeritus, the bishop whom Chlotachar I. had ordered to be consecrated Bishop of Xaintes without the consent and in the absence of the metropolitan,

[1] Lyons 517. All six canons refer to this matter and to joint action by the bishops.
[2] Mansi, viii. 807.
[3] Mansi, ix. 786.
[4] *Ibid.* 920.
[5] Sirm. *C. G.* i. 975.
[6] Mansi, ix. 147.
[7] *Ibid.* 739.
[8] *Ibid.* 875.
[9] *Ibid.* 783.

but consecrated in his place Heraclius, a priest of Bordeaux, and sent him to Charibert of Paris for confirmation.[1] Charibert was furious at this disregard of his father Chlotachar's action, and sent Heraclius into exile, and ordered Emeritus to be restored, and Leontius to be heavily fined; yet the act itself proves clearly the courage of the bishops in facing these dangers and striving with all their power to carry out the decrees of the Catholic Church.

We have already referred to the influence of Rome on the Church of the new kingdom of the Franks. Pelagius became Bishop of Rome in A.D. 555. His orthodoxy was for long suspected, and he was at once opposed by the bishops of Tuscany. Among the unexpected acts of the French monarchs may be classed that of Childebert of Paris,[2] who wrote to Pelagius expressing doubts as to his orthodoxy, and demanding from him a confession of his faith. This strange demand Pelagius does not seem to have resented, though he expressed his regret that Childebert should have had any doubts, and he sent him such a statement as would prove his orthodoxy, but wrote at the same time to Sapaudus, informing him of his surprise that the French king should have formed such an opinion about him, and desired from the Archbishop of Arles to learn the effect of the letter and doctrinal statement he had sent to Childebert.[3] Whether the Frankish king had heard of the subtleties of the Three Chapters, or had been informed of the irregular character of Pelagius' consecration, does not appear, but to the rising nation of the Franks, it is clear that the influence of the apostolic See was not great. A letter in A.D. 584 to Aunar, bishop of Auxerre, congratulating him on the increase of the number of churches which were being built in France shows Pelagius II.'s interest without being evidence of any authority.[4]

[1] Greg. T. *H. F.* iv. 26.
[2] Sirm. *C. G.* i. 1099.
[3] Mansi, ix. 721.
[4] *Ibid.* 906.

Revival of influence of Roman See.

It was, however, with the episcopate of Gregory the Great that the influence of the apostolic See was once more impressed on the Church in France. It is now distinctly a spiritual influence. The link which afterwards bound the bishops of Rome to the Frankish monarchs had not as yet been forged. Gregory wrote with a full sense of the responsibility and authority which attached themselves to his words as the occupant of the See of St. Peter. He valued that inheritance as he should, and his estimate of its weight was tacitly accepted by those to whom he wrote. His letters to France fall naturally into three classes—those that concerned the patrimony of St. Peter, chiefly in the south of Gaul, for the management of which he was responsible; those written to kings and bishops in France that he might prepare and facilitate the passage of St. Augustine, Laurentius, and Mellitus to England; and those which bore on the Church in France, and which especially show the recovery of some of that pre-eminent influence which the bishops of Rome exercised in the fifth century on the bishops in Gaul. We have already referred to Gregory's letter to Virgilius of Arles and Theodore of Marseilles on the subject of the forcible baptism of Jews in the province of Arles. At the beginning of this correspondence Childebert II. reigned over Austrasia and Burgundy, and Chlotachar II. over Neustria. Childebert died in A.D. 596 and his kingdom was divided between his two sons Theuderic II. and Theodobert, Theuderic being king of Burgundy and Theodobert king of Austrasia. Behind these two young kings, however, was the powerful influence of Brunichildis, their grandmother, the widow of Sigibert. In A.D. 596 Gregory wrote three letters concerning the passage of St. Augustine into England.[1] Candidus was his steward in Gaul and received orders to aid the timid band of missionaries and to supply them with that which was necessary for their journey. Candidus has also to

[1] Greg. *Mag. opp.*; Migne, *P. L.* lxxviii.; Regist. vi. 5, 6, 7.

obtain interviews with Brunichildis and Childebert to explain the reason for these Italian monks passing northwards into Neustria, and so Gregory wrote to both these Frankish authorities in terms of graceful compliment, and Childebert he endeavours to win by the gift of a key of St. Peter's. In the next year, *i.e.* A.D. 596, Theuderic and Theodobert were reigning [1] and Gregory writes again to them and to their grandmother commending St. Augustine and begging for him their assistance, and to Brunichildis he sends relics of St. Peter and St. Paul.[2] For the same reason, and as a request, he writes also to Aetherius of Lyons, Virgilius of Arles, Desiderius of Vienne, Syagrius of Autun, Protasius of Aix, and also to Arigius, who held the proud and almost obsolete title of Patrician.[3]

The way had thus been opened for direct communication with the bishops of France, and now his correspondence becomes more frequent. Regardless of the ancient lines on which the Church in Gaul had begun to organise itself, in A.D. 597 he sends to Brunichildis the pallium for Syagrius, bishop of Autun, which, he said, had been requested for him by King Theuderic.[4] Two years afterwards he is much concerned about the Church in Gaul,[5] and writes to Theuderic, Theodobert, and Brunichildis asking them to allow a council of the Frankish bishops to be called together under the presidency of Syagrius.[6] Then in A.D. 601 he writes to Virgilius of Arles bidding him to hold a synod of his provincial bishops,[7] and to Aetherius of Lyons he also writes on the same subject, and orders him to send to Rome the ancient charters of his church in order that he may confirm the privileges of the Church of Lyons, telling him at the same time that transcripts of these privileges could not be discovered in the muniment rooms at Rome.[8] He says also that the history and

[1] Reg. vi. 49. [2] Reg. vi. 55.
[3] Reg. vi. 50 B.; Beda, *H. E.* i. 24; vi. 51, 52, 53, 55.
[4] Reg. viii. 4. [5] Reg. ix. 213, 215. [6] Reg. xi. 38.
[7] Reg. xi. 40. [8] Reg. xi. 41.

writings of Irenaeus are not to be found with him, and concludes by a commendation of the monks who are passing through Lyons on their way to England. For the same purpose he writes also to Menna, bishop of Toulon, Severus of Marseilles, Lupus of Châlon, Aigulfus of Metz, Simplicius of Paris, Melantius of Rouen, Licinius of Le Mans, since Laurentius and Mellitus were on their way again to England.[1]

In this same year he again exerts his influence for the good of the Church in France.[2] To Arigius, bishop of Vap, he writes bidding him do all he could for the suppression of simony. To Brunichildis he sends a request that he may be allowed to send a legate who may have power to coerce the Frankish priests who live evil lives.[3] Theuderic, too, he begs that he will give orders for the assembling of a synod to stamp out simony, and suggests that Syagrius should preside over it,[4] and Brunichildis also is requested to consent to this proposal,[5] and in the following year he writes to praise Theuderic for the aid he had given his grandmother Brunichildis, in the accomplishment of that which she had done out of love for God.

Thus at the end of the century that influence which had been checked through the transformation of Gaul into France is felt again. All thought, however, of imperial edicts has now disappeared. The influence is the spiritual influence of the apostolic See, and wielded as it was by one of the noblest and greatest men of his age, wielded by one whose one desire to use it was for the welfare and peace of the nations under the sovereignty of Christ, that influence was recognised and accepted, and the Church in France in a century of her greatest need was guided and corrected and enormously uplifted through the moral power which the Churchmen in France derived from it.

[1] Reg. xi. 42. [2] Reg. xi. 46. [3] Reg. xi. 47.
[4] Reg. xi. 49. [5] Reg. xiii. 9.

CHAPTER XVII

SAINT COLUMBANUS OF LUXEUIL

THE labours of Saint Columbanus[1] in the east of France form an episode in the history of the Church which was quite independent and at times out of harmony with the ordinary and therefore less conspicuous work of the parochial clergy and diocesan bishops. At the end of the sixth century the Church in Gaul was fairly organised on a territorial basis. Not

[1] The life of Columbanus was written by Jonas, a monk of Bobbio, about the year 643. He entered Bobbio in A.D. 618 when Attala was abbot and three years after the death of Columbanus. The work was undertaken at the request of Bertulf, the third abbot of Bobbio and the monks of that monastery, and Jonas went to France in 640 to collect materials for his effort. The work consists of two books, and in the second Jonas tells of the acts of the two abbots, Attala and Bertulf, who succeeded Columbanus at Bobbio, and of Eustatius, the second abbot of Luxeuil. The first book was probably written at Evoriac, and in it he gives us some account of the celebrated monastery of Faramoutier founded by Borgondofara, the daughter of Count Agneric of Meaux. The life has been published in *M.G.H., Vitae SS. aevi Merov.* vol. ii., edited by Krusch, and a very convenient edition, with critical app. by W. Levison, has been published *in usum scholarum* at Hanover, 1905, with Jonas' lives of St. Vedast and St. John of Reom. Floduard also in the tenth century has written a life which, however, does not add anything to that of Jonas. Columbanus' writings, letters, and monastic rule have been printed by Migne, *P. L.* lxxx. 1011. His poem to Hunoald against avarice and his *Monastichon carmen* appear in the *Mag. Biblioth. vet. Pat.* vol. viii. 845 and xv. p. 683. Of modern lives the most attractive is probably that of Montalembert, *Les Moines d'Occident*, vol. ii. p. 453.

There is a charming account of Bobbio and a life of Columbanus in Miss M. Stokes' *Six Months in the Apennines*, 1892, in which, however, she follows P. L. della Torre's *Vita di S. Columbano*, 1728, and interpolates a visit to Italy in 595. In her *Three Months in the Forests of France*, 1895, she gives an account of a visit to Luxeuil.

Fredegarius in his *Chronicum*, c. xxxvi., tells us of the struggle between Columbanus and Theodoric and Brunichildis.

Columbanus' writings are as follows :—

Regula monastica; *Regula coenobialis*; *Sermones*; *De poenitentiarum mensura taxanda*; *Instructio de octo vitiis principalibus*; *Epp. ad Bonifacium IV.*, *super quaestiones Paschae*, *ad discipulos*, *ad Bonifacium IV.*, *ad Gregorium Papam*, *ad quemdam discipulum*; *Carmina sex*; *Commentary on the Psalms.*

Cf. Greith, *Altirische Kirche*, p. 252.

only was the whole country divided out into dioceses but the provincial organisation of dioceses was fairly established, so that the Church in every province recognised definitely the territory for which it was responsible. Outside, therefore, of this, and independent of it, comes the remarkable work of St. Columbanus.

Of noble if not royal parentage, Columbanus was born in West Leinster[1] in A.D. 543, the very year in which St. Benedict of Nursia had died. Irish accounts tell of various events which occurred before his birth which were afterwards remembered as miraculous prognostications of the great future which was before him.[2] His education is said to have been undertaken by St. Sinell,[3] who kept a school in Cluan Inis or Cleenish Island in Lough Erne, and who had himself been a disciple of St. Finnian of Clonard. Here, influenced by all he was taught, he evinced in early youth a desire to adopt the life of a monk, and for that purpose he consulted[4] a certain recluse or holy woman. She told him how she had forsaken the world and lived for fifteen years in her cell and urged him to escape the ruin, which awaits so many, by taking refuge in a monastic life. The young man's feelings were in sympathy with the advice of this religious woman and he decided at once to forsake the world. His mother, however, was opposed to this step, and to her arguments he merely quoted our Lord's words, "Whosoever loveth his father and his mother more than Me is not worthy of Me." She still, however, endeavoured to keep him with her, and when he asked of her permission to depart she threw herself to the ground before the door, overwhelmed with grief at the thought of the separation. As he stept across the threshold of his home and the prostrate form of his mother, Columbanus

[1] Cf. King's *Ch. Hist. of Ireland*, 139, 938, and 975, and Dr. Moran's *An Irish Missionary and his Work*, 1869.
[2] Colgan, *A. SS. Hib.* 117, 157, and *Trias thaum.* 88, c. 98.
[3] Cf. *Martyrology of Donegal*, Nov. 12.
[4] Cf. Jonas, *Vita*, cap. 3.

gave proof of that strong resolution and moral courage which was characteristic of his whole life. So from St. Sinell Columbanus went to the monastery of Bangor[1] in Ireland and placed himself under the direction of St. Comgall, and here he learnt to give himself to fasting and prayer. The monastery of Bangor had been founded but a few years before in A.D. 552 by St. Comgall, and was rapidly drawing to itself the religious fervour of the north of Ireland, and the excellence of its training is shown by Columbanus, who was not only a good Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar, but also shows in his writings a remarkable knowledge of Holy Scripture and ancient literature. In due time, and probably when he had nearly reached the age of thirty, Columbanus was ordained priest, and soon after began to show a desire to go forth into the mission-field. So about the year A.D. 573[2] Columbanus, and with him twelve brother monks, his companions, left the monastery of Bangor and crossed over to England. There they remained for a little while and seemed uncertain as to what course they should take, but ultimately they crossed over into Gaul and presented themselves before Sigibert of Austrasia demanding from him permission to pass through his kingdom in their search for such a locality as from its solitude and bareness would commend itself to their fervent souls. His earnest and remarkable personality won the admiration of Sigibert, who asked him to settle in Gaul and promised to provide him with all that he might want. Columbanus, in reply, said that he did not come to beg of him any worldly endowment, for, said he, it is written, "Whosoever will follow Me,

[1] St. Comgall had been a pupil of St. Fintan and such was his success at Bangor that it is said he had three thousand disciples gathered there. The Antiphonary of Bangor, once one of the treasures of Bobbio, is now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. It has been edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by Dr. Warren, 1893. After the destruction of the Celtic foundation by the Northmen it was refounded by Malachi the friend of St. Bernard in 1130.

[2] Sigibert, the husband of Brunichildis, was murdered in 575. Jonas refers to the welcome he gave to Columbanus (c. 6). His arrival in France, therefore, cannot be placed later than 574, which would allow of his departure from Ireland in the previous year.

let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me." Then Sigibert told him he had no desire to hinder his vocation to take up his cross and follow Christ; but he thought it would be better if he settled down in some desert within his dominions and could aid him at the same time by his prayers than by moving on to other neighbouring countries. His biographer[1] describes Gaul as a country where, by the frequent irruptions of external foes or by the neglect of the bishops, the virtues of religion were well-nigh abolished, a description clearly made in the interest of his saint and for the most part inaccurate.

In our story of the Church in Gaul we have seen how, from time to time, not only has the Church life been destroyed, but whole districts have been rendered waste through the irruption of barbarians from beyond the Rhine. This had been specially the fate of the south-eastern portions of Gaul, both the Germanic and Belgic provinces having been devastated on many occasions during the fifth century. We hear also of settlements of foreign tribes, mostly barbarians, within the limits of Gaul, a clear sign of districts devoid of inhabitants and out of cultivation, the home of wild animals and the hiding-place of freebooters. In the district where the provinces of Maxima Sequanorum, Belgica prima, and Germania prima meet such conditions especially prevailed. It was the district inhabited largely by the Burgundians[2] at the time when, by the order of Aetius, they were almost entirely annihilated. It was the district traversed by the hosts of Attila foiled and angry by the reverse on the Mauriac plains. The Roman road[3] from Lyons to the north of Gaul divides into two at Châlon-sur-Saône. One branch makes its

[1] Jonas, c. 5 "ob frequentiam hostium externorum vel neglegentiam praesulum religionis virtus pene abolita habebatur."

[2] Binding, *Das burgundisch-romanische Königreich*, p. 5; Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Burgundionen*, i. p. 437.

[3] Cf. Prof. Block in Lavisse' *Histoire*, I. ii. p. 426, and the map in Steininger's *Gesch. der Trevirer*.

way up the valley of the Doubs towards Mülhausen and the Rhine, the other takes a more northerly direction through Langres and Toul towards Metz and Trier. From Langres a road runs south-east to Besançon, crossing at right angles the road up the valley of the Doubs. These three roads formed the boundaries of civilization in the fifth and sixth centuries. To the south of the road to Mülhausen and parallel with it run the Jura Mountains, known in the sixth century as the Jura desert. At almost right angles, running north-west and south-east, was the range of the Vosges which ended with the mountain peak known as the Ballon d'Alsace, leaving a narrow valley between it and the Jura, along which ran the road to northern civilization. On the western side of the granite range of the Vosges appears the softer sandstone and sandstone grit furrowed into valleys by the streams that ran westwards from the high and waterless plateau to swell the waters of the Saône and the Doubs. A wilder district could hardly be found in France at that time. Fierce beasts of prey abounded where man had once lived under the protection of the legions, and the country was covered with scrub and forest, most uninviting to the settler in search of arable land. On the western slopes of the Vosges hot springs burst out through the faults in the sandstone and their value medicinally had been known from the earliest days of the Roman occupation, and the place-names of to-day tell the story of former use. Such was the district which drew Columbanus to come and settle in it. Here and there under the slopes of the Vosges and in the waterworn valleys were remains, here of a Roman fort such as Anagrates[1] and there of the deserted baths of Lexovium, washed still by the waters which no settlers valued. Above, across the mountains, stretched the Eremus Vosacus, the desert of the Vosges. When Columbanus had seen it, he recognised the district of

[1] Annegray in canton de la Voivre, Haute-Saône.

his heart, and Sigibert gave him the old Roman camp of Anagrates in which to found his monastery.

It was probably in the early part of 575 that Columbanus and his twelve companions settled in Anagrates, now the hamlet of Faucogney in Haute-Saône. Sigibert was assassinated in that same year, while he was carrying on a war with his brother Chilperik. The strife was the work of Brunichildis, who desired to avenge her sister Galaswintha's death on the husband, who preferred his concubine Fredegundis. Sigibert was succeeded by his son Childebert. Under such conditions, therefore, it is unlikely that Columbanus received more from Sigibert than the place he occupied, and the straits the little company were put to for their necessary sustenance [1] brought often to their minds their Master's words that man does not live by bread alone, but by the satisfaction of the word of life, and he who partakes of that bounteous feast never shall know what hunger is. Often they had to feed on roots and leaves and the bark of trees, so small was the sustenance which the district provided. On one occasion, after they had fasted thus for three days and no help had come to them, resort was had to united prayer, and soon a stranger stood before them, his horses laden with necessary provisions.[2] He had come to beg the prayers of the monks on behalf of his wife, who for a whole year had been laid up with fever, and had brought this supply of food, quite ignorant of the extent of their great need. When Columbanus knew his request he called his colleagues together again, and after earnest prayer dismissed him with the assurance that his wife had recovered, and his return home proved to him how truly God does answer prayer. On another occasion a neighbouring abbot, Carantoc [3]—whose name

[1] Jonas, i. c. 7 "qui tantam egestatem pro Christo in heremo sustinerent."

[2] *Ibid.* "subito conspiciunt virum quendam cum panum supplimento vel pulmentorum aequos honeratos," etc.

[3] *Ibid.* Mabillon suggested Sauley, but clearly Saulx [Haute-Saône] is the equivalent of Salicio. For the Welsh St. Carantoc, cf. Montalembert, iii. 80.

betrays his Celtic origin, and whose settlement at Saulx but a few miles off across the river Lanterne suggests a mission to Gaul of other than mere Irish monks—had a vision from which he realised that Columbanus and his colleagues were in dire distress. He summoned, therefore, his cellarer, Marculf, and bade him lade the cart with food, and though Marculf did not know the way, the oxen yoked to the cart drew it safely to Anagrates!

It is unnecessary to relate all the strange and, as it seemed, miraculous incidents which Jonas tells us of these early days. He had come to Luxeuil from Bobbio with express orders to write the life of Columbanus, and the emphasis, which he lays on these early trials for necessary sustenance, shows how the hunger and the abject want had impressed itself on the minds of the early monks. The life is too hard for Autiernus.[1] He desires to return to Ireland. At Anagrates they are worn out with the anxiety as to how they will be able to provide themselves with food. So Columbanus took him and another novice, Sonichar, up to a lonely spot in the mountains, and for twelve days[2] they had only one loaf between them. Then Columbanus sent them down to the river below, and the fish, they discovered, proved to them the care that God had for them.

On another occasion[3] Columbanus sent Gallus to fish in the Breuchin, and he, through ignorance or inadvertence, went to the l'Ognon, where he saw many a fish, but for all his casting of the net he could catch none. So Gallus returned to relate his failure. Afterwards he goes to the Breuchin, and now he is hardly able to carry the fish his net brought to land.

Slowly they bring some of the land under cultivation and had sown, and as they were about[4] to reap the

[1] Jonas, cap. 11 ". . . quidam frater nomine Autiernus pulsare coepit."
[2] *Ibid.* "unius panis tantum cibo contenti."
[3] *Ibid.* c. 11 "ad Bruscam." It flows into the Lanterne.
[4] *Ibid.* c. 13.

harvest a thunderstorm came on. At the four corners of the field Columbanus placed Cominin, Ennoe, Equonan, and Gurgan, three Irish and a British monk, while the rest were engaged in cutting down the corn. The rainstorm indeed fell, but not a drop came down on the field the monks were reaping.

An early biography such as this, with simple, miraculous stories, of which most are capable of a very natural explanation, gives us an insight into the life of these monastic foundations. There is one commanding figure, well educated, of great moral power, and those who live with him are unable to throw off the attraction or the influence he has upon them. One by one events were stored up in their minds which impressed them more and more with the power and the sanctity of their leader. Above the Roman fort of Anagrates were the remains of a heathen temple to Diana, which the fierce faith of Columbanus consecrated in memory of St. Martin, and where at times he resorted for prayer. Away from his fellow-monks, Columbanus was wont to retire, now to some distant hill, and now to some cave, the lair of the wild beasts of the forest, for meditation and for prayer, and stories naturally multiplied of all that had happened to him. They would tell how[1] he had tamed the bear; how, on one occasion, when Domoal[2] was with him and was faint with thirst, he told him to go and dig in the rock, and water at once flowed out; how the birds flocked to him at his call, and were not afraid; and how alone he held converse with his Lord and Saviour, and the powers of evil were impotent to harm him.

An enthusiasm such as his disciples had acquired, and their unwavering faith in their leader, soon spread among those who came to see the Irish monks and marked the severity of their discipline, and numbers flocked to Anagrates to make sure of eternal safety under the guidance of Columbanus. Within a few

[1] Jonas, i. c. 13. [2] *Ibid.* c. 9.

years, then, Anagrates became too small for the increasing community, and Columbanus had again to request the site for another home.

Some eight miles from Anagrates was the ruined and forsaken watering-place of Lexovium.[1] There were still considerable remains of the buildings that formerly existed, and amid the ruins many a sculptured stone and heathen statue to tell of a former faith and of the pagans who had cherished it.

This was such a place as he would welcome. Its forsakenness would attract him. So Childebert II., the young child whom Sigibert had left behind, and whom his uncle Gunthram, king in Burgundy, now protected, gave to Columbanus the ruins of Roman Lexovium, and here he settled with his now increased community. It was on the borderland of Austrasia and Burgundy. It was a place in which a great monastic foundation could expand. It was in the district which afterwards came to be known as Franche-Comté, or the county of Burgundy.

Now the settlement at Anagrates had been in the nature of an experiment. Who could have told whether the Irish strangers could have lived there? Who could have told whether they would have been satisfied with it? The removal to Luxeuil was, however, deliberate. It was clear that the strangers were going to stay, and to establish, as one of the monastic foundations in France, their home on the new site. The king had indeed given his consent, but as yet the Church in France had not been consulted. Luxeuil was in the diocese of Besançon, and Bishop Sylvester had not as yet spoken. It was one of the important principles of Church organisation in France that all monasteries should be subject to the bishops of the dioceses where they were established. At Agde, A.D. 506, it had been decreed that no one should build a new monastic foundation without the permission

[1] Jonas, i. c. 10 "quem Luxovium prisca tempora nuncupabant."

of the bishop. The first great Frankish synod, that of Orleans, in A.D. 511 had established the principle that as monks were under their abbots, so abbots must show obedience to the bishops. At Epaon the Church among the Burgundians had in A.D. 517 established the same rule. An abbot was not to have two monasteries, nor could cells or congregations of monks be set up without the sanction or the knowledge of the bishop of that diocese; and a little later it had been decreed at Arles, in A.D. 559, that monasteries and the discipline of monks belonged to the bishop of the diocese. Columbanus, therefore, was bound as a matter of Church order to submit himself to the bishop of Besançon, and to obtain his sanction for the foundation at Luxeuil. It was not, however, in the nature of Columbanus to submit himself to any one. If already he had not shown his contempt for the clergy in France, the permanent attitude he observed in Luxeuil towards the bishops was one of complete independence. His biographer, who voiced the feeling in the monastery, must have voiced the feeling which Columbanus had established there, that the heathenism and wickedness that prevailed was caused by the neglect of the bishops. The very establishment, therefore, of Luxeuil was schismatic.

There was, however, another cause of dissension between the monks of the new Irish monastery and the Church in the diocese of Besançon. It was the divergence between the Celtic Church and the Church in western Christendom as to the date of Easter. For the one to keep it on one day, and the monks to keep it a week or, indeed, a month after, was enough to destroy all that Christian intercourse and charity which should exist between the monks and the outside Christian world. The struggle was soon to begin in England.[1] It began at first in France, and the independency and, we may say, the obstinacy which Celtic bishops on this matter

[1] Beda, *H. E.* iii. 25. The Synod of Streoneshalch was held A.D. 664.

displayed in England, until the decree of the Synod of Streoneshalch brought peace through their expulsion, was indeed not as great as that which Columbanus exhibited in France. The details of this quarrel are, however, lost to us, and we can only tell what occurred, by way of inference, from the writings of Columbanus, and that we will consider shortly.

Luxeuil was undoubtedly a success. Its very novelty seemed to have attracted disciples. The severity of the rules repelled no one. Indeed they almost seem to have attracted men all the more, and Luxeuil had not been founded many years before a new home was necessary to house the crowds that came to live under this discipline. This new home, then, was found at Fontaines[1] on the Roge and about eight miles off, a place well watered and suitable, and over the daughter monastery Columbanus placed those of whom he had perfect confidence. In defiance of the bishops at Epaon, Columbanus was now abbot of two monasteries, and for their establishment he had neither asked, nor received, the sanction of the Church in France.

It was necessary, however, that the disciples who lived at Luxeuil and Fontaines should have some definite rules to guide their daily actions and to train them in ascetic habits. Columbanus could not be always with them, and his frequent retreats to the solitude of the forest, or to the almost inaccessible caves on the slopes of the Vosges, made a code of monastic discipline all the more necessary. The Church in France had for long been accustomed to such. At Tours the personal example of St. Martin had been in itself a standard and a rule, but at Lerins Honoratus and Hilary had established various rules, and at Marseilles Cassian had drawn up in his Institutes and Conferences principles of asceticism for the guidance of enthusiasts. From the immediate south of Luxeuil the Jura range of mountains runs south-westward

[1] Jonas, i. 10 "cui Fontanas nomen indedit." Fontaine-lès-Luxeuil.

towards Lyons, and at Condate,[1] on the southern space, was a house of monks of great influence and renown, whose manner of life was founded on the pattern of Lerins. In the year, however, in which Columbanus had been born, Benedict of Nursia had passed away, whose celebrated rules had already begun to influence Christendom ; and one can hardly doubt that Columbanus, who always shows himself cognisant of what was going on in his time, had heard of, even if he had not seen, a copy of the rules which were observed by the monks of Monte Cassino.

Whatever was his equipment, Columbanus now drew up the rules[2] which were to govern his monks at Luxeuil, Anagrates, and Fontaines. There were ten in number, at once shorter, less definite, and severer than the rules of St. Benedict. He says he learnt them from his fathers in Ireland, and especially from St. Comgall at the monastery of Bangor in Ireland.

The first laid down the rule of obedience, which was absolute and passive, and which placed no restraint or limitation of power on the abbot.

The second was the rule of silence, which was perpetual and would not permit a monk to speak except for useful or necessary causes.

The third regulated the food and drink of the monk, which was reduced to a minimum and was only to be eaten in the evening—"cibus vilis et vespertinus cum parvo panis paximatio"[3]—cabbages, beans, and flour mixed with water and a little wheaten biscuit. Fish was also at times allowed, and apparently light beer was wont to be drunk.

The fourth rule enforced poverty and the surrender by the monks of all worldly ambitions. Ambition

[1] "Condatiscone monasterium." Greg. T. *Vitae patrum*, I "inter illa Jorensis deserti secreta." Sid. Apoll. alludes to "Jurensia monasteria" *Ep.* iv. 25.

[2] Migne, *P.L.* vol. lxxx. ; Fleming's *Collect. sacra*, pp. 4-18.

[3] St. John of Reom orders "unum paximacio cum quinque pomorum numero" to be taken to the sick man. Jonas, *Vita Joh. Abbatis*, c. 15.

was for a monk a very leprosy; for it was a sin not merely to possess things that were superfluous, but also to wish for such.

The fifth rule denounced vanity.

The sixth enforced chastity.

The seventh[1] laid down the order of psalm-singing and established at Luxeuil and its priories those perpetual choirs which formed a feature of monastic life at Caer-emrys, Inisvitryn and Llan-Iltyd-vawr. On great festivals seventy-five psalms were to be sung with twenty-five antiphons, and on minor festivals thirty-six psalms and twelve antiphons.

The eighth rule dealt with prudence or discretion, and bade the monk to pray for such—"orandus est igitur Deus qui lumen verae discretionis largiatur ad illuminationem hujus vitae."

The ninth rule dealt with austerity, "De mortificatione." "Magna pars," it declared, "regulae monachorum mortificatio est quibus nimirum per sacram scripturam praecipitur sine consilio nihil facias."

There were to be no distinctions in the monastery. Every monk, were he of high or low estate, was bound to work in the fields,[2] ploughing, mowing, reaping or cutting wood.[3] Even the sick monk was called upon to take his turn in threshing wheat. Daily was the monk enjoined to fast, daily must he pray, daily must he work, and daily must he give time to reading and study. He was to go to bed so tired that he was

[1] It is a question whether Columbanus established at Luxeuil the "laus perennis," the perpetual choirs such as existed at this time in Britain. Donatus of Besançon, who had been baptized by Columbanus and became his disciple, speaks of the choirs, but neither Columbanus nor Eustatius say that the psalmody was perpetual. There were three arrangements for psalm-singing during the night, the "brevior modulatio," the "media" and the "longior." Each consisted of arrangements of three psalms with an antiphon. The long arrangement consisted of seventy-five psalms and twenty-five antiphons, the other two of thirty-six or twenty-four with twelve or eight antiphons. Donatus says of the Jura monastery, "Duodecim chorae in hieme omni nocte cantandae sunt." Donat. *Reg.* c. 75.

[2] A peculiarity of Luxeuil was that the monks at work wore gloves.

[3] Jonas, i. 15 "tegumenta manuum quos Galli wantos vocant, quos ad operis labore solitus erat habere." In the Somerset dialect wants are moles and the mole-catcher is called the want-catcher. Cf. Diez, *Etym. Wörterbuch*, i. 230².

ready to fall asleep on the way, and yet he was to rise for work again before he had sufficiently slept.

The tenth rule of Columbanus is of the nature of a penitentiary[1] and consists of thirty sections in which punishments are decreed for the various faults a monk might commit. True penitence, Columbanus said, was to bewail the fault which has been acknowledged, and not merely to allow that it was a deed to be regretted. He states that his scheme of punishment had been handed down from the holy fathers. It is clearly the tradition of the monastery of Bangor, and dealt largely in flogging and solitary confinement. At the sermon on the Lord's day, with a few necessary exceptions, all are to assemble so that no one shall fail to form an audience, unless it is the cook and the gate porter, who also, if they can possibly arrange it, should be present when the sound is heard of the proclamation of the Gospel. All were especially enjoined to be diligent and earnest in their confessions, especially as to the thoughts of their minds, before they go to Mass, lest any should approach the altar unworthily, that is to say, with an impure heart. A comparison of this rule with that of St. Benedict shows clearly that they were substantially the same, and the monasteries which had been founded under this rule of St. Columbanus almost within the following century came to adopt the rule of St. Benedict. Donatus of Besançon, a disciple of St. Columbanus, made an attempt to blend the two rules into one. At Luxeuil the transference was almost unnoticeable, at Faramoutier it was accomplished by a definite act of the convent. At the third Synod[2] of Mâcon, perhaps A.D. 625, the church in Burgundy was called upon to consider a quarrel

[1] Migne gives it in vol. lxxx.; and Wasserschleben, in *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, 1851, p. 353, prints it from Fleming's *Collectanea*.

[2] Cf. Mansi, x. 587. Jonas in his life of Eustatius gives us an account of the controversy. Agrestin wished to abolish somewhat summarily the rule of Columbanus in favour of that of St. Benedict; cf. Greith, *Die altirische Kirche*, p. 296. The Synod took place in some year between 617 and 627.

between a Columban monk Agrestin and abbot Eustatius of Luxeuil. Agrestin, who was supported by bishop Apellinus of Geneva, endeavoured to abolish the Columban rule, but the bishops at Mâcon upheld the abbot. The rule had to die a natural death. In A.D. 818 the Council of Aachen ordered the observance of the rule of St. Benedict in all the monasteries of France.[1]

From the very first Columbanus regarded himself as outside the organisation of the diocese in which his monasteries were situated. Not so the bishops of the church in France. They saw in his independence a serious check to church discipline, and this increased with the increase of disciples to Luxeuil. That expostulations were made to Columbanus is certain, but we never hear of his attendance at any Synod, or his surrender either of his independence or his method by which he calculated the date of the Easter Festival. It was probably at the second Council of Mâcon,[2] A.D. 585, that a serious effort was made to bring him within the Frankish ecclesiastical organisation. The Council was a large one, and the bishops present represented the three kingdoms of Gunthram of Burgundy, Childebert II. of

[1] Cf. Labbé and Cossart, *Concil.* vii. 1505.

[2] There are two other Synods which have been mentioned as those to which Columbanus was invited to attend, the Council of Sens and the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône. In the life of Bertharius, bishop of Chartres (*M.G.H.*, *Vita SS. Merov.* vol. i. 618), mention is made of a Synod of Sens which must have been held about A.D. 601. For the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône, at which Desiderius of Vienne was deposed, A.D. 603, cf. Fredegar A.D. 603 and 605 ap. Greg. T., Mansi, x. 494. For the second Council of Mâcon cf. Mansi, ix. 947, Greg. T. viii. 1 and 7. The chronology of Columbanus's life is very difficult. Jonas, who came to Luxeuil in 640 to collect details, tells us he arrived when Sigibert ruled over Austrasia and Burgundy. These two kingdoms, however, were not united until Childebert II. of Austrasia inherited Burgundy in 594 on the death of his uncle Gunthram. They were united then for two years and fell apart in 596 on the death of Childebert. If Jonas meant Childebert then Columbanus did not stay in France for twenty years as Jonas tells us cap. 20 a. "vicesimo anno post incolatum heremi illius." Clearly Jonas was right in the name but wrong as to the union of the two kingdoms. Columbanus came to Austrasia while Sigibert was king, i.e. before 575, and the calculation of twelve years which he gives us in his letter to the bishops brings us to 585 if we suppose he arrived at the end of 573 or early in 574. Mâcon II. was a very important Synod, as is shown by the publication of the decrees by King Gunthram, and it was just such a Synod to which Columbanus, whose monastery was then at the extreme edge of Burgundy, would be summoned.

Austrasia, and Chlotachar II. of Neustria. The decrees of this Synod were published by Gunthram on 10th November A.D. 585. A letter is extant[1] which Columbanus wrote in excuse of his action. He addresses the bishops as his holy lords, his fathers and brothers in Jesus Christ, and he describes himself as Columbanus peccator. He was thankful that so many holy men had assembled to consider his case. He would rejoice if they gathered together more frequently, and he hopes that assembled in Christ they will occupy themselves not only on the Easter question but on other matters of church discipline which are painfully neglected. He is clearly proud of his own trial, and of that which he calls his persecutions, and he allows that diversities of observances are hurtful to the peace of the church. But he has one request to make to the bishops. He is not the author of this difference in regard to Easter. He came to these parts for the cause of Jesus Christ our common God and Lord. He was a complete stranger, and he begs that he may be allowed to live in the lonely silence of these huge forests unmolested by them. Already he had witnessed the death of seventeen of his brethren.[2] He promises with those of his companions who still remain, to pray for them as indeed he has already done during the last twelve years in which he has been among them. Oh, he exclaims, may Gaul still keep them all together, whom the kingdom of heaven will receive if as good men they deserve such a reward. He and his companions will follow the doctrines and precepts of the Lord and His apostles. It was for the bishops to decide what was to be done with such poor veterans, such old pilgrims. He dare not attend the Synod lest he should enter upon some contentions[3] with them, but he claims that the

[1] Cf. *Ep.* ii.; Gallandus, *Bibl. vet. Patr.* xii. 347; Migne, *P. L.* vol. lxxx. "sicut usque nunc licuit nobis inter vos vixisse duodecim annis."

[2] The following are said to have gone with St. Columbanus to France:—St. Attalus, Columban the younger, Cummaen, Dogmael, Eogain, Sigisbert, Eunan, St. Gallus, Gurgan, Libran, Potentino or Lua, Waldoleno; cf. Mabillon, *Ann. Bened.* viii. 51, Gallotta, annot. 6.

[3] *Ep.* ii. *ut supra.*

traditions of his country, which, he observes, are those which St. Jerome had laid down. He trusts that they will not allow strife among Christians, an evil which would delight our enemies, the Jews, the heretics, and the heathen. If God guides them to expel him from his desert home, that home he had sought from beyond the seas, then he would say with Jonah—take me up and cast me forth into the sea in order that the sea may become calm. The rules of the priests and the rules of monks are very different. Let each one, therefore, cling faithfully to the profession he has embraced, but let all follow the Gospel and Jesus Christ their Head. Above all, fathers of the church, pray for us as we, though vile mortals, do for you, and do not cast us out from you as aliens. We are joint members of the one body whether we are Gauls, or Britons, or Iberians, or of whatever nation we may be. Forgive my loquacity and my firmness, as of one labouring beyond his strength, for you, most holy and most patient fathers, are also our brothers. It seems likely, if this letter was written, as we believe, for the bishops at the second Council of Mâcon, that Columbanus was left in peace and allowed to do his great work in his own way. For ten years[1] he seems to have continued, engrossed in the discipline of his abbey, and retiring at times into the woods for meditation and prayer. Gunthram of Burgundy died April 28 A.D. 593, and his nephew Childebert II. added Burgundy

[1] In my Birkbeck Lectures, out of which this history has grown, I adopted the theory that Columbanus made two journeys to Italy, the one in 595 and the other in 610. I am now convinced that such a journey in 595 cannot be substantiated. The theory was started by Abbot L. della Torre, *Vita di S. Colombano*, which was accepted by Pagi and appears again in C. Troya's *Storia d' Italia*, iv. 2. 27. It is founded on two documents (i.) the grant by Agilulf to Columbanus of the site and district of Bobbio, and (ii.) a letter from Columbanus to Gregory I. placing the monastery under his protection. Both these documents, however, have been shown to be forgeries, (Waitz, *Götting. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1856) and there is no evidence apart from them of any visit in 595. Jonas went to France to collect information, and he was most careful in his work. He was a monk at Bobbio within three years of the death of Columbanus there, and it seems impossible for him to have gone wrong in a matter which so much concerned the foundation of his monastery. We must accept his story and place the foundation of Bobbio after the exile from France in 610.

to his kingdom of Austrasia. As we have already remarked, Columbanus was not only a ruler but a student, and having read the work of Gregory, now bishop of Rome, A.D. 590-604, on the Pastoral Care, he wrote to him[1] to express his pleasure at the book, and to discuss with him the great Easter question, which still separated him from his Catholic brethren in France. To him Gregory was the holy lord and father in Christ, the Roman, the fairest ornament of the Church, and he, Columbanus, was Bar-Jonah, the poor dove in Christ. Columbanus argued that it was Anatolius who had sanctioned the method of calculation for Easter which the Irish had adopted, and the learning of Anatolius had been praised by St. Jerome. To condemn Anatolius, therefore, was to condemn St. Jerome, and he desired to know whether such was St. Gregory's opinion. Another point was that Easter was the festival of light, and if it was not celebrated on the fourteenth of the month, when the greater part of the moon was shining, it would not be celebrated in the light, since every day afterwards the light of the moon declined. He had not as yet visited Rome as he longed to do. There were other matters he desired to discuss with the bishop of the apostolic See. He would like to confer with him on the sins of the clergy and bishops in France. He had heard much concerning Gregory's lectures on the book of the prophet Ezekiel, and he begged him to send him a copy. He urged Gregory, who he imagines will reply to him on the basis of the decisions of his predecessors, not to follow blindly the decrees of former popes and especially not to follow St. Leo implicitly — a living dog, he says, is better than a dead lion, and a living saint may correct the omissions of one who went before him.

This letter, however, was never answered, nor indeed

[1] Migne, *P. L.* vol. lxxx.; *M.G.H.* Abth. iv. 1 pt. 1 "speculatori egregio"; Mabillon, *Ann. Bened.* ix. 35, p. 257.

were those others which he says he had sent. He supposes that they had never reached Gregory.

Childebert II. reigned over the two districts of Austrasia and Burgundy for only three years, and was succeeded in 596 by his two youthful sons Theudebert and Theodoric, Theodoric reigning over Burgundy and Theudebert over Austrasia. The two boys were under the guardianship of their grandmother Brunichildis, the widow of Sigibert, but such was the jealousy of the Frankish leaders, and indeed of her grandson Theudebert of Austrasia, that in 599 she was driven out from Austrasia and took refuge with Theodoric in the kingdom of Burgundy. Theudebert had married Belichildis,[1] whose intelligence and tact attracted to her and her less clever husband the leaders of Austrasia, and her refusal to be ruled together with Theudebert by Brunichildis was largely the cause of the exile of the latter. In Burgundy Brunichildis pandered to the lust of her grandson. At an early age he had a son born out of wedlock, and his grandmother is said to have been the cause of Theodoric's rejection of Ermenberga, the daughter of Witteric,[2] the Visigothic king in Spain, in order that she might have no rival to her influence in the household of Theodoric. It was the immorality of this king that brought him and his powerful grandmother into conflict with Columbanus. Theodoric had at first been very friendly to Columbanus, and had told him how he rejoiced that the monastery of Lexovium was within the kingdom of Burgundy, and though Columbanus had often reproved him for his loose life, the plain words of the abbot had not offended the king. Columbanus had urged upon Theodoric to marry[3] and Brunichildis was opposed to the plan lest she should lose her hold on her grandson.

[1] Fred. *Chron.* cap. xxxiv., A.D. 608, and cap. xxxvii.

[2] *Ibid.* cap. xxx. and xxxi.

[3] Jonas, i. 18 a "ad quem saepissime cum veniret, coepit vir Dei eum increpare cur concubinarum adulteriis misceretur ut non potius legitimi conjugii solamina frueretur."

It was clear that the influence of Columbanus for his good was the contrary of that of the aged grandmother. After the lapse of a few years Brunichildis succeeded in her plan, Ermenberga was dismissed and Theodoric went back to his evil ways. On one occasion, soon after A.D. 607,[1] Columbanus went to Bruyères-le-Châtel, where Brunichildis was, and the grandmother produced[2] some of the sons of Theodoric before Columbanus, with the request that he would bless them. Columbanus at first asked who they were, and when he was told that they were the sons of the king, with a certain brutal rudeness he declared that they would never come to the throne since they were the offspring of a brothel. In a rage she ordered the children to go away. As Columbanus was leaving the king's hall, a noise arose which seemed to shake even the palace, and struck terror into all, but in no way dismayed the angry queen. At once she began to plot against the abbot, and ordered that no help should be given to the monks, and that they were not to be allowed to pass beyond the boundaries of their monastery. When, therefore, Columbanus saw that the court was opposed to him he at once sought the king in order that by some advice he might put an end to this miserable opposition. The king[3] at the time was at Epoisses. When Columbanus reached the town it was towards evening, but the servants at once announced to the king his arrival, and that he did not desire to enter the palace. Theodoric was still desirous to make peace, and sent out to him a supply of food. But Columbanus would have none of it. He remarked that the Highest disdained the gifts of the wicked,[4] and scattered the

[1] In 607 Witteric, the Visigothic king, to revenge himself of the insult shown to his daughter, organised a combined campaign against Theoderic, of himself, Agilulf, the Lombard king, Chlotachar II., and Theudebert of Austrasia. The alliance, however, came to nothing.—Fred. *Chron.* iv. 30.

[2] Jonas, c. 19 "cui Brunichildis ait, Regis sunt filii: tu eos tua benedictione robora." Bruyères-le-Châtel is in the Department Seine-et-Oise.

[3] *Ibid.* "apud Spissiam villam publicam."

[4] *Ibid.* "his dictis vascula omnia in frustra disrupta sunt, vinaque ac sicera solo diffusa."

food on the ground, broke the dishes, and spilt the wine. Instead, however, of showing resentment Theodoric seems to have been alarmed at the action of the abbot and promised amendment of life, and so Columbanus returned to his monastery in peace. He soon heard in his retreat that the promise of repentance was not fulfilled, and now he wrote[1] to the king and definitely threatened to excommunicate him if he did not give up his immoral life.

It was now the turn of Brunichildis, and she did not move in vain. She did all she could with the king to set him against Columbanus,[2] and she took the lead in the opposition of the Frankish Church to the independent position of Luxeuil, finding faults with the rules of discipline which Columbanus had drawn up for his monks and arousing against him the animosity of the nobles and bishops.

So Theodoric went[3] to Luxeuil to consult with Columbanus, and asked him why he did not adopt the rules and ceremonies of the bishops of the province, and why[4] he allowed no Christians to enter the private parts of the monastery. Columbanus replied loftily that it was not his custom to take counsel with others, nor would he allow any but his monks to enter into the most private parts of the house. The king then reminded him[5] of the subsidies he had given him, and said it would be a condition in the future that all parts of the house should be open to inspection. Then again Columbanus displayed the reckless courage of the Irishman. He would accept henceforth no gifts or maintenance on such a condition, and he said :[6] "If, oh king, you have

[1] Jonas, i. 19 "Columbanus litteras ad eum verberibus plenas direxit comminaturque excommunicationem."

[2] *Ibid.* "ad haec rursum permota Brunichildis regis animum Columbanum excitat."

[3] *Ibid.* "abactus itaque rex ad virum Dei Luxovium venit."

[4] *Ibid.* "et intra septa secretiora omnibus Christianis aditus non pateret."

[5] *Ibid.* "si, inquit, largitatis nostrae munera et solaminis supplimentum capere cupis, omnibus in locis omnium patebit introitus."

[6] *Ibid.* "si hanc ob causam tu hoc in loco venisti ut servorum Dei caenubia distruas et regularem disciplinam macules, cito tuum regnum funditus ruiturum."

come here with the intention of making your way into our most private chambers, and to find fault with our system of life, remember that your kingdom will soon come to an end and your offspring be destroyed."

It is clear that Columbanus had a great moral influence over Theodoric, who was really afraid of him, and would willingly have acted on his advice, did not evil advisers and wicked habits draw him into other paths. He told[1] the abbot that he had no intention of crowning him with the crown of martyrdom, but that he would see what should be done in regard to the independent position of the monastery. It was the privacy of the monastery which excited the minds of the court, and the chambers into which none but monks might enter. Columbanus merely answered that he would never go out from the bounds of his monastery unless he was dragged out by force. So Theodoric parted from Columbanus and returned to Époisses, and they were never to see one another again.

But Columbanus soon realised he was under arrest. Theodoric had left behind him Baudulf[2] with orders to drive him out of the monastery and conduct him to Besançon and keep him there in exile. Luxeuil was to be brought into line with the monasteries of France. Columbanus by his rude impetuosity had forfeited his privileged position, and apart from him his monastery was to be reorganised. Besançon[3] is an ancient hill city of the Sequani. In later Roman times the city had grown down the side of the hill to the borders of the river Doubs, which closely washes the escarpment of the ancient city on three of its sides.

[1] Jonas, "martyrii coronam a me tibi inlaturam speras; non esse tantae dementiae ut hoc tantum patraret scelus."

[2] *Ibid.* "relinquens virum quendam procerem nomen Baudulfum." For Baudulf cf. Fredeg. *Chron.*, A.D. 609, cap. xxxvi.

[3] *Ibid.* "poenes Vesontionensem oppidum ad exulandum pervenit." For Besançon cf. *Histoire du diocèse de Besançon*, by l'Abbé Richard (1847). There is a distinct tradition of work done here by evangelists from Lyons. Chelidonius, bishop of Besançon, was notorious during the time of Leo the Great. Bishop Nicetius was at Besançon 590–614.

Christians had settled there perhaps before the end of the third century, and the original cathedral church of St. Stephen took the place of the heathen temple on the northern side of the narrow hill. Here, above the later town, was the stronghold of Theodoric, and here under strict supervision Columbanus was detained by Baudulf. He was accompanied to Besançon by Domoal, and on arrival he found the prison full of men condemned to death. At once he set to work to win them for Christ, and having preached the gospel to them he then ordered Domoal to break off their chains.[1] The iron fetters, like rotten fruit, fell at his very touch, and when the military tribune in charge of the prison saw the effect of Columbanus's work on his prisoners he allowed him a liberty which had not been contemplated. At his word the prisoners moved up to the church, whose locks and door-bolts all gave way before them, and in the house of God they with tears acknowledged their sins for which they were then under sentence of death.

The hill of Besançon is not as high as those which surround it on the north and east, but from that hill the stranger can see the road, itself the remains of the old Roman road which existed in the time of Columbanus, which moves up the valley to join the main road to Strasburg. It was this view that some days after opened itself out to the gaze of Columbanus. It was the road perhaps on which he had travelled the prisoner of Baudulf. It was the road which would certainly lead him back to Luxeuil. The sight was too much for him, and, with a boldness that in itself probably was an assistance, he and his companion passed down the hill, made their way up the valley, and to the astonishment of his monks arrived once more at Luxeuil.

When Brunichildis and Theodoric heard of his escape they sent a military cohort[2] to lead him once

[1] Jonas, "ministro Domoali . . . imperat ut manu ferrum quo compedes inretiti erant atque innexi adprehendat ac trahat."

[2] *Ibid.* "jubentque militum cohortem ut rursum virum Dei vim abstrahant."

more to Besançon, and when the soldiers arrived at Luxeuil they found Columbanus sitting in the church porch reading a book.[1] At their first attempt to enter the soldiers are said to have been struck with blindness. Then messengers went to and fro to Theodoric to inform him of all that had gone on, and Count Bertecharius was sent with Baudulf to discuss his surrender. At last Columbanus perceived the danger of any resistance and to the grief of all gave himself up to the charge of Ragamund,[2] to go forth he knew not where but that it was to exile beyond the realms of France. The question of his companions was settled by the king. Those who were of Irish or British descent might go,[3] the others were to remain in Burgundy.

Twenty years after he had been fully established at Luxeuil, Columbanus was driven into exile.[4] The journey taken was at first that which he had already travelled, to Besançon, Autun, and the castle of Avallon.[5] Then they crossed the Cure and came to Domecy-sur-Cure and soon after to Auxerre and so to Nevers and the Loire. Here they were put into a boat for Nantes and went slowly down the Loire. As they passed Orleans, Potentinus came to his assistance and a Syrian woman offered him food for the way.[6] The officer was unwilling to stop at Tours but the vessel ran on a bank, and Luparius the bishop invited Columbanus to a meal. While they were eating,[7] Columbanus, regardless of the company, remarked that the dog Theodoric had driven him from his brother monks. A nobleman who was present, a subject of Theodoric and

[1] Jonas, "residebat ille in atrio ecclesiae librumque legebat."

[2] *Ibid.* "Ragumundus qui eum Nametis usque perduxit."

[3] *Ibid.* "nequaquam hinc se sequi alios permissuros nisi eos quos sui ortus terra dederat vel qui e Brittanica arva ipsum secuti fuerant."

[4] *Ibid.* "vicesimo anno post incolatum heremi illius." It is difficult to explain this in reference to what has gone before. It may refer to some rectification of frontier which took place in 590 and brought Luxeuil into the kingdom of Burgundy.

[5] *Ibid.* "per urbem Vesontionum, Augustidunumque ad Avallonem castrum pervenit."

[6] *Ibid.* "mulierem in platea ex genere Sirorum."

[7] *Ibid.* cap. 22 "canis me Theudericus meis a fratribus abegit."

a relation by marriage to Theudebert, in order to stop any further outburst, acknowledged himself as bound by oath of allegiance to Theodoric. "Go then and tell him,"[1] said Columbanus, "that within three years he and all his will utterly perish." At Nantes, Soffronius the bishop and Count Theobald, under orders from the king, were prepared to place Columbanus on a vessel for Ireland, and when they had found such and placed them on board their commission was executed. So Columbanus started from Nantes on his way to Ireland. The ship, however, seems to have run on one of the banks at the mouth of the Loire and there it remained for three days. To lighten the ship[2] the captain, who was not bound to guard his passengers as prisoners of Theodoric, placed Columbanus and his four colleagues on shore, and Columbanus again walked away and was once more free. The details of his journey were not known to Jonas, but after a short delay he tells us Columbanus arrived in Neustria and made his way at once to Chlotachar II. who, as the son of Fredegundis, was not likely to hand him over to the grandson of Brunichildis. But Columbanus desired to go to Theudebert of Austrasia and for that purpose went to Paris.[3] At Meaux[4] he was met by Chagneric, one of Theudebert's counsellors, who promised to lead him to Theudebert and take entire charge of him. At Ussy he was met by Authar[5] and his wife Aiga, whose children he solemnly blessed, the one, Ado, to become the founder of the Columban monastery at Jouarre, and the other, Dado, the founder of a similar monastery at La Brie.

At last Columbanus arrived at Metz at the court

[1] Jonas, "haec ergo ejus auribus infer et ipsum et suos liberos intra triennii circulum esse delituros. . ."

[2] *Ibid.* "nec ullo jam obstante quo velit ire."

[3] *Ibid.* cap. 25 "ad Parisium urbem pervenit."

[4] *Ibid.* cap. 26 "ad Meldensem . . . quidam vir nobilis Chagnericus Theudeberti conviva."

[5] *Ibid.* cap. 26 "ad villam quendam Vulciacum . . . receptus a quodam viro Authario nomen."

of Theudebert, who not only gave him welcome but promised him a similar retreat to that at Luxeuil, and at Metz he had the joy of meeting once more many of the monks he had left behind at Luxeuil.

Columbanus had desired to settle among the heathen and engage in missionary work, while at the same time he lived the life of a monk, and seems to have meditated a mission to the Alemans and Sclaves who were settled in Southern Germany and Switzerland. With that purpose he made his way to the Rhine and ascended it to the ruined town of Bregenz,[1] a place that seemed to suit Columbanus and in which he began to settle. At first the little company of exiles suffered great privations from want of food,[2] and Chagnoald and Eustatius were sent out in search of it, any success which they gained being assigned to the intuition of Columbanus.

The Lake of Constance was not to be, however, the scene of the labours of Columbanus. That district was left to the future efforts of St. Gallus.[3] The leader felt that he was drawn towards Italy, and, as the way lay open to him, to Italy[4] he went, and was received at Milan by Agilulf[5] the Lombard king. The Lombards who now ruled in the north of Italy were Arians, and, as such, worthy of the saint's missionary efforts, and the presence at Milan of Theudelinda, the Catholic queen of Agilulf, made such work easy for Columbanus. A somewhat doubtful narrative relates that Columbanus was the means of the conversion of Agilulf to Catholic views.

While at Milan, Columbanus asked of Agilulf a place in which he could settle. He told him of

[1] Jonas, cap. 27 "oppidum olim dirutum quem Bricantias nuncupabant."
[2] *Ibid.* cap. 27 "durae egestatis tempus obvenit."
[3] For the life of St. Gallus, cf. *M. G. H.*, *Vita SS. aevi Merov.* vol. ii. 251–337.
[4] *Ibid.* cap. 27. "quievitque in loco donec aditus ad Italiam viam panderet."
[5] If Agilulf ever became a Catholic it is strange that Gregory does not say so. Paulus Diaconus indeed says "et catholicam fidem tenuit," and states that he rejected Arianism under the influence of his Catholic wife Theudelinda. Hodgkins, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. vi. p. 144, is inclined to doubt his conversion to anything more than toleration. He follows Weise, *Italien und die Langobardenherrscher*, p. 271.

Luxeuil and the attraction it had for him, and while he was speaking, a nobleman of the court, Jocundus,[1] told of a similar place on the slopes of the Apennines where were ruins of buildings and a half-ruined basilica. It was called Bobbio from the small river that ran past it into the Trebbia. So Agilulf offered Bobbio to Columbanus. Would he accept it and settle down there? To restore such a place seemed to him to be a work pleasing to God. He went to see the spot and all before him seemed to draw him to the work. So Columbanus of Luxeuil became the founder of Bobbio, and from Gaul he settled in Italy, and Eustatius[2] finds his way back to Luxeuil to succeed the exile as the second abbot, and the church in France was no more disturbed by the awe-inspiring censures of Columbanus.

The work at Luxeuil, however, was not wrecked by Theodoric and Brunichildis, though at first it had been suppressed. Columbanus had marked the inevitable result of Theodoric's evil course, and had also seen that the two brothers would ere long be at war with one another. In 610, the year of Columbanus's exile, Theudebert attacked his brother Theodoric[3] and seized upon Alsace and the northern portion of Maxima Sequanorum. In the following year Theodoric made a treaty with Chlotachar and attacked Theudebert, and in 612 defeated him at Toul and again finally the same year at Tolbiac.[4] Theudebert was captured and by order of Brunichildis forcibly ordained, and shortly afterwards was put to death.[5] Theodoric then reigned over the whole of Burgundy and Austrasia. It was only, however, for a year. In 613 he prepared to attack Chlotachar II. and advanced as far as Metz when he was suddenly taken ill and died.[6]

[1] Jonas 30 "Jocundus ad regem venit qui regi indicat se in solitudine ruribus Appenninis basilicam S. Petri . . . scire" etc.

[2] Jonas xi. cap. 8 a.

[3] Fredegar. *Chron.* cap. 37.

[4] Jonas, i. 28 a; Fredegar. 38.

[5] Fredegar. 38; Jonas, i. 28 "Brunichildis . . . furens Theudebertum fieri clericum rogavit; at non post multos dies impie nimis post clericatum perimi jussit."

[6] Jonas, cap. 29 "Theudericus poenes Mettensem morans oppidum divinitus percussus . . . mortuus est."

Chlotachar at once assumed the government of Austrasia and Burgundy as well as of Neustria. Brunichildis had claimed the two kingdoms for her grandson Sigibert, but both Sigibert and Brunichildis fell into the hands of Chlotachar. All the sons of Theodoric were at once slain, and Brunichildis herself, after torture, was dragged by horses through the roads and died from the treatment she had received.[1]

So at the end of A.D. 613 Chlotachar II. reigned over the whole of France. He was on the whole favourable to the Irish missionaries, and the more so because they had opposed Theodoric; and during the next half century, under the guidance of Eustatius, Luxeuil and its daughter houses once more flourished. Walaric,[2] a monk of the monastery of St. Germanus at Auxerre, had been attracted by the fame of Columbanus and the more austere life of Luxeuil, and entered as a monk there before Columbanus was driven into exile. He tells us that in the three monasteries of Luxeuil, Fontaines, and Anagrates there were already two hundred monks.

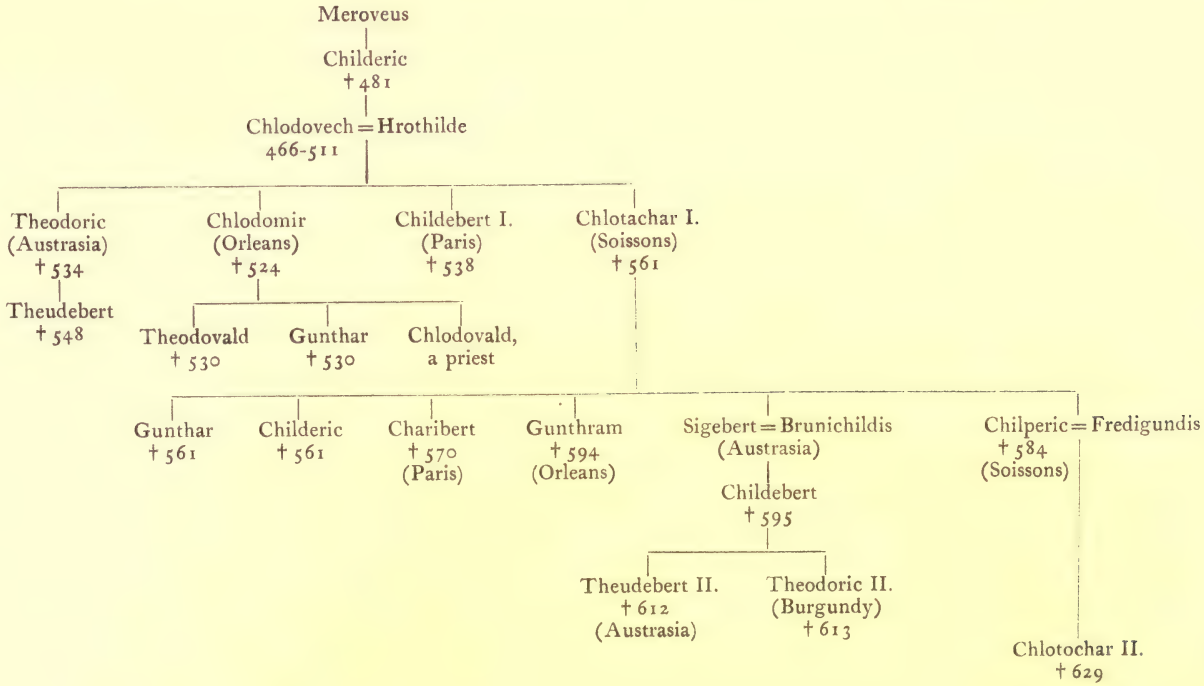
The work of Jonas, as far as Columbanus was concerned, comes somewhat abruptly to an end after he had brought his hero to Bobbio. He is careful to tell us of that fratricidal strife which Columbanus had foreseen, and of the fulfilment within three years of the prophecy concerning Theodoric's death. The foundation of Bobbio was accomplished, and Jonas was a monk of that monastery. Columbanus himself survived his royal foes but two years, and died at Bobbio[3] November 23, 615.

[1] Jonas, "Brunichildem postque indomitorum aeqorum caudis inretitam miserabiliter vitae privavit."

[2] Cf. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* lib. x. cap. 53, p. 295.

[3] Jonas, i. 30 "beatus Columbanus, expleto anni circulo, in antedicto caenubio Ebobiensi vita beata functus animam membris solutam caelo reddidit 9 Kal. Dec. [23 Nov.] 615."

DESCENT OF THE EARLY MEROVINGIAN KINGS



INDEX

Aachen, Council of, A.D. 818, abolishes the Columban rule, 554
Abraham, a monk from banks of Euphrates, founds a monastery in the diocese of Clermont, 447
Abstinentes, a monastic order mentioned by Philastrius, 276
Acacians consult with Constantius, 172
Adalgar, bishop of Autun, goes to Vezelay, 21
Adelelm goes to search for tomb of Magdalen, 21
Ademar of Chabannes, controversy with Benedict of Turin, 65
list of bishops of Limoges, 65
Aegidius Comes, his kingdom, 325
supported by Franks, 325
defeats Visigoths at Orleans, 325
his capital at Soissons, 325
Aelianus, leader of Bagaudae, 129
Aetius, the Patrician, defeats Visigoths near Arles, 312
leads allied host against Attila, the Hun, 313
contends with Ripuarian Franks, 318
destroys army of Burgundians, 319
receives edict of Valentinian iii., A.D. 445, making all Gallican bishops subject to See of Rome, 459
Aetius, deposed patriarch of Constantinople, 172
Agape, a disciple of Mark the Gnostic, 223
Agen, Phoebadius of, orthodox, 157
writer against Arians, 157
Agilulf, the Lombard king, gives Bobbio to St. Columbanus, 566
Agraecius, bishop of Trier, probably present at Nicaea, 136
Agraecius, bishop of Sens, meets Sidonius at Bourges, 439
date of origin of the See, 464
Agricius, a deacon, irregularly ordained, Siricius consults Maximus the Emperor about him, 262
Aignan, St., has mission to Aetius for help for Orleans, 313
lodges at Vienne with Mamertus, 480
Aix, founded by C. Sextus, 6
Alaric, the Visigoth, in Illyricum, 301
enters Italy, 302
Alaric II. succeeds Euric as king of Visigoths, 316
killed at Vouglé, 337
Alemans, Constantius I., campaign against, 129
occupy sixty cities, 79
slaughtered at Langres, 129
sack Tours and Avenches, 128
Alexander, martyr of Lyons, 43
Alexandria, Gregory appointed bishop of, 139
Alleluia victory gained in Britain by strategy of Germanus, 469
Alpinianus, companion of St. Martial, 65
Amandus, leader of Bagaudae, 129
Amandus of Bordeaux, friend of Paulinus, 278
Amatius, prefect of Gaul, 347
Amator, bishop of Auxerre, his life written by Stephen, a priest, 463
cuts down sacred tree at Auxerre, 466
chooses Germanus as his successor, 467
Amboise, idolatrous column at, 211
St. Martin at, 211
Ambrose, St., endeavours to reconcile Priscillianists, 269
goes on embassy to Trier, 265
Amelius, bishop of Bordeaux, builds a church in honour of St. Dionysius, 16
Amiens, rebuilt under Const. Chlorus, 129
St. Martin at, 188
Anagrates, Roman fort given by Sigibert to St. Columbanus, 544

Ancyra, Council of, 121
Andochius, St., of Viviers, 55
Antioch, Council of, A.D. 341, adopts civil divisions for bishops' Sees, 123, 359
against Athanasius, 139
Anthemius proclaimed emperor, 425
Antony, St., compared with St. Martin, 279
Anulinus, prefect of Africa, 115
Apiarius of Sicca, his case in reference to appeals to Rome, 356
Aprunculus, bishop of Langres, suspected by Gundobad, 323
driven from Langres, 324
succeeds his brother, Sidonius Apollinaris, as bishop of Clermont, 431
Arimathea, St. Joseph of, 16
Ariminum, Council of, 170
Arius, his heresy condemned at Nicea, 137
Arles, Councils of, 1st, A.D. 314; 2nd, A.D. 353; 3rd, A.D. 452; 4th, A.D. 455; 5th, A.D. 463; 6th, A.D. 475; 7th, A.D. 524; 8th, A.D. 554
Arles, 1st Council of, 118
bishops present at, 119
canons of, 120
Arles, 2nd Council at, 145
repudiates Athanasius, 145
Arles, 3rd Council of, rules concerning monasticism, 289
Arles, schools in, 11
political importance of, 11
founded by Tiberius, 10
besieged by Franks and Burgundians, 338
development of authority of archbishop of, 365
conflict with Vienne, 361
Majorian's banquet at, 416
Arles, Les Aliscamps, 21
Astorga, Symphosius of, 269
Atawulf leads Visigoths from Italy to Gaul, 310
marries Galla Placidia, 310
murdered in Barcelona, 311
Athanasius, St., acquitted by Council of Rome, 139
accused at Council of Antioch, 139
exiled to Trier, 138
Attalus, martyr of Lyons, 41, 42
Attila, leader of the Huns, passes Troyes, 475
spares Troyes in his retreat, 476
Auch, capital of Novempopulania, 125
Augofleda, sister of Chlodovech, marries Theodoric the Ostrogoth, 328
Augustine, St., on Priscillian, 272
letter on monasticism, 289
reason for his *De civitate Dei*, 382
Aurelian's life of St. Martial, 65
Aurelianus suppresses Druids, 78
assassinated, 78
edict against Christians, 79
Ausonius' villa near Saintes, 275
friend of Paulinus, 278
Austremonius of Clermont, 70
life by Praejectus, 70
tomb at Issoire, 70
Autiernus desires to return to Ireland, 546
Autun, siege and fall, 77
rebuilt by Constantius Chlorus, 129
tomb of Lazarus, 25
St. Symphorian of, 52
schools in, 11
centre of Druidism, 8
Reticius of, 137
Magnentius proclaimed emperor, 141
Auxerre, origin of the bishopric, 464
Liber pontificialis, 464
Auxiliaris, praetorian prefect, assists Hilary of Arles at Rome, 370, 469
Avenches sacked by Alemans, 75, 128
Avitacum, description of, 417
Avitian, governor of Tours, 211
Avitus, St., at Micy, 288
Avitus, an Arvernian senator, proclaimed emperor, 314
Avitus, bishop of Vienne, his relation to Roman See, 377
his sermons on Rogations, 487

Badilo goes to Aix to search for Magdalen's tomb, 21
Bagaudae punished by Maximianus, 128, 129
put down by Aetius, 318
Baudulf, agent of Theodoric, conducts St. Columbanus to Besançon, 561
Beauvais rebuilt under Constantius Chlorus, 129
Benedict of Turin, his controversy with Ademar, 66
Benedict, St., of Nursia, orders Cassian's *Conferences* to be read, 300
Benedict, St., of Aniane, his testimony to early Gallican abbots, 300
Benignus, St., of Dijon, 55
Bertecharius, Count, goes with Baudulf to arrest St. Columbanus, 563
Besançon, St. Ferreolus of, 54
description of, 561
St. Columbanus imprisoned there, 562
Donatus of, endeavours to combine Rules of St. Benedict and St. Columbanus, 553

Bethany, legends concerning family of, 19
Beziers, Council of, condemns Hilary, 154
Bishops, Gallican, write to Hilary in his exile, 158
Blandina, martyr maid of Lyons, 34, 41, 43
Boniface, first bishop of Rome and Council of Carthage, A.D. 419, 357
II. of Rome recognises orthodoxy of Caesarius of Arles, 408
Bordeaux Council ordered by Maximus, 247
Justantius condemned at, 247
schools at, 11
riot at, and murder of Priscillianist, 265
literature flourishes at, 301
captured by Visigoths, 310
Bourg, an estate of Paulinus at, 277
Bricius or Brito succeeds St. Martin at Tours, 187, 276
opposes St. Martin, 276
Brioude, St. Julian of, 95
British bishops present at first Council of Arles, 118
Brito succeeded at Trier by Felix, 265
dies, 248
election of successor, 248
Brunichildis, death of, 566
Burgundians, their early history, 317
decimated by Aetius and the Huns, 318
transferred to Savoy, 319
join with Visigoths in expedition to Spain, 320
kingdom, extent of, 321
said to have been at first Catholic, 323
capture Narbonne, 338

Caecilian, archdeacon, made bishop, 115
letter of Constantine to, 117
of Carthage goes to Milan, 122
Caesaria, sister of Caesarius, abbess at Arles, 506
niece of Caesarius, 507
Caesarius, St., his monastic rules, 290, 505
his action and defence against charge of semi-Pelagianism, 406
adopts Rogations, 487
his biographers and early life, 489
and the siege of Arles, 491, 497
succeeds Aeonius as archbishop, 493
his preaching, 443, 506
his arrest by Alaric II., 495
opposed by Licinianus the notary, 494
and the Council of Agde, 496
second arrest and imprisonment, 497
third arrest, and sent to Ravenna, 499
interview with Theodoric, 499
release and assistance from Theodoric, 499
visit to Pope Symmachus, 500
his labour in his diocese, 501
refutation of charge of semi-Pelagianism, 502
consecrates church at Orange built by prefect Liberius, 502
case of Contumeliosus of Riez, 504
love of hymns, 509
Caprais, early companion of St. Honoratus, 281
Capraria, monastery at, 282
Caracalla, emperor, makes subjects of empires its citizens, 124
Carantoc comes to the help of St. Columbanus, 546
Carthage, Council of, A.D. 418, on appeals to Rome, 357
Cassian, his early history, 295
his sojourn at Bethlehem and Egypt, 295
ordained by St. Chrysostom, 296
his *Institutes* and *Conferences*, 299
his rules, 290
his many sympathisers in S. Gaul, 403
suspected of semi-Pelagianism, 391
his death, 402
Cassiodorus, his edition of Cassian's *Conferences*, 299
Castor, bishop of Apt, his influence on Honoratus, 281
requested Cassian to write a book on Monasticism, 297
Celsus, a man of consular rank, and friend of Sulpicius Severus, 280
Celtic cantons become Roman cities, 124
Chabannes, Ademar of, 66
Chagneric meets St. Columbanus at Meaux, and takes him to Theudebert, 564
Chalcedon, Council of, A.D. 451; on authority of See of Rome, 358
Charles of Sicily searches for and finds tomb of the Magdalene, 27
Chartres, St. Martin's work there, 212
centre of druidism, 8
Chelidonius, bishop of Besançon, case of, 369
Childeric, king of Salian Franks, 326

Chlodovech succeeds Childeric, 327
defeats Syagrius, 327
war with Thuringians, 328
attacks the Burgundians, 334
his interview with Gundobad, 335
captures Vienne, 334
meets Alaric II. near Amboise, 336
advances against Visigoths, 337
winters at Bordeaux, 337
captures Toulouse, 338
orders at Orleans observance of the Rogations, 487
Chlothachar II., his charter to monastery of Dionysius, 17
Chrocus, Aleman king, defeated at Arles, 76
Chrysostom, St., ordains Cassian deacon, 296
Citium, Lazarus buried at, 28
Clermont, Austremonius, bishop of, 70
Coelestine's action against semi-Pelagianism, 401
sends Palladius to Ireland, 401
Cöln, Euphrates, bishop of, present at Sardica, 140
Columba, St., of Sens, 80
Columbanus, St., his early life, 541
his interview with Sigibert, 542
his monastic rule, 551
and Gallican bishops, 549, 555
letters to Pope Gregory the Great, 557
insults Brunichildis at Bruyères le Châtel, 559
quarrels with Theodoric at Époisses, 559
under arrest, 561
escapes from Besançon, 562
arrested again at Luxeuil, 563
goes into exile, 563
stops at Tours, 563
escapes to Neustria, 564
goes to Paris to Theudebert, 564
meets his monks at Metz, 565
goes to Switzerland and attempts to settle at Bregenz, 565
goes to Agilulf, king of Lombardy, 565
obtains gift of Bobbio, 566
his death, 567
Condat in Jura, monastery at, 287, 528
Condes, St. Martin dies at, 209
Conferences, the, of Cassian regarded as heretical, 393
Constance, Council of, 13
strife between English and French bishops, 14
legends introduced at, 15, 16
Constans, son of tyrant Constantine, said to have been a monk, 305
goes to Spain with Gerontius, 305
captured and killed at Vienna by Gerontius, 306
Constans, emperor, murdered at Elva, 141
Constantine, tyrant of the west, 303
tyrant of Britain, 303
lands near Boulogne, 303
captures Trier, 304
besieged in Valence, 304
fortifies passes of Alps, 305
captured by Constantius, 307
sent to Ravenna and executed, 307
Constantine I., emperor, leaves Gaul for Rome, 105
vision of the Labarum, 105
emperor, 101, 107
Edict of Toleration, 107
faith of, 112
Constantine II., emperor, attacks Constans, and killed at Aquileia, 139
Constantinople, Archbishop of, granted equal rights with Bishop of Rome, 346
Constantius Chlorus, clemency to Christians, 83
created Caesar, 98
Constantius II., emperor, Hilary's letter No. 1 to, 151
Hilary's letter No. 2 to, 173
Hilary's letter against, 173
his interest in Christianity, 142
his preference for Arianism, 143
keeps court at Arles, A.D. 353, 144
influenced by bishops Ursacius and Valens, 144
his hostility to St. Athanasius, 145
his remarks at the Council of Milan, 147
his suspicion and cruelty to his nephews, 153
sanctions councils at Seleucia and Ariminum, 163
meets Acacians at Constantinople, 172
Constantius, the patrician, marches against usurper Constantine, 306
besieges Arles, 306
captures Narbonne, 311
drives Visigoths into Spain, 311
Constantius, priest of Lyons, counsels Sidonius to collect his letters, 448
Controversies between Catholics and Arian bishops, 333
Cordova, Hosius of, ill-treated by Arians, 156
Cyprian, St., writes to Rome concerning Marcianus, 68
his view on the authority of the Roman See, 358

Cyprian, St., Bishop of Toulon, writes the life of Caesarius of Arles, 489

Damasus, Pope, writes to Spanish bishops, 226
Decentius, revolt of, 141
Decius, emperor, killed in battle, 74
Decrees, imperial, in favour of the Christians, 132
Decretals, the papal, begin with Siricius, 352
Dictinius, consecrated bishop by his father, 270
Die, care of bishopric of, 374
Dijon, St. Benignus of, 55
Dioceses, early organisation of Gaul into, 127
Diocletian, divisions of Gaul under, 125
  proclaimed emperor, 82
  associates Maximianus to himself, 83
Diolchos, Cassian goes to, 296
Dionysius, St., Council of Constance, 15
  his church at Bordeaux, 16
  legend of, 15
  his cult started by St. Genovefa, 16
  his *Passio*, rejected by Krusch, 16
  Mons. Havet on, 16; Gregory of Tours on, 16
  removing charters on foundation of the abbey, 17
  confounded with Areopagite by Hilduin, 18
  one of the seven missionary bishops, 69
Dionysius, the Carthusian, his edition of the *Conferences* of Cassian, 300
Divisions of Gaul by Augustus Octavianus, 7
Donatianus, St., his martyrdom at Nantes, 96
Donatist schism, rise of, 114
Drepanus Pacatus, his panegyric on Theodosius, 266
Dreux, centre of Druidism, 8
Druidism in Gaul, 8

Ecdicius, brother-in-law of Sid. Apollinaris, exiled by Euric, 315
  letter from Sidonius to, 441
Edict of Diocletian against Christians, 99
  of toleration, meaning of, 110
  addressed to Aetius concerning the bishopric of Arles, 348
  of Milan in favour of privileges of See of Rome, 344
Edicts in favour of the Christians, 132
Edobich, collects Frankish recruits for Constantine, 306
  general of tyrant Constantine, 304
Elaphius, of Rodez, builds a church which Sidonius Apollinaris consecrates, 443
Eleutherus, Pope, consecrates Irenaeus, 47
Elusa, capital of Novempopulania, 10
  church at, built by Sulpicius Severus, 278
Emerita, Ydacius, bishop of, 224
  resigns See of, 250
Epagathus, Vettius, protest and martyrdom at Lyons, 40
Eparchus, bishop of Clermont and predecessor of Sidonius, 426
Ephesus, tomb of Magdalene there, 27
Epipodius, martyred at Lyons, 51
Etheria, supposed authoress of *Peregrinatio*, 28
Eucherius, the praetor's deputy, 280
  of Lero, 284
  settler at Lero, 286
  epitomises *Conferences* of Cassian, 299
  his writings concerning monasticism, 289
Euchrotia, widow of rhetorician Delphidius, 236
  adherent of Priscillian, 236
  executed at Trier, 249
Euphronius, bishop of Autun, demands information from Sidonius, 438
Eudes, abbot of Vezelay, 20
Eugendus, St., his remarks on monastic rules, 289
Euladius, bishop of Bourges, 439
Euric succeeds Theodoric II. as king of Visigoths, 315
  master of Berry, 315
  master of Nîmes, 315
  captures Auvergne, 316
  captures Clermont, 429
Eusebius, on private life of Constantine, 135
Evodius, prefect, opposed to Priscillian, 248
  reports to emperor, 249
Exuperius, supposed author of the *Acta Saturnini*, 71
  bishop, saves his city Toulouse, 308
  letter from Innocent I. to, 353

Fabian, bishop of Rome, his missionary zeal, 72
Fausta, empress, gives birth to Constantius at Arles, 132
Faustus, the Briton, a monk of Lerins, 284, 427
  suspected of Pelagianism, 404
Felix, St., of Nola, Paulinus' devotion to his cult, 277

Felix succeeds Brito as bishop of Trier, 265
troubles arising out of his consecration, 352
Ferreolus, St., martyr at Vienne, 93
St., of Besançon, 54
Firminus of Arles begs Sidonius to complete his collection of his letters, 448
Firminus, a disciple of Caesarius and a bishop of Uzés, writes the life of his former teacher, 489
Florus, revolt of, 9
Fontaines-sur-Roge given to St. Columbanus as his third settlement, 550
Fortunatus, of Valence, 56
Franks, early kingdom of Salian, 326
Freculphus, his chronicles and St. Philip, 32

Galacterius, king of Bearn, friend of the Franks, 317
Galerius, Caesar, the foe of the Christians, 99
fatal disease of, 102
edict of toleration, 103
Gallic Diet, founded by Augustus, and to meet at Lyons, 8
Gallican Church, its organisation in reference to Rome, 360
Gallican Councils in sixth century, 513
list of, 516
presidents of, 517
deal with discipline of the Church, 519
deal with endowments, 522
deal with public worship, 525
deal with monasticism, 527
deal with Jews, 530
deal with heathen, 533
deal with heretics, 533
bishops of sixth century, their courage, 535
Gallienus goes to Pannonia, 75
returns to Gaul, 76
Gallinaria, St. Martin retires to, 192
Gallus, murdered by order of his uncle, the Emperor Constantius, 153
Gatian, St., 1st bishop at Tours, 62
one of the seven missionary bishops, 58
his refuge in caves at Marmoutier, 199
Gaudentius, bishop of Marathon, decision in his case, 350
Gaul, cities of, in time of revolt of Florus, 9
ruined by Vandals in fifth century, 307
St. Patrick testifies to ruin of, 307
St. Paulinus of Nola bears witness to ruin of, 308
Genesius, St., martyred at Arles, 92
Geneva, capital of Burgundian kingdom, 319
Gennadius, refugee at Marseilles, 293
Genoa, the clergy of, their objection to tractates of St. Augustine, 402
Genovefa, St., her cult of St. Dionysius, 16
her prayers for Paris, 475
Geoffrey, Abbot, his reforms at Vezelay, 20
Germanicus, the luxurious Arvernian nobleman, 440
Germanus, St., of Auxerre, his early life, 463
duke of the Armorican Tract, 465
his mission to Britain, 467
goes to Arles to Auxiliaris, 469
Sid. Apoll., testimony to, 470
second mission to Britain, 471
goes to Ravenna, 471
dies in Italy, 471
travel companion with Cassian, 296
Gerontius, general of usurper Constantine, 304
left in charge at Zaragossa, 305
rises against Constantine, 306
Gervaise of Tilbury, his chronicle, 26
Gesalic, son of Alaric II., escapes to Spain, 338
Glycerius, nominated emperor, 315
Goar, king of Alemans, 318
Godigisel, Burgundian king at Geneva, 321
Gorgon Isle, monastery on, 282
Gothia, kingdom of, founded by Wallia, 311
Gratian decrees suppression of Priscillianis, 228
mock emperor in Britain, 303
refers case of Priscillian to Marinianus, vicar of Spain, 246
murdered at Lyons, 246
modifies privilege demanded by Damasus, 345
Gregory, Bishop, appointed to See of Alexandria by Emperor Constantine, 139
bishop of Langres, 55
prefect of Gaul, 245
Gregory the Great, his correspondence with Gallican bishops and kings, 538
Grigny, monastery at, 287
Gui, Bernard, his chronicle, 26

Gundakar, king of Burgundians, killed by Aetius, 319
Gundiok, king of Burgundians, 319
married Suevian princess, 320
his opposition to St. Mamertus, 483
Gundobad, succeeds to power of Ricimer, 322
Burgundian king, 322
raises Glycerius to purple, 322
occupies Clermont and withdraws on request of the Visigoths, 322
recaptures Vienne, 335
puts Godegisel to death, 334
aids Chlodovech against Visigoths, 337
releases Catholics near Limoges, 337
sends supplies to Caesarius of Arles, 499
Gundomadus, Gallican leader defeated by Constantius, 130
Gunther, Burgundian king, 318

Helpidius, the teacher of Priscillian, 223
Heraclius, magistrate at Autun, 52
Herenas, bishop, refuses to condemn Priscillian, 271
Hermes succeeds Rusticus as bishop of Narbonne, 373
Hilarus, bishop of Rome, maintains claims of his See, 373
his controversy with St. Mamertus, 484
Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, his early life, 149, 284
first letter to Constantius, 148, 151
exiled to Asia Minor, 155
treatise *De fide* or *De Trinitate*, 159
treatise *De synodis*, 160
letter to Abra, 167
as a hymn-writer, 168
present at Seleucia, 171
second appeal to Constantius, 173
returns to Gaul, 174
invective against Constantius, 176
passes through Italy, 181
arrives at Poitiers, 181
goes to Milan against Auxentius, 181
dismissed from Milan, 182
estimate of his work, 183
absence of traditions concerning, 183
dies at Poitiers, 183
patronises monasticism, 275
Hilary, bishop of Arles, story of his life, 453
succeeds Honoratus as bishop of Arles, 454
suspected of semi-Pelagianism, 455
visits Germanus of Auxerre, 457
his action at Besançon, 457
his controversy with Pope Leo, 458
goes to Rome and opposes Leo, 458
sends Ravennius to plead before Leo 460
death, 461
Hilduin, abbot, identifies St. Dionysius of Paris with the Areopagite, 18
Hilperik, king of Burgundians, 319
reigns at Lyons, 321
murdered by Gundobad, 321
father of Hrothilde, 321
Himerius, bishop of Tarragona, consults Siricius, bishop of Rome, 352
Honoratus, St., his early life, 281
goes to Marseilles, 281
settles at Lerins, 282
bishop of Arles, 285
question of his code of rules, 288
Honorius, law to enforce payment of taxes by all, 302
refers to edict of Gratian concerning Papal Appeal Court, 346
Hosius of Cordova, ill treated by Arians, 156
friend of Constantine, 135
presides at Council of Nicaea, 135
Hospitius, St., of Nice, 288
Huns invade Gaul, 312
before Orleans, 313
defeated by Aetius, 313
hostility to Burgundians, 319
Hyginus, bishop of Cordova, joins Priscillian, 228

Ingenuus, bishop of Embrun, case of, 376
Innocent I. of Rome, his letters concerning the rights of the See of Rome, 353
Instantius condemned at Bordeaux, 247
Invasion of Gaul, New Year's Eve, A.D. 406, 302
Irenaeus carries letter of Lyons to Rome, 45
bishop of Lyons, 45
his early history, 46
consecrated by Eleutherus, 47
his writings, 48
letter to Pope Victor of Rome, 49
was he a martyr, 49
Irish monasticism, its origin from Lerins, 283
Ithacius goes to Gregory, prefect of Gaul, 245
appeals to Maximus, 246
returns from persecution of Priscillian, 248
deprived of See of Ossonoba, 250

Jerome, St., testifies to ruin of Gaul, 308

Jonas, of Bobbio, his life of St. Columbanus, 546
Julian, Caesar, sets out for Gaul, 153
his successful campaign in Gaul, 131
proclaimed emperor, 180
keeps festival of Epiphany at Vienna, 180
Julian, St., martyred at Brioude, 95
Julius, prefect of Gaul, 466
grants permission for ordination of St. Germanus, 466
Justinian, general of usurper Constantine, 304
Justus, a general of the usurper Constantine, 305
Justus, the boy martyr at Auxerre, 464

Kararic, king of Salian Franks, 326

Lampius, bishop of Barcelona, ordains Paulinus, 277
Langres, Constantius Chlorus' slaughter of Alemans at, 129
Latronianus executed at Trier as a Priscillianist, 249
Lazarus, supposed to lie at Marseilles, 23
buried at Citium, 28
Leo, bishop of Rome, his appeal to Valentinian, 348
his interest in S. Gaul, 372
Leobinus, St., bishop of Chartres, 288
Leontius, a monk of Minerva, 287
Leontius, bishop of Frejus, his influence on St. Honoratus, 281
Leprosum, village of, visited by St. Martin, 213
Lerins or Lerina, early history of, 282
Lero, early history of, 282
Lexovium, Luxeuil, given by Childebert II. to St. Columbanus, 548
Liberius, bishop of Rome, asks for Council of Aquileia, 145
appropriates to himself edict issued in favour of Felix, 344
Libius Severus makes Gundiok *magister militum*, 321
Ligugé, St. Martin's monastic foundation at, 195
monastery at, 274
Limoges, Council of, 66
lists of bishops of, 65
Litorius, Roman general, defeated by Theodoric, Visigothic king, 312
Litorius or Ledorius, successor of St. Gatianus, bishop of Tours, 197
Lucidus, priest of Riez, his case on semi-Pelagianism, 404
Lupus of Toul goes to Lerins, 289
his early life, 473
consecrated bishop of Troyes, 474
goes to Britain with Germanus, 467, 474
his courage and defence of Troyes, 475
accompanies Attila to the Rhine, 476
settles at Mt. Lassois, 477
his disciples, 477
Lyons, its early history, 7
foundation of, 7
Gallic Diet at, 8
schools at, 11
residences of legate and prefect at, 9
suffers under Aurelianus, 78
martyrs of, 35
St. Pothinus, bishop of, 35
Irenaeus, bishop of, 45
Gregory of Tours, account of martyrdoms, 40
monastery at, 287

Macedonius, prefect, befriends Priscillian, 244
Mâcon, Council of, A.D. 585, St. Columbanus summoned, 554
1st Council of A.D. 581, 517
2nd Council of A.D. 585, 517
decrees of, published by Gunthram of Burgundy, 555
Magdalene, St. Mary, her MSS. life at Oxford, 23
Magnentius, rebellion of, 141
defeat at Mursa, 141
commits suicide at Lyons, 141
proclaimed emperor at Autun, 141
Magnus, bishop, a prosecutor of Priscillian, 248
Majorian proclaimed emperor, 315
makes peace with Theodoric, ii. 315
goes to Lyons, 320
Mamertus Claudianus, brother of the bishop, account of his life and writings, 481
Mamertus, St., of Vienne, his early life, 480
letters of Pope Hilarus about, 481
consecrates a bishop for Die, 482
originates three Rogation days, 485
his death, 488
Manichæism in Spain, 223
Marcianus of Arles becomes a Novatian, 68
letter of St. Cyprian about, 68
Marcus, mock emperor in Britain, 303
Marinianus, vicar of Spain, 246
Marinus, bishop of Arles, 119
holds council at bidding of Constantine, 343
Mark, a Gnostic teacher in Spain, 222

Marmoutier, monastery founded by St. Martin, 199
settlement of St. Gatian, 274
Marseilles, its early history, 5
extent of its influence, 6
Claudius M. Victor at, 293
St. Victor's monastery at, 292
refuge from invasion, 381, 293
See, in relation to province of Arles, 362
clergy, objections of, to tractates of St. Augustine, 402
Martial, St., missionary bishop at Limoges, 64
said to have come from the east, 64
Aurelian's life of, 65
influence of Bethany legend on, 65
Martin arrives at Poitiers, 184
his early life, 185
his service in the army, 186
his charity at Amiens, 188
chided by Julian, 189
leaves the army, 190
goes to Sabaria, 191
attempts to found a monastery at Milan, 192
retires to Gallinaria, 192, 274
returns to Poitiers, 194
settles at Ligugé, 195
summoned to Tours, 197
chosen bishop of Tours, 198
work at Marmoutier, 199
visits Valentinian at Trier, 200
second visit to Trier, 201
pleads for Priscillian, 248, 202
entertained by Maximus, 203
assists in consecration of Felix, 204
vision of, 207
death at Condes, 209
extent of missionary labours, 210
his character, 215
present at Council of Bordeaux, 247
dines with the empress, 265
his danger at Trier, 264
Massaliotes surrender ancient constitution, 9
Maternus, St., bishop of Trier, 56
supposed son of widow of Nain, 25
Maturus, a recent convert martyred at Lyons, 41
Mauriac plain, battle of, 313
site of, *note*, 313
Maurice, St., monastery at, 287
Maurus, Rabanus, supposed life of Magdalene, 23
Maxentius, death of, 106
hostility to Constantine I., 105
Maxima Sequanorum, description of the province, 543
Maximianus, emperor, reforms the army, 84
resumes the purple, 101
goes to Lyons, 102
captured at Marseilles, 102
Maximin, St., near Aix, 22
Maximus, made emperor in Spain by Gerontius, 305
Maximus, tyrant, his promise to St. Martin, 249
his death, 265
supreme in Gaul, 246
assures Siricius of his desire to promote orthodoxy, 262
orders a council of bishops to consider case of Agricius, 262
St. Ambrose pleads before him for servants of Valentinian, 265
Maximus, an officer of Euric at Toulouse, 442
becomes bishop of Toulouse, 442
becomes abbot of Lerins, 285
becomes bishop of Riez, 285
Melchiades, bishop of Rome, Constantine's rescript to, 116
holds council at Rome at bidding of Constantine, 342
Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, 115
Meroveus, legendary king of Salian Franks, 326
Messianus, one of the priests of Caesarius at Arles, assists to write his life, 489
Milan, condemnation of Athanasius, 147
Council of, A.D. 355, 146
Constantius draws his sword at, 147
marriage of Licinius at, 107
capital of Gaul under Diocletian, 10
St. Martin attempts to found a monastery at, 192
Marolus, bishop of, hears appeal from Tours, 364
Milvian Bridge, battle of, 106
Minerva, monastery at, 287
Minervus, a monk to whom Cassian addressed the third part of his *Conferences*, 298
Modestus, bishop of Jerusalem, sermon on Bethany family, 27
Monasteries in Gaul in the sixth century, 528
Monasticism, early suspicion against, 276
Montmajeur, probable home of St. Trophimus of Arles, 286
monastery of St. Hilary of Arles, 287
monastery of Caesarius of Arles, 492, 505
Mursa, battle of, and defeat of Magnentius, 141
Musaeus, a refugee at Marseilles, 293

Nantes, St. Rogatian martyred at, 95
Soffronius, bishop of, 564
St. Columbanus taken there for transportation, 564
Narbonne created a colony, 6
supposed synod of, 69
Nazaire, St., original patron of Autun, 23
Nebiogast, general of usurper Constantine, 304
Nepos, Julius, recognises authority of Euric over Auvergne, 315
Nicomedia, fire in palace at, 99
Nîmes, Council of, 266
canons of, 267
Novempopulania created by Diocletian, 125
its capital Elusa, 10

Odovaker, the Patrician, recognises extended kingdom of Euric, 316
Omont, Mons., explains Gregory of Tours, 17
Orientius, bishop of Auch, his testimony on the ruin of Gaul, 309
Orleans, Attila and the Huns besiege it, 312
St. Aignan goes to Aetius to ask for help, 313
attempt of Theodoric II. to capture it, 314
early history of the See, 480
a Syrian woman at, gives food to St. Columbanus, 563
Councils of—1st (A.D. 511), 2nd (A.D. 533), 3rd (A.D. 538), 4th (A.D. 541), 5th (A.D. 549), 516-17
Orosius, activities against Priscillian, 272
Oyandus, a monk of Condate, 287

Paris, capital of Caesar Julianus, 11
schools at, 11
St. Martin at, 212
Councils at—1st (A.D. 361), 2nd (A.D. 551), 3rd (A.D. 556), 4th (A.D. 573), 5th (A.D. 577), 516
Paternus, bishop of Perigueux, opposes Hilary, 149
deposed, 181
Patricius, keeper of privy purse to the Emperor Maximus, acts as prosecutor against Priscillian at Trier, 249
Patroclus martyred at Troyes, 79
bishop of Arles, murdered, 285, 367
Paulinus of Bordeaux loses his son, 277
becomes an ascetic, 277
becomes bishop of Nola, 277
meets St. Martin, 278
Paulinus of Pella at Marseilles, refugee from Bordeaux, 294
Paulus, St., first missionary bishop of Narbonne, 69
Pax Romana stops tribal strife, 4
Perigueux, Paternus of, becomes an Arian, 149
Peter, archbishop of Aix, 22
Petronius of Arles begs Sidonius to continue collection of his letters, 448
Pharetrius, priest of Rodez, writes to Ruricius, 444
Philip, St., said to have preached in Gaul, 32
Phoebadius of Agen writes against Arians, 156
presides at Valence, 360
Pliny's writings sold in shops at Lyons, 12
Poitiers, St. Hilary at, 148
St. Martin goes there, 190, 194
Pontius, St., suffers at Cimiez, 79
Portianus, St., a recluse in Auvergne, 288
Posthumus declared emperor, 75
falls at Mainz, 76
Potentinus, bishop of Orleans, succours St. Columbanus on his way into exile, 563
Pothinus, St., martyr bishop of Lyons, 35
Primuliac, church at, built by St. Severus, 278
Priscillian, his early life, 223
consecrated bishop of Avila, 228
writes his *Apology*, 229
rejected by Delphinus, bishop of Bordeaux, 236
wins sympathy of Euchrotia and Procula, 236
appeals to Damasus, 237, 351
appeals to Ambrose of Milan, 243, 351
appeals to Gratian, 244
present at Council of Bordeaux, 247
appeals to Maximus, 247
taken to Trier, 247
execution of, 247
his *Tractatus Paschae*, 252
his tractate on Pentateuch, 258
his *Benedictio super fideles*, 260
Priscillianists' reception at Council of Toledo, 271
Priscus, St., martyred at Auxerre, 80
Probus, emperor, restores peace to Gaul, 128
Procula, daughter of Delphidius and disciple of Priscillian, 236
Proculus, bishop of Marseilles, desires to ordain St. Honoratus, 281

Projectus, his successor, consecrated during his illness, 369
Prosper of Aquitaine at Marseilles, 293, 383
his evidence concerning ruin of Gaul, 309
his appeal to Coelestine, 368, 400
his early life, 384
his autobiography, 385
his writings, 386
estimate of character of the barbarians, 387
opposition to semi-Pelagianism, 396
writes against Cassian, 401
writes against semi-Pelagianism, 397
appeal to St. Augustine, 398
Provincia created by Romans, 6
Ptolemy de Lucques, chronicle of, 26
Publius Caesar, son of emperor Gallienus, murdered at Cöln, 75

Quintianus, bishop of Rodez, exiled, 316

Ragamund, Theodoric's officer, conducts St. Columbanus into exile, 563
Ravennius, priest of Arles, carries Hilary's submission to Rome, 370
archbishop of Arles, 371
Regnakair, king of Salian Franks, 326
Remnuoth, order of Egyptian monks, 278
Rhodanius, orthodox bishop of Toulouse, 150
Ricimer, the brother-in-law of Gundiok, 320
Roads made by Augustus Octavianus and Agrippa, 7
Rocamadour, tomb of St. Zacchaeus, 25
Rodez, in diocese of Limoges, Elaphius built a church there, 443
Rogatian, St., martyred at Nantes, 95
Romain Moutier, monastery at, 287
Roman poets send their poems to Gaul, 11
Rome, heart of the world, 1
Council at, acquits Athanasius, 139
first Council of, condemns Donatus, 116
bishop of, agent of emperor, 341
bishop of, appeal court under Valentinian, 345
See of, its influences as apostolic on western Christendom, 349
revival of influence of See of, 537
Roussillon, Gerard de, founder of Vezelay, 20
Rufus, bishop, becomes a prosecutor of Priscillian, 248
Ruricius, bishop of Limoges, exiled by Euric, 442
borrows and copies a book of Sidonius Apollinarius, 443
letters to Sidonius, 443
interests himself with Alaric II. on behalf of Caesarius of Arles, 495
Rusticius summons St. Martin to Tours to his sick wife, 197
Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne, consecrates Hermes to See of Beziers, 373
Rutilius, Namatianus, on island monasteries, 282

Sabaria, St. Martin born in, 185
Sacrovir, revolt of, with Florus, 9
Salonus, son of Eucharius of Lyons, 286
Salvator, St., a monastery for women, 294
Salvian, a refugee at Marseilles, 293
his life and writings, 389
Sanctus, the deacon, of Vienne, and martyr, 35
Sardica, Gallican bishop at Council of, 127
Council of, 140
Council of, on local trials and appeals, 350
Sarus commands army of Honorius, 304
Saturninus, his ancient Acta, 17
his martyrdom at Toulouse, 61
his early Vita incorporated in Gregory of Tour's History, 59
Saturninus, Arian bishop of Arles, 145
ceases to be bishop, 181
Secundus of Tigisis, metropolitan of Numidia, 115
Seleucia, Council of, 171
Semi-Pelagianism heresy, its origin, 390
St. Augustine's writings on, 391
Sens, church expansion in province of, 480
bishoprics of the province of, 464
Septimus Severus, the emperor, stays in Lyons, 51
Servatio, bishop of Tongres, remains orthodox during persecution of Constantius, 158
Seven bishops, the mission of the, 58
Severus, bishop of Trier, accompanies Germanus on his second mission to Britain, 471
Severus Libius makes Gundiok *magister militum*, 321
Sidonius Apollinaris, his letter on monastic rules, 289
exiled, 315

Sidonius Apollinaris, his life and writings, 411
his panegyric on Avitus, 413
his relations with Majorian, 414
adventure at the cemetery, 417
description of Theodoric II. of Toulouse, 420
account of the library at Prusianum, 422
keeps festival of St. Just, 423
summoned to Rome, 425
panegyric on Anthemius, 425
chosen bishop, 426
defends Clermont against Euric, 427
correspondence in defence of Auvergne, 429
introduces Rogations at Clermont, 428, 486
captured by Euric, 429
exiled to Livia, 430
his friends at Toulouse secure his release, 431
goes to Euric at Bordeaux, 430
returns to Clermont, 430
his later life and his opponents, 431
his death, 431
his episcopal correspondents, 432
estimate of his panegyrics, 433
his account of persecution of Catholics by Euric, 436
his work at Bourges, 439
consecrates church of Elaphius at Rodez, 443
writes to Remigius of Rheims, 445
his action towards monasticism, 447
as a hymn writer, 449
as a liturgiolist, 449
promise to write life of St. Aignan, 450
his friendship with St. Lupus, 479
Sigibert, king of Salian Franks, 326
Sigibert, son of Chlotachar, assassinated, 545
Sigismund, Burgundian king, founds monastery of St. Maurice, 287
Silvia, her alleged Peregrinatio, 28
Siricius, bishop of Rome, his action towards Himerius of Tarragona, 352
Sirmium, Council of, 156
blasphemy of, meaning of phrase, 156
the dated creed of, 170
Soffronius, bishop of Nantes, provides food for St. Columbanus, 564
Squillace, monastery at, founded by Cassiodorus, 300
Stilicho, the Vandal generalissimo of Honorius, 301
Sulpicius Severus, his early life, 278
his writings, 279
source of his information about Priscillian, 218
Susanna, an early monastery in Aquitaine, 275
Syagrius succeeds his father at Soissons, 326
Sylvanus, guardian of Publius Valerianus, murdered at Cöln, 75
Symphorian, St., martyred at Autun, 31, 52, 53
value of his Vita, 52
Symphosius of Astorga goes to Milan, 269
is reconciled to the Church, 269

Tacitus, the emperor, revokes edict against Christians, 82
Talasius, bishop of Anger, requests information from St. Lupus of Troyes, 477
Tarascon, legend of St. Martha, 23, 26
Ternay, monastery at, 287
Terni, battle of, 74
Tetradius commits to writing rules of St. Caesarius, 290
Tetricus proclaimed emperor, 77
succeeds Aurelianus, 78
Thebaid Legion, the massacre of, 85
story by Eucherius of Lyons, 86
story by Gregory of Tours, 87
Theobald, Count, puts St. Columbanus on board a ship at Nantes, 564
Theodahad, the Ostrogoth, delivers the province of Narbonensis II. to the Franks, 504
Theodoric I., king of Visigoths, killed in battle of Mauriac plains, 314
Theodoric II., king of Visigoths, advances kingdom to Rhone, 314
fails to capture Orleans, 314
Theodoric, son of Childebert, goes to St. Columbanus at Luxeuil, 560
death of, 566
Theodoric, the Ostrogothic king in Italy, intervenes for protection of Arles, 498, 338
his interview with Caesarius at Ravenna, 499
his letters to avert the invasion of Gothia, 336
Theodorus, bishop of Fréjus, founds monastery on Hyères Island, 286
Theodorus, prefect of Gaul, 302
Theodosius, emperor, uses execution of Priscillian for his own purpose, 266
Theognistus, bishop, joins St. Martin against Ithacius, 263
Therasia, wife of Paulinus of Nola, 277

Theudebert, son of Childebert, death of, 566
Theudelinda, queen of Lombard king, her efforts to convert her husband Agilulf, 565
Thorismund, Visigothic king, deposed and slain by Theodoric II., 314
Tolbiac, battle of, 566
Toledo, Council of, A.D. 399, receives back Priscillianists in Spain, 270
Tongres, Servatio of, remains orthodox, 158
Tortona, Majorian murdered at, 417
Toulouse, Volusianus of Tours exiled there, 59
  settlement of Visigoths, 59
  St. Saturninus at, 59
  schools in, 11
  Sulpicius Severus at, 278
  captured by the Visigoths, 310
Tours sacked by Alemans, 75
  succession of bishops at, 63
  St. Martin, bishop of, 197
Trade routes in Gaul, 3
Trebonianus Gallus succeeds Decius, 74
Trier, a colony of Galba, 10
  capital of Gaul under Constantius Chlorus, 16
  Athanasius exiled there, 138
  death of Bishop Brito, 248
  consecration of Felix, 263
  council of bishops on Ydacius, 265
Trophimus, St., of Arles, 68
  identified with the Ephesian, 67
Troyes rebuilt under Constantius Chlorus, 129

Urbica killed at Bordeaux in riot against Priscillianists, 265
Ursachius, bishop of Singidunum, counsellor of Emperor Constantius, 144
Ursus, St., of Sennaparia, 288

Valens, bishop of Mursa, counsellor of Constantius, 144
Valentinian proclaimed emperor, 182
Valentinian III. murdered by Maximus, 314
  decree concerning Arles, 347
  edict concerning Hilary, addressed to Aetius, 348
Valerianus enlists Germans for imperial army, 74
  edict against Christians, 79
  proclaimed emperor, 74
Venantius, brother of St. Honoratus, 281
  dies at Methone, 281
Veranus, son of Eucherius, 286
Vercundar Dubius, priest of Gallic Diet, 8
Verus, bishop of Tours, exiled to Toulouse, 316
Vettius Epagathus, protest at Lyons, 40
Vezelay, its connection with Bethany legend, 19
  ancient tomb regarded as of St. Mary Magdalene, 21
  refuge of Thomas of Canterbury, 19
Victor, bishop of Rome, letter of Irenaeus to, 49
Victor, St., his abbey at Marseilles, 22
  martyrdom at Marseilles, 89
  miracles at his tomb, 92
Victor, an African bishop, edits an expurgated edition of *Conferences* of Cassian, 299
Victorinus, son of Victoria, proclaimed emperor, 77
Victorius, the officer of Euric in command at Clermont, 429
  his friendship for the Catholics, 429
Victricius, of Rouen, letter to Pope Innocent, 353
  account of his work, 354
Vidomir, an Ostrogothic chief, goes to the aid of Euric, 315
Vienne, foundation of, 6
  schools at, 11
  St. Ferreolus of, 93
  monastery at, 287
  Emperor Julian keeps feast of Epiphany there, 180
  controversy for precedence with Arles, 361
Vigilantius of Hourra becomes opponent of St. Jerome and monasticism, 353
Vincentius, bishop of Capua, represents Liberius at Arles, 145
Vincentius of Lerins, 285
  suspected of semi-Pelagianism, 399
  prefect of Gaul, 302
Visigoths settle at Toulouse, 59, 310
  invasion sweeps away tradition from Aquitaine, 280
  invasion of Gaul, 310
  defeated before Arles, 312
Viviers, St. Andochius of, 55
Volusianus, bishop of Tours, exiled to Toulouse, 316
Volventius, proconsul of Galicia, 244
Vouglé, battle of, 337

Wallia, Visigothic kings surrender Galla Placidia, 311
  makes peace with Honorius, 311
  settles in Gaul, 311

Worms, city of, centre of early Burgundian kingdom, 318
Wulfilas defeats Edobich near Arles, 306

Ydacius, bishop of Emerita, 226
writes against Priscillian, 225
retires from persecution of Priscillian, 248
resigns See of Emerita, 250

Zaragossa, Council of, summoned against party of Priscillians, 225
canons of, 227
Zosimus, bishop of Rome, his false reference to the canons of Nicaea, 357
creation of province of Arles, 363
his erroneous history of the origin of the church of Arles, 363

THE END

Printed by R. & R. Clark, Limited, *Edinburgh.*

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

Do not
remove
the card
from this
Pocket.

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File."
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU